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FINNISH-ENGLISH CODESWITCHING IN ADVERTISING:
OPINIONS OF TEENAGERS AND COPYWRITERS

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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten teini-ikäiset nuoret ja mainonnan ammattilaiset suhtautuvat englannin kielen käyttöön suomalaisessa nuorisomainonnassa, sekä miksi heidän mielestään englantia siinä käytetään. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu kahdentoista peruskoulun yhdeksäsluokkalaisten ja kolmen copywriterin haastatteluista, sekä kahdeksasta *Suosikki*-lehdessä julkaistusta mainoksesta, joita haastateltavat arvioivat. Tutkimus on lähestymistavaltaan sosiolingvistinen ja metodiltaan tulkitseva tapaustutkimus.

Nauhoitetut ja litteroidut haastattelut analysoitiin kokonaan vastaukset aihepiireittäin, ryhmittelemällä samankaltaiset vastaukset ja tarkastelemalla, millaiset asiat nousivat haastatteluissa toistuvasti esiin. Tutkielmassa vertaillaan lisäksi copywriterien ja yhdeksäsluokkalaisten asenteita ja mielipiteitä. Esimerkkimainoksista kuvataan haastateltavien kommenttien lisäksi koodinvaihdot ja mainoksen ulkonäkö.

Sekä yhdeksäsluokkalaisten että copywriterien asennoituvat englannin kieleen ja mainontaan yleisesti ottaen positiivisesti; nuoret kuitenkin copywriteriteitä positiivisemmin varsinkin koodinvaihtoon mainonnassa. Samoin kummankin ryhmän mielestä hyvät mainokset ovat huomiota herättäviä, tunteisiin vetoavia ja hauskoja. Molemmat selittävät englannin kielen käyttöä sillä, että se on "makeempaa" tai herättää nuorten huomion suomea paremmin. Paitsi tyylikeinona, englantia käytetään haastateltavien mukaan roolin vaihdossa, sillä vieraalla kielellä on usein helpompi ilmaista arkoja asioita kuin äidinkielellä. Nuorten mielestä englantia voidaan käyttää myös mainosten kansainvälisyyden vuoksi, tai siksi, että nuoret tietäisivät mainosten olevan heille tarkoitettuja. Molemmat ryhmät ovat siis melko yksimielisiä koodinvaihdon funktioista mainonnassa.

Englannin kieli ja sen käyttö mainonnassa näyttää olevan nuorille arkipäiväistä, sillä se kuuluu osana nuorisokulttuuriin, kuten musiikkiin ja elokuviin. Vaikuttaakin siltä, että ilmiö liittyy englannin kielen vahvaan asemaan läntisessä maailmassa yleisemminkin, esimerkiksi sen käyttöön tieteen, viihteen ja viestinnän kansainvälisenä kielenä.

Asiasanat: advertising. code switching. language attitudes.

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1 INTRODUCTION

"Siisti ja *simple* juttu." (*Suosikki* 12/94, p.78.)

"*Number one* tällä planeetalla." (*Suosikki* 8/95, p.57.)

"*Simply the best* - Formula 50. Edistyksellistä tekniikkaa." (*Suosikki* 2/96, p.79.)

The excerpts above are quoted from advertisements published in a Finnish magazine. Although they are published in Finland and obviously targeted to a Finnish audience, they all include codeswitching between Finnish and English. At the same time, research indicates that Finns, both young and old, prefer advertisements written in Finnish (see eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995). Why, then, is the use of English in Finnish advertisements, especially in those targeted to young people, a common phenomenon? What are the motivations for it, and most importantly, how do young people react to the use of English in advertisements? The purpose of the present thesis is to find answers to these questions by interviewing young people and advertisers on the subject. In addition, I am interested in whether their views on the matter are similar, in other words, whether Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising¹ meets the goals it is targeted to.

I consider the phenomenon at hand a special case of codeswitching. By codeswitching, I refer to "the selection of linguistic forms from more than one code during the same communication event" (Jake 1994:271). Most previous studies concerning codeswitching deal with spoken language in a "natural" setting, ie. in a bi- or multilingual environment. In Finland, however, there is no English-speaking minority, and

¹ By *youth advertising* I refer to advertising directed to young people. Although it may not be the proper term for the phenomenon, it is used because of its shortness.

therefore, Finnish-English codeswitching in Finland and in written communication really is different. Among the few studies coming close to the subject of the present thesis is the research conducted by Koskinen and Ojala (1992). In their thesis, they examined Finnish-English codeswitching in written messages of young Finns, whereas my purpose is to study messages targeted to young Finns. To my knowledge, no academic research on the subject has been carried out before.

The focus of this study is mostly on Finnish print advertisements in which English is employed, and which are directed to young people. In addition, I am interested in advertisements young people say they like, whether or not they are print advertisements and targeted to adolescents (eg. liquor ads on television). Print advertising was chosen for the subject of the present thesis, because the role of text is more important in it than for example in television advertising, and because the focus is on the use of English in advertising. In television advertising, visual effects and sound lessen the importance of language, and consequently the actual words in it are not paid as much attention to as in print advertising. Naturally visual features are important also in print advertising, yet it is easier to concentrate on the text when the time of exposure to the advertisement is not limited, as it is in television advertising. As a starting point for the interviews, I selected eight ads from the most popular youth magazine in Finland, *Suosikki*, which I asked the informants to comment on.

The purpose of the present thesis is to increase the understanding on the motivations of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising, and thus, the methods used are qualitative by nature. As mentioned above, the phenomenon is approached by interviewing teenagers and some professionals of advertising, ie. copywriters, about their opinions on the use of English in Finnish advertising. Furthermore, their attitudes to English as a language and advertising in general will be discussed, because these general attitudes lay behind and affect their more specific attitudes to the use of English in advertising. The approach in the present study is mainly

sociolinguistic, and Finnish-English codeswitching is regarded as a communication strategy, used to meet social and discorsal rather than linguistic goals.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Advertising

Up to the 1980s, most linguists were rather critical about advertising and advertisers (eg. Williamson 1978, Bolinger 1980, Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985). They claimed that advertising frequently leads people astray, tells half-truths or even lies, or that it exploits and distorts our needs by making us feel that we desperately need some things to make us happy or worthy, and by offering a solution to our problems in the form of a commodity. Naturally, most economists and advertisers disagreed, with the counterargument that advertising is only helping to satisfy our latent but existent needs which we realize only when we see something advertised (Wright et al. 1982). They also pointed out the importance of the informative function of advertising, that is informing people about new products and services. In Finland, too, some research has been carried out to support this view (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995).

All in all, attitudes to advertising seem to have changed to a more approving direction during the last decade, especially among young people. Cinquin (1987) reports that 82 per cent of the French from 10 to 24 years of age declare themselves unreservedly in favour of advertising, and 60 per cent (of the French) consider it informative and entertaining rather than manipulative (Cinquin 1987:490). Cook (1992:17) explains this development by saying that since people have grown up with it they have grown used to it. He also claims that advertising itself has now become more subtle and entertaining than it used to be some decades ago. Some recent studies conducted in Finland indicate the same tendency (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995, Suosikin nuorisotutkimus 1993). 75 per cent of the Finns aged from 15 to 24 find advertising a positive thing, and like

the French, young Finns consider it entertaining and informative.

2.1.1 Advertising as communication

Kleppner (1979:23) defines advertising as "a method of delivering a message from a sponsor, through impersonal medium, to many people". The key words here, distinguishing advertising from other forms of communication, are *sponsor*, *impersonal*, and *to many people*. The addresser has paid for the advertising message (the advertisement) in order to inform or persuade the addressee about certain ideas, products or services. Advertising can be divided into various categories depending on the sender (eg. the government, a company), medium (eg. radio, television), and audience (eg. business-to-business, consumers). The most common type of advertising is *commercial consumer advertising*, which Leech (1966:25) defines as "advertising directed towards a mass audience with the aim of promoting sales of a commercial product or service". In commercial consumer advertising, which is the subject in the present study, the intention is not only to give information, but ultimately to encourage action, namely the purchase of the product (Nöth 1987:279). As a discourse type, therefore, advertising is distinguished from other types by its purpose to bring about an exchange of money for products and services (Langholz-Leymore 1987:319). Moreover, the discourse of advertising has been called "parasite discourse" because usually advertisements "have attached themselves to other types of discourse as a host" (Cook 1992:143). In one sense, this is true, but usually the choice of accepting advertisements is for the medium ("the host") to make, which is not the case with parasites and hosts.

According to Vestergaard and Schroeder (1985:16), there are six constituents in the communication situation of advertising, as there are in other forms of communication as well. They are the usual addresser, meaning, channel, code, context, and addressee. However, Cook (1992) divides the roles of addresser

and addressee further to those of sender (and addresser) and receiver (and addressee), because the sender and addresser in advertising communication are not the same person. Moreover, there are multiple senders and receivers in this form of communication. The senders in advertising communication are the initiator of the advertising message, the producer, and the advertising agency planning the form of the message, especially the copywriter who is in charge of verbalizing the message. The addresser (eg. a celebrity) is the person "speaking" in the advertisement; he/she transmits the message (the meaning, the ad) through a channel (eg. a magazine) to addressees (the target audience) and receivers (anyone who sees the ad). There being multiple addressees and receivers is typical to all forms of mass communication, also to advertising. The code in the present study is mostly written English and Finnish, and the context for advertisements is the magazine *Suosikki* and for the phenomenon (Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising) the Finnish society, discourse and mass media. In the present study, the focus will be on the senders (copywriters), addressees or receivers (young people), and the code.

As said above, the discourse of advertising is conventionally defined and distinguished from other discourse types by its function, that is, it always aims at promoting something. Yet Cook (1992) finds this definition insufficient. He argues that all ads do not try to sell but, for example, warn of something, like when health officials try to warn people of the dangers of smoking with media campaigns. Furthermore, if a person has not the intention or possibility to buy the product advertised, it does not mean that the ad has nothing to say to him/her. A fit person may find an advertisement for a slimming product entertaining, or disgusting, even though he/she does not have any use for the product advertised and no plans for buying it. Thus, advertisements have also other functions, such as warning, informing and amusing, in addition to the selling function. (Cook 1992:5-6.) The function of an advertisement, therefore, could be defined as "what the text is intended to do by the senders and addressers, or what it is perceived to do

by the receivers and addressees" (Cook 1992:2). Hence, there are at least four functions in advertising communication, which of course may coincide. They are sender-function (eg. selling), addresser-function (eg. being credible), addressee-function (eg. getting information) and receiver-function (eg. amusement) (Cook 1992:6). Similarly, in the present study, selling something is not regarded as the only function of advertising communication although it is the function the originator of the message (the producer) aims at. Of all the possible sender functions, only the intended function of a copywriter is of interest in the present study, because usually it is the copywriter who makes the choice to use English in advertisements. The other function which is of interest here is the perceived addressee-function of the target group, ie. young people.

As we see, in addition to different functions, the discourse of advertising has different perspectives. The function which the sender intends the discourse to have may not be the same as it actually does have for the receiver (Cook 1992:6). For example, it may well happen that, although the copywriter aimed at making a good advertisement and the producer at selling the product, neither of these functions is realized: the receiver may not buy the product and takes the advertisement as an example of bad grammar.

2.1.2 The structure and goals of print advertisements

The elements of a print advertisement are the headline, sub-captio, body copy, illustration (picture), signature, and slogan. All advertisements do not have all this parts; headline, illustration and signature being perhaps the most common elements (Kleppner 1979:317). The structure of a print advertisement is illustrated in Figure 1.

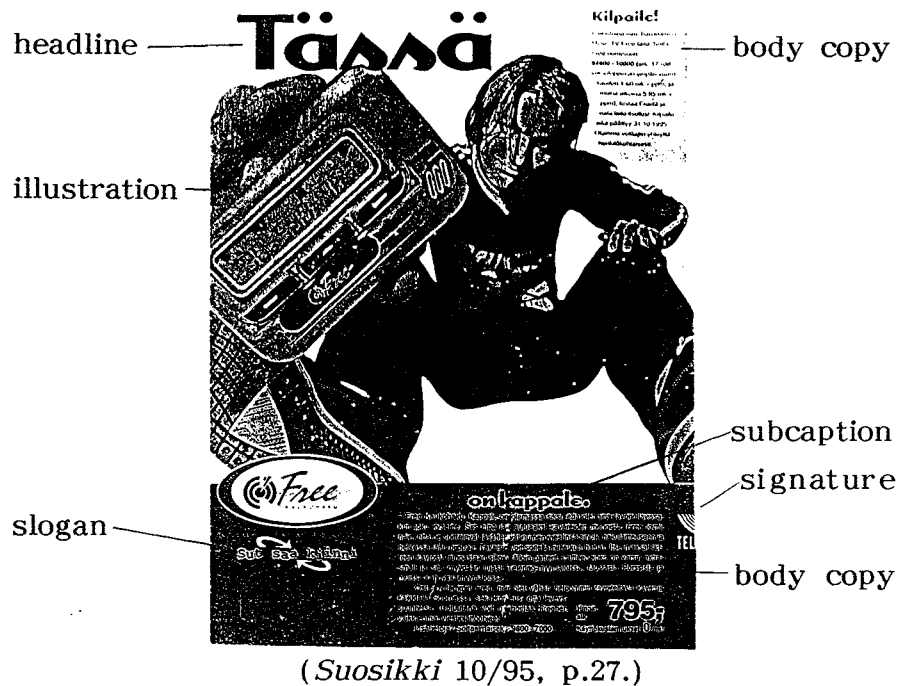


Figure 1. The structure of a print advertisement.

One of the oldest and perhaps the most popular ways to describe the aims of advertising is the so-called AIDA model (Attention - Interest - Desire - Action) introduced by Strong in 1925. According to it, an advertisement has to accomplish the four aims to be effective. (Kleppner 1979:318.) In order to make a decision about buying a product an individual must have some information available, and it can be available only if it is noticed and remembered. The first aim of an advertisement is, therefore, to get attention, and the second to arouse interest. Advertisers try to make their advertisements as distinctive as possible, for example by using surprises, jokes, and attractive illustrations. One way to attract attention is to employ unusual means in transmitting the message, to get attention and arouse curiosity and interest. It can be assumed that one reason for the use English in Finnish advertising is to attract attention, because one would normally expect Finnish texts in Finland.

Some people may not like the use of a foreign language in a Finnish context, for example in advertising. However, it has been found out that consumers need not to like an advertisement for it to be noticed. Yet, in some cases negative emo-

tional responses to the advertisement may interfere with message communication. There is evidence suggesting that negative reaction to an advertisement may cause even a negative attitude to the product or producer (Zeitlin and Westwood 1986). On the other hand, it is not easy to say how strong the connection is, or even if there is a connection, between a negative attitude to the advertisement and to the sales of the product advertised. In some studies, it has been revealed that even irritating advertisements can meet the selling goal (Perfect and Askew 1994), which is of primary importance in advertising. It could be stated, therefore, that for advertisements all publicity is good publicity. As for the structure of an advertisement, attracting attention and arousing interest are usually the main tasks of the headline, illustration and slogan. However, also the general layout and style of the advertisement influences a great deal in whether it is able to catch the attention and interest of the audience or not (Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985:49).

The third aim of an advertisement is to stimulate desire. According to Sandage and Fryberger (1967:5), it is one of the main functions of advertising to interpret the want-satisfying qualities of products in terms of the needs and desires of consumers. However, researchers disagree about the nature of those needs. The common opinion is that our needs and the impact of advertisements on them, and on us, are both conscious and unconscious. They appeal to the rational side of the mind by assuring that a product advertised is useful and it makes our everyday life easier. A very usual way to convince people of the usefulness of a product is to get a person with authority, for example a celebrity or an expert, to tell about the product and the benefits it can offer. Still, if advertisements appealed only to reason, it would be easy to ignore their message. Therefore the emotional side must be emphasized when talking about the effectiveness of advertising, because it is said to affect us also through our emotions. Some researchers claim that ads create desire by suggesting that we gain status and become more attractive by purchasing the product adver-

tised (Williamson 1978). In this case, too, advertising affects through emotion rather than reason. Desire is usually stimulated in the body copy of an advertisement (Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985:49).

The fourth aim of an advertisement, encouraging action, is outside the scope of the present study, although stimulating the demand of the advertised products is the ultimate goal of advertising. The urge for action is normally presented in the end of the body copy, or in the slogan (Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985:49).

2.1.3 The language of advertising

The language of advertising has received a considerable amount of attention in various disciplines, for example in linguistics (eg. Leech 1966, Geis 1982), sociolinguistics (eg. Williamson 1978, Bolinger 1980, Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985), and economics (eg. Holstius 1981, Motes et al. 1992, Kover and James 1993). Their focus has been for instance on the stylistic, semantic, syntactic and lexical features of advertising language, of which the most relevant ones will be discussed in what follows.

The language of advertising is usually concrete, simple and colloquial in style. It needs to be simple and concrete in order to avoid misinterpretations since messages are never the same for all recipients but filtered by past experiences, needs and expectations (Kover and James 1993:37). It is typical for advertising language to aim at creating an intimate atmosphere, for example by using exclamations and the second person singular 'you', typical to intimate conversation, although the social context is impersonal and public (Geis 1982:17). Normally, colloquial style is associated with private discourse and therefore the audience feels that "the advertisement is talking just to me" (Leech 1966: 74). Interrogatives and imperatives are also frequently used in advertising language to create an intimate style (Juutilainen 1980:74).

Like poetry, advertising uses creative language. It often breaks the rules and conventions of orthography (eg. misspelling), vocabulary (eg. coining new words) and grammar (eg. ungrammatical sentences). As to lexis, both advertising and poetry frequently use ambiguous words and expressions which in normal speech would be considered undesirable. Both advertising and poetry also use figurative language, such as metaphors, metonymy and personification of objects, and rhyming. (Leech 1966:175-178, 182.) Therefore, it could be stated that, in some respects, the language of advertising has similarities with poetry.

At the semantic level, the language of advertising often gives one-sided information, and sometimes it even exaggerates or gives false impressions about the product advertised. It is a common feature of loaded language, such as the language of advertising, that a text is formally cohesive without being semantically coherent. It may lead people to suppose things which are not actually said and therefore, it cannot be blamed for making false claims because the claims are not explicitly stated. (Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985:20.) In addition, advertisements tend to make the strongest claims they can defend. An example of this is the statement "Painaway will help stop your pain", which is true even if the medicine helps you only marginally. (Geis 1982:32,59.) Furthermore, advertising often wears a masque on the actual claims it tries to promote. As said above, the function of advertising is ultimately to sell something, yet there is often no recognizable trace of this in the textual surface of an advertisement. For example, Coke ads read "Drink Coca-Cola", not "Buy Coca-Cola". (Nöth 1987:279.) The request for the actual buying is hidden but it is included in the claim stated: you have to buy Coke first in order to be able to drink it.

At the syntactic level, the language of advertising is typically short and simple, and it frequently breaks the conventional rules of language use (Leech 1966, Juutilainen 1980, Holstius 1981). For example, omitting the verb or the subject, or very short sentences consisting even of one single word are

frequent in advertisements. Juutilainen (1980) found the average sentence length in the body copy of ads to be 4-6 words. Holstius (1981) states that it is profitable for an advertiser to use short sentences or sentence fragments, because they have more emphasis and are clearer than long ones, and therefore they are also more easily understood by the average reader.

The language of advertising is called "loaded language" because it aims at changing the will, opinions or attitudes of its audience (Leech 1966:25). In loaded words, there is some taint of liking or disliking attached to them. They may be either euphemistic (positively coloured) or dysphemistic (negatively coloured), and it goes without saying that words connected with the product advertised are normally euphemistic. Euphemisms are most apt to be noticed if they are new, and therefore, the innovativeness is constant. (Bolinger 1980:72-73.) However, advertising is not the only institution in our society that can be blamed for the frequent use of euphemisms. It seems that bureaucrats are at least as keen in renaming things, schools, degrees and occupations as advertisers are in renaming products.

As mentioned above, the use of second singular *you* is frequent in advertising language because of the intimate effect it creates. However, personal pronouns tend to have special meaning in advertisements. The *you* in them usually refers both to someone in the advertisement and to the receiver's own self. Whereas *you* has a dual identity, the identity of *I* is not always revealed. Sometimes *I* is an expert or a celebrity promoting the product advertised, and *we* is the manufacturer. Those who do not have or use the product are often distanced by the pronoun *he/she*. (Cook 1992:155-157.)

Another feature typical to the vocabulary of advertising is the small number of verbs and wealth of adjectives. Adjectives are often highly informative; verbs, on the contrary, contribute little to the advertising message. They are often very commonplace monosyllables with a general meaning, such as *get*, *see* and *use*. (Leech 1966:151, 154.) Interestingly enough, advertisers are said to avoid the verb *buy* because of

its unpleasant connotations with spending and wasting money, and use more neutral verbs like *try* and *take* instead (Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985:68), as also the example on p. 13 indicates. Nouns in the advertising copy are usually concrete and refer directly to the product or people and objects connected with it (Leech 1966:57). Obviously, "concrete" means here the opposite of abstract since sometimes nouns in ads refer to some "new inventions" (eg. "Pro-V vitamin"), which are not so simple to understand.

Though frequently used, the choice of adjectives in advertising language is quite narrow and the same "power words" are repeated over and over again (Kover and James 1993). The ten most frequent adjectives in American television advertisements in the past decades were found to be *new, better, extra, fresh, clean, beautiful, free, good, great, light*. (T.C. Agoston and W. von Raffler-Engel, in Bolinger 1980:116). In Britain, they were *new, good-better-best, free, fresh, delicious, full, sure, clean, wonderful, special* (Leech 1966:152). These are so-called "power words" which many copywriters believe to have "an almost magical ability to spark consumer attention and interest" (Kover and James 1993:32). However, Kover and James (1993) found out that satiation and congruence affect the power of power words, ie. they do work but only when used sparingly and reasonably. Consequently, English might be used in Finnish advertising to avoid satiation since worn-out phrases in Finnish may get a new life and freshness when translated into English. Other motivations for the use of English in Finnish advertising may be similar to those of codeswitching in general. Therefore, in the following chapter, the motivations for codeswitching found out in some previous studies are introduced.

2.2 Codeswitching

2.2.1 Code switching, mixing and borrowing

Codeswitching is the alternation of two or more languages or dialects within a single discourse, sentence or constituent (Poplack 1980:583). Some studies dealing with codeswitching were made as early as in the 1950s and 1960s (eg. Weinreich 1953, Fishman 1965; see eg. Baetens Beardsmore 1986:43), but since the study of Blom and Gumperz (1972) on situational and metaphorical codeswitching in Norway, the subject has attracted wider attention among linguists. Many of them have concentrated on stating universal linguistic constraints on switching (eg. Pfaff 1979, Poplack 1980, Di Sciullo et al. 1985, Belazi et al. 1994), while others claim that there are no universal constraints but rather a certain number of language-pair constraints (eg. Oh Choi 1991). However, they agree that codeswitching is rule-governed and requires linguistic competence in more than one language. In addition, many researchers have focused on the situational or social factors of codeswitching (eg. Blom and Gumperz 1972, Gumperz 1982, Heller 1988, Myers-Scotton 1993a) and have found it to be a strategy used for both social and discourse effect. Treffers-Daller (1991, as quoted in Myers-Scotton 1993b:476) proposes the interaction of these grammatical and sociolinguistic views and constraints on codeswitching to be the challenge for codeswitching research for the 1990s. Myers-Scotton accepts the challenge and proposes that the options for codeswitching are universally set, but community or group-specific social forces determine which of the permissible patterns are preferred (Myers-Scotton 1993b:475). In the present study, the focus is on the community-specific forces affecting the use of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising; linguistic considerations are discussed only briefly and universals are left aside.

As to the different types of switching, codeswitching can be either intrasentential, ie. the switch takes place within a

sentence, or extrasentential², ie. the switch happens at a sentence boundary. Some scholars make a distinction between codeswitching and codemixing by calling extrasentential switching *codeswitching* and intrasentential *codemixing* (eg. Di Sciullo et al. 1986) Yet some others use *codemixing* as a cover term for both codeswitching and borrowing (see Baetens Beardsmore 1986:49).

Several researchers, including Pfaff (1982), Myers-Scotton (1988) and Salmons (1990), use four central criteria in distinguishing borrowing from codeswitching. First, frequently occurring items are considered borrowing. By applying this criterion, English product and company names in Finland belong to borrowing, and therefore, they are outside the scope of the present study. The second criterion for borrowing, phonological assimilation, is not valid here since the data is in a written form. Third, there are some lexical criteria for distinguishing switching from borrowing when dealing with items of unclear status in bilingual communities, for example whether or not there is an equivalent to the word in the other language (if there is not: borrowing). Fourth, in many studies the syntactic integration of borrowed elements is taken as an indicator of borrowing. However, this criterion is not always applied when dealing with Finnish-English codeswitching, because morphological assimilation (eg. inflection, like in: "se oli semmosesta *landīstä*", Halmari 1993:1054) is very typical to switching between the two languages (Halmari 1993).

In the present thesis, by codeswitching I refer to the same phenomenon as Halmari (1993, Halmari and Smith 1994). She chooses to consider all clear switches from one language to another, including some cases which could be considered nonce borrowings (eg. "se *story* kerto että...", Halmari 1993:1046), as codeswitching, regardless of whether they involve single words or larger constituents. This is reasonable since switches of individual lexical items are the most characteristic type of Finnish-English codeswitching (Poplack et al. 1989:396, Halmari

² Extrasentential codeswitching is also called intersentential codeswitching (eg. Di Sciullo et al. 1986).

1993:1046, Koskinen and Ojala 1992). There is, however, a difference between Halmari's and my definitions, because she deals solely with intrasentential codeswitching, whereas here extrasentential codeswitching is considered as well. In the present thesis, the term *codeswitching* is used for both intra- and extrasentential switching, and unassimilated and unestablished English loan words in Finnish ads are considered codeswitching. One criterion Halmari (1993) uses in distinguishing between code switching and ~~code switching~~ mixing is the phonological unassimilation of the constituents in the former. The material here being written, spelling is used instead of phonology in distinguishing between switching and mixing.

Finnish-English codeswitching has not been very widely researched yet. Some research has been made on switching between the two languages in a "natural" setting, ie. in a Finnish-English bilingual environment. Among these are the studies by Rinkinen (1986), Lauttamus (1990), Jarrett-Trygg (1991), Halmari (1993, Halmari and Smith 1994) and Määttänen (1995). Halmari studied codeswitching based on conversations of Finnish-American children, and Jarrett-Trygg and Määttänen of Finnish-American families. Only Rinkinen dealt with codeswitching in written form, in Finnish-American publications. Finnish-English codeswitching in an "unnatural" setting, among speakers of Finnish in Finland, has attracted the attention of few scholars; the research conducted by Koskinen and Ojala (1992) is the only one I am aware of. This kind of code choice which calls attention to itself is called the marked choice (Saville-Troike 1982:71). English in Finnish advertising is clearly a marked code since it would be expected that communication, advertising communication included, in a Finnish-speaking country would be in Finnish. A marked choice of language can be used for example in indicating relationships between people, and for emphasis, because a violation of the standards of language use attracts the attention of most people. In the following chapter, some motivations for codeswitching will be discussed, with some suggestions regarding their importance concerning the present study.

2.2.2 Motivations for codeswitching

Blom and Gumperz (1972) divide codeswitching into situational and metaphorical switching. Situational codeswitching is motivated by a change in the social situation, for example different codes may be used in a formal and a private discussion. However, switching does not occur only in certain situations but also symbolically, "metaphorically", when there is a change in the topic or subject matter rather than in the social situation. Blom and Gumperz (1972) found out that in formal occasions in which the official dialect was supposed to be used (eg. in business negotiations), the local dialect was used when the speaker wanted to express his/her local identity, values and attitudes. (Blom and Gumperz 1972:474-475.) In other words, a majority language can serve as a 'they' code which often implies for example authority and objectivity, whereas a minority 'we' code implies privacy and subjectivity (Gumperz 1982).

Several researchers have stated that codeswitching is used in defining or establishing identities in communication between bi- or multilinguals (eg. Saville-Troike 1982, Heller 1988, Woolard 1988, Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993b). They also emphasize the importance of code choice as a marker of group identity, and argue that codeswitching can be used for strengthening the identity, or solidarity, of a group, as a boundary-levelling or boundary-maintaining strategy (Saville-Troike 1982, Heller 1988). According to Myers-Scotton (1988), codeswitching can be used for indicating solidarity, authority, or social or educational status, and also for asserting a range of identities for the speaker. For example, in Great Britain the RP is connected with status and education, and by speaking it a person may indicate that he/she belongs to the upper class. However, if he/she was born, say, in Scotland, he/she can indicate loyalty to his/her roots by switching to Scots. As we see, different languages or dialects reflect different identities and arouse different connotations in people, and by choosing a code the speaker can choose an identity. Speakers use their

linguistic choices as tools to index for others their perceptions of self, or of others (Myers-Scotton 1993b:478). Therefore, speakers may use codeswitching in negotiating interpersonal relationships, in signalling their perceptions or desires about group memberships.

In addition to above-mentioned the long-term social goals, codeswitching is claimed to serve more specific short-term discourse goals (see eg. Hatch 1976, Myers-Scotton 1988, Heller 1988), that is, codeswitching may be used in more specialized functions in communication. Heller (1988:3-4) draws a distinction between social, stylistic and grammatical functions of codeswitching, but in the present study, the two latter are referred to plainly as discursal codeswitching. Nishimura (1995:158) calls the two major types of codeswitching symbolic and task-specific, which I think describes well the nature of the functions for codeswitching. Naturally both major functions can be served simultaneously, for example switching between Finnish and English might occur partly because the sender wants to impress the receiver with his/her knowledge of English and partly because there might be a more appropriate term for the phenomenon under discussion in English than in Finnish. Therefore, codeswitching can be simultaneously a means and a message (Myers-Scotton 1988:156).

As we see, codeswitching can be regarded as an overall discourse mode, ie. the fact that codeswitching occurs may convey as much meaning as the specific cases of codeswitching (Poplack 1980:614). However, Hatch (1976:208) argues that the primary motivation for codeswitching is, whether or not socially motivated, that it simply "sounds better". She claims that by mixing languages, persons with knowledge of more than one language can give tone, more emphasis and colour, to the communication. Several other researchers have also stated some specific functions of codeswitching. The most common functions most scholars seem to agree on are repetition (or avoiding it), emphasis, and quoting for precision or for a rhetoric effect (Hatch 1976, Gumperz 1982, Gibbons 1987, McClure and McClure 1988, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989). Many of them also state

that codeswitching is used for message clarification, addressee specification (including or excluding listeners), as well as in filling gaps in vocabulary and in proverbs, idioms, or taboo words. In addition, codeswitching is said to be used in creating a dramatic effect in discourse (Hatch 1976, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989), and for language play (McClure and McClure 1988, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989), and in showing affection (Hatch 1976; also personification vs. objectivization of a message, see Gumperz 1982).

Some researchers, however, argue that there is not always a clear reason or function to be detected in codeswitching behaviour. Poplack (1980) reports that among Puerto Ricans in New York, Spanish-English codeswitching is the unmarked variety in speech, and therefore, it is not possible to indicate the function of a specific switch (cf. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989). Also Nishimura (1995), when studying functional aspects of Japanese-English codeswitching, found it impossible to state clear functional motivations for all cases of switching. Both these studies deal with situations in which neither of the languages clearly dominates in communication, whereas in most other studies, one of the languages is dominant (or a matrix language, see eg. Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993 a,b). Therefore, it may be easier to find reasons and motivations for codeswitching when switching is a marked form of communication, as Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising is.

In their study concerning Finnish-English codeswitching, Halmari and Smith (1994) suggest that switching is often connected to shifts from one conversational task to another, ie. codeswitching is used in register variation. Koskinen and Ojala (1992) reported that young Finns, in their written messages, tend to codeswitch mostly to express feelings and emphasis, which is what also Hatch (1976) suggests. Furthermore, they discovered that some topics, such as music, television, films and sports, were especially fruitful to codeswitching. The latter is by no means surprising since they are topics with strong international connections and the language often connected with

them is English. Similarly, it might be expected that these topics invite for more codeswitching in advertising. As a marked form, Finnish-English codeswitching calls attention to itself and therefore, the messages conveyed by codeswitching are more likely to get noticed. As was mentioned above, giving emphasis is one of the main functions of discursual code-switching.

Myers-Scotton (1993b:476) argues that codeswitching is almost always socially motivated and switching the language "because their facility in the 'unmarked code' fails them" is in the minority. Apparently this concerns also codeswitching in Finnish advertising. I would claim that the motivation for switching is usually social since the professionals of advertising hardly have gaps in their knowledge of Finnish. Only some terms for innovations may be without a proper Finnish equivalent, in which case the use of English is quite understandable. This does not mean that the other functions of codeswitching are excluded in advertising; several functions can be served simultaneously (see eg. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989). In advertising, therefore, codeswitching can be used for example in specifying the target group, attracting its attention and in creating positive feelings towards the advertisement (and to the advertised product) among the target group. It also means that copywriters make code choices based on how they think the members of a target group see themselves or how the members of a target group would like the other people to see them. Obviously, codeswitching in print advertising is metaphorical rather than situational.

Bentahila and Davies (1992 as quoted by Myers-Scotton 1993b:475) argue that the effects of social and psychological factors in codeswitching have been neglected. They call for more attention to the features of the users of codeswitching, such as their proficiency in the languages, and their attitudes towards the languages and mixing them. In the present study, I will discuss some of these aspects in Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising. The informants' proficiency in English is discussed only briefly, and the extent

and domains of codeswitching in advertising are examined only in the selected advertisements. More attention is paid to the attitudes of both the copywriters, who are the users of codeswitching, and young people. In addition to the functions that the makers of advertisements aim at with codeswitching, opinions of young people on codeswitching are examined. Therefore, I think it is important to know something about the composition and nature of attitudes, to be able to understand how attitudes work in choosing a code, or in codeswitching, and how language attitudes affect our perceptions of other people.

2.3 Attitudes

2.3.1 Features of attitudes

Attitude is a widely used term even in everyday conversation and it could be argued that most of us mean more or less the same thing by it. Most researchers also seem to agree on the core meaning of the term although the wordings of their definitions vary. Baker (1992:10) defines an attitude as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour". The definition by McGuire (1968), refined by Ajzen (1988), that an attitude is "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event" (Ajzen 1988:4), suits better for my purposes because the aim here is not to study actual behaviour but responses to codeswitching in advertising.

The most important characteristics of attitudes are "persistent", "evaluative" and "linked with behaviour". They are assumed to be relatively stable (when compared to opinions, for example) although they are more open to change or modification than personality traits. (Baker 1992:10,14.) They also can vary from positive to negative, or be something in between, but they

always are evaluative or affective in nature (Palmerino et al. 1984:11). Attitudes are not overtly visible and there is no way to prove their 'real' existence, although people may be at least partly aware of their attitudes. Being covert, attitudes can only be inferred from our verbal or physical behaviour. (Baker 1992:10-11.) Of course, attitudes affect the ways people act; for example, if somebody has a favourable attitude to one product and negative to another, he/she is more likely to buy the product towards which he/she holds a positive attitude.

Attitudes can be more or less general or specific. There are different levels of generality, for instance "attitude to minority languages" is a rather general attitude, and "attitude to praying in Irish in church on Sunday" a specific one (Baker 1992:16). In the present study, the general attitude to English among young people and copywriters, and more specifically their attitudes to English in Finnish youth advertising are dealt with.

The division of attitude to affective, cognitive and conative components dates back to the classical times and to Plato. The affective aspect of attitude has to do with the feelings a person has towards an object, while the cognitive aspect concerns his thoughts and beliefs about it. The conative aspect concerns the readiness of action, that is, a person's intention or plan to behave in a certain way. (Baker 1992, Holstius 1981.) For example, Mr Doe may think that it is important to know some Finnish (cognitive aspect), and he likes speaking it (affective aspect), and he is planning to take part in a course on Finnish (conative aspect). All in all, his general attitude to Finnish is positive. Yet it remains unclear whether all the aspects need to be positive in order to form a positive attitude to an object or a person. In this thesis, I consider the general attitude as a sum of the three components, ie. if for example the affective aspect is negative, but the two other are positive, the general attitude is less positive than it would be if all the aspects were positive. The external behaviour, the conative aspect, refers also to verbal behaviour, ie. a person's attitudes have an influence on what and in what manner he/she speaks

about something or someone. Hence, I think it is possible to infer the attitudes of young people and advertisers on the basis of their interviews. In the present study, the conative aspect of attitudes is inferred only from verbal behaviour, and the focus is on the affective aspect, on the emotions advertisements arouse.

In the field of psychology, an emotion is seen as a reaction (of the autonomous nervous system) to a stimulus, aiming at the survival of the individual and the species by guiding their behaviour (see eg. Zeitlin and Westwood 1986:36, Atkinson et al 1990:401). As said above, it is one of the three components of an attitude. Feeling, on the other hand, is a component of emotion; it is the experience a stimulus causes in a human being (Atkinson et al. 1990:401). Two types of emotional response to advertising need to be distinguished: responses to the product advertised, and responses to the advertisement itself. The former continue to influence long after advertising exposure, while the latter emerge at the time of exposure. (Zeitlin and Westwood 1986:34.) Naturally the two may interact, ie. if an advertisement arouses positive emotions they are likely to reflect on the product as well, and a positive attitude to both the advertisement and the product may be born. In the present study, however, only the second type of emotional response is of interest, and especially in respect of the thoughts and feelings the use of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertisements causes. Emotions being one of the three components of attitudes, they can directly influence attitudes, as some studies have indicated (eg. Zeitlin and Westwood 1986). Consequently, by affecting our emotions, advertisements can change our attitudes.

In literature a distinction is made between attitudes and values. Smith (1973:106) claims values to be the theory behind attitudes and practises, whereas McGuire (1968:151) considers that values are only one part of an attitude, linked with its affective and cognitive components. In the present study, it is enough to mention that attitudes have to do with people's

thoughts and feelings as well as their beliefs and values, without considering their hierarchical structure any further.

Another distinction that has been made is between attitudes and opinions. In daily conversation, the terms are sometimes used almost synonymously. In psychology, however, a distinction is made between them. McGuire (1968:152) explains that "opinions are the verbal expression of an inferred underlying attitude". Baker (1992) holds quite a similar view. He says that "opinions are verbalisable while attitudes may be latent, conveyed by non-verbal and verbal processes" (1992:14). In the present study, I use the term *attitude* in McGuire's and Baker's sense, although their approach to the subject is deeper than mine. The aim here is to study first of all the verbalisable attitudes, or opinions, of young people, and their latent attitudes will be studied only to the extent that can be inferred from what the informants say.

2.3.2 Attitudes in group identification

An important factor related to attitudes is the concept of a *reference group*. It was developed by Newcomb (1943) to explain the shift of attitudes. He hypothesized that people around us who play significant roles in our lives can influence our attitudes and cause change in them. (Newcomb 1943 as quoted by Tyson and Jackson 1992:68.) Ever since then, scholars have emphasized the importance of reference and peer groups in attitude and opinion formation (see eg. Baker 1992). In this study, too, the influence of peers to the attitudes of young people is assumed to be significant. McGuire (1985) states that mass media technology exposes large numbers of homogeneously aged children to common experiences and therefore, it has produced a distinctive youth culture, regarding art forms, values, and life styles. Since young people all over the western world share similar experiences, values and interests, they are likely to identify more with their peers (even outside their country) than for example with their parents, and to hold

attitudes similar to their peers' rather than to their parents'. (McGuire 1985 as quoted by Baker 1992:109.) However, the effect of mass media on attitudes must not be overestimated. Some researchers (eg. Baker 1992) have found that mass media affect teenagers' attitudes less than expected and they point out that mass media are only one part of youth culture.

Baker (1992:101) states that, in group identification, also the cognitive aspect of attitudes is functioning. In his study, he found out that adolescents for whom knowledge of Anglo-American pop music is necessary in order to gain peer group status or to conform to group norms are likely to have or change to attitudes congruent with pop culture and their peer group. The rewards of peer group conformity and culture may affect values and attitudes. When a person's self concept moves towards conformity with peer group identity, the peer group may become an important determinant of attitude change and cultural identification. That is why a teenager may have to reject minority language values to take on the values of the peer group. (Baker 1992:136.) When thinking about the situation in Finland, English is a majority language in a wider sense, ie. when considering international youth culture. Similarly, young people in Finland may have to reject Finnish language values to gain peer group status, because English may have a higher status than Finnish in youth culture. This might be one motivation for the use of English in Finnish youth advertising.

Language is a key factor in establishing group identity. It can be seen as an "identification badge" for both self and outside perception (Saville-Troike 1982:188). That is, different (varieties of) languages or styles are often used when speaking with friends and with colleagues, for example, when indicating group memberships (compare Chapter 2.2.2). Therefore, a positive attitude to a language usually correlates with a positive attitude to the group speaking the language, and speaking that language tells about identification with that group (see eg. Saville-Troike 1982:187). Williams (1973:113) denotes that most persons have a stereotyped set of attitudes about dialects or languages and their speakers and these attitudes play a role in

how a person perceives another person's speech. Consequently, young Finns may have a certain set of features connected with speakers of English, and by using English in advertisements, these features are connected with the advertisements and then with the products and their users (see eg. Williamson 1978).

2.3.2 Attitudes and language

Many researchers seem to agree on the determinants of language attitudes³, which are age, gender, ability, language background and cultural background. The strength and direction of their impact to attitudes, however, is subject to disagreement. Baker (1992) suggests that language background and the relationship to the minority versus majority language culture (youth culture) are the most important factors affecting general and integrative attitudes towards the minority language among adolescents. Hence, attitudes appear more strongly connected with the environmental (language and cultural background) than individual variables (age, gender, ability).

People have and form different attitudes to different languages on the basis of their experiences with the speakers and culture of the target language. The attitude to a specific language may be either shared with other members of the culture or shaped by the personal experiences of an individual; usually it is both. Some studies on dialect and language attitudes and stereotypes have indicated that different languages are connected with different qualities, and attitudes to speakers of different languages are different (eg. Shuy and Fasold 1973, Williams 1973). In Finland people tend to have a more favourable attitude to English than to Russian or to Swedish, although the two latter are languages spoken in our neighbouring countries, and Swedish even in Finland. However, a person who has Swedish-speaking friends and relatives and

³ Attitudes to language may be either instrumental or integrative (Lambert 1967, in Macnamara 1973:36-37). Instrumental attitudes are utilitarian and individualistic, and they aim at social recognition through knowledge of a foreign language. Integrative attitudes are social and interpersonal, aiming at attachment to or identification with a language group. Naturally, both may affect simultaneously.

positive experiences of the (Finnish-) Swedish language and culture surely has a more favourable attitude to Swedish than Finns on the average.

When thought globally, or even when thinking about Europe, Finnish is a minority language. Usually, English is regarded as the most important language in western world and it is also the dominant language of entertainment business, which is usually of great interest to young people. Consequently, it is not very surprising that attitudes of teenagers to the use of English in Finnish advertising are more positive than attitudes among the older age groups (Suomen Gallup-Media 1995). Of the Finns between 15 and 24 years, 43 per cent have a positive or very positive attitude to advertising, the percentage being only 15 among those over fifty. The older the people are, the more negative is their attitude to English in advertising. Another reason for this is the better and wider knowledge of English among younger Finns. It is quite obvious that those who do not know a language do not want it used for example in giving information, because they do not understand it and the message does not reach them.

There is evidence suggesting that the age of 13 and 14 is critical in attitude shifting. Baker (1992) found out that as the teenage years commence, positive attitudes to a minority language decline. After this period, attitudes are also more permanent. Therefore, it is more reasonable to study attitudes of teenagers aged over 14, because, although their attitudes are still subject to modification, the direction (positive vs. negative) of their attitudes is likely to remain. This means also that in the future, attitudes to English among the older age groups will be more favourable, as the present-day teenagers grow old. If the tendency of teenagers favouring English remains, constantly more and more people approve of the use of English in Finnish advertising, and perhaps also in the Finnish society in general. As to the present study, the theme here is to find out some explanations for the phenomenon, by means introduced in the following chapter.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Research problems and basic assumptions

Some previous studies indicate that young Finns prefer advertisements written in Finnish (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995, Suosikin Nuorisotutkimus 1993). Yet English is frequently used especially in advertisements directed to teenagers. The purpose of the present study is to shed light on the matter, and to find some explanations for the use of English in Finnish advertising. Consequently, the main problem of the present study is why Finnish-English codeswitching is employed in Finnish youth advertising. The aim is to examine how teenagers and copywriters see the phenomenon, ie. what kind of functions they think codeswitching serves in advertising, and also to compare their views and attitudes to it. In this way, I aim at finding out motivations for Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising, and examining the attitudes young people and copywriters have to it. It is also of interest in the present study whether the functions of codeswitching which young people perceive it as serving are similar to the functions copywriters claim it to have. If the sender-functions of codeswitching in Finnish advertising are the same as its receiver-functions, the phenomenon can be considered to meet its goals and to be effective. In addition, I will look at what young people and copywriters regard as features of good advertising, to see whether they include language and codeswitching in these features.

As mentioned above, the primary function of advertising is to connect positive qualities with products in order to make them desirable. In consequence, if English is used in Finnish advertising, English must be regarded positively by the target group. When using English in Finnish advertising, copywriters therefore assume young Finns to approve of it. The underlying

assumption in the present study is that young people's general attitudes to English, and their attitudes to English in Finnish youth advertising, must be positive in order for the use of English in advertising to be effective, and it to be used at all. The target group of the present study, adolescents aged from 15 to 16, have studied English for seven years, and I hypothesize that their general attitudes to English, not as a subject at school but as perhaps the most important language of the western world, are mostly positive. In investigating whether the assumption is valid, I aim at finding answers to such questions as whether young people approve of Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising, and what they think of English as a language.

The second assumption concerns the functions of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising. It has been stated that codeswitching can be used both as a social and a discourse strategy (see Chapter 2.2.2), and I assume that Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising can be used to meet both goals. By social goals, I refer to the functions of codeswitching in indicating relationships between individuals and between groups. The discursual goals of codeswitching I consider to be dealing with specific code switches and the tone they give to a discourse, ie. the relationships of the elements in a discourse. Both strategies can be, and usually are, served simultaneously.

As a social strategy, codeswitching can indicate group memberships both as a strengthening and as a separative strategy. In youth advertising it may be assumed to have a group-maintaining function of showing solidarity to other young people. For example, an English expression might be used in a Finnish advertisement because it is a hit word among teenagers at the moment. At the same time, codeswitching might be assumed to serve in a separative function because the use of English might indicate the wish to be identified with international young people rather than with Finns. Yet in advertisements the use of English is not 'real' as it indicates only how copywriters perceive teenagers and their attitude to English,

and how they think teenagers see the world. However, if young people are attracted by advertisements employing Finnish-English codeswitching, and if they find them congruent with their world view, it can be inferred that copywriters are more or less right with their guesswork.

Another social function Finnish-English codeswitching might serve is indicating authority. As said before, appealing to authority is one of the means advertising uses in its persuasion process. Using English in an advertisement might be assumed to function also in this way, first of all because English might be considered the language of latest information, and especially of latest trends (eg. in entertainment and youth fashion). Secondly, using English in an advertisement may suggest the internationality of the product advertised, and people often seem to regard a wide distribution and frequent advertising as an indicator of satisfactory product quality.

Of the discursual functions of codeswitching formulated in previous studies, stylistic motivations, ie. giving tone and colour to the advertisement, and indicating emphasis may be assumed to be the most relevant ones for the present study. English may give more emphasis to the advertisement because it may attract attention better than Finnish (the unmarked choice in a Finnish context). In addition, English might be used in emphasizing function also when repeating the advertising message, or a part of it, in English. For style, Finnish-English codeswitching might be used instead of plain Finnish to avoid clichés and repetition, and for language play. However, these usages are more or less limited because, to be successful, they require competence in English of the target audience. Copywriters cannot rely on every young person being competent in English, which limits the use of English in Finnish advertising. Therefore, it may also be assumed that in giving important information, Finnish is used rather than English.

3.2 Informants

In order to get acquainted with the thoughts and attitudes of young people concerning the use of English in advertising, I interviewed twelve teenagers. For comparison, and for getting information about the reasons for using English in advertising, I interviewed three professionals of advertising business. Thus, both the senders' and receivers' perspective of the discourse of advertising is dealt with. The intended sender-functions of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising are examined through the interviews of copywriters, and the perceived functions of the phenomenon are looked at through the interviews of teenagers. In this way it is also possible to compare how the intended and perceived functions relate to each other, ie. whether the use of English in Finnish advertising meets its purposes.

Copywriters were chosen to represent the professionals of advertising because they are responsible for the linguistic production of advertisements. Hence, the choice of whether or not to use English is primarily theirs. (Ultimately the decision is made by their clients, product manufacturers, because they decide on approving or rejecting the proposed advertisements.)

Three copywriters working at three large advertising agencies in Helsinki, all of them among the ten largest ones in Finland, were interviewed for the present study. All the agencies concentrated mostly on commercial consumer advertising on television and print media, and all the copywriters had planned advertising campaigns directed to young people and used English in advertisements occasionally. Two of the informants were men aged about twenty and thirty, and one was a woman aged about fifty. The two former were not formally trained for advertising business: one was a senior secondary school graduate and the other had studied French and philosophy at university but had no university degree. The third informant had originally been a clothes designer. Later she had taken two courses in marketing: first the MAT examination in Finland and

then the Diploma for International Advertising in England. Two of the informants were very enthusiastic about the interview while one of them had a somewhat suspicious attitude.

Ninth-graders of comprehensive school were chosen as informants for the present study for three reasons. First of all, ninth-graders are the oldest heterogeneous group in education. After comprehensive school, adolescents are distributed according to their abilities and interests to senior secondary schools, trade schools, and commercial colleges, for example. Since the aim of the present study is to look at the attitudes of adolescents in general, it is desirable that young people with different interests are represented among the informants. Second, the ninth-graders interviewed for this study had all studied English for seven years, and consequently they should be familiar enough with the most essential vocabulary and grammar of English. Third, fifteen-year-olds were the first age group considered in the studies carried out by Suomen Gallup-Media, which gave the impetus for the present study.

The interviews of twelve ninth-graders aged from fifteen to sixteen form the most important source of information in the present study. My purpose was to interview all the fifteen pupils of the class 9D at Savitaipale comprehensive school. However, one of the pupils was ill at the time the interviews were conducted, one did not want to be interviewed, and one of the recordings failed. Thus the total number of the informants was twelve, of which eight were girls. The pupils' attitudes to the interview were generally speaking very positive and they were willing to co-operate.

3.3 Data and methods

3.3.1 Interviews

The interviews of the copywriters were conducted in February 1996. They were made in conference rooms of the agencies, and

only the informant and the interviewer were present. All interviews were taped, and they lasted from an hour to an hour and a half. The method of the interviews resembled the thematic interview method (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 1979) with some refinements: I had planned some questions beforehand, which is not done in a pure thematic interview. However, I asked the planned questions only if the informant did not otherwise bring up the themes I wanted to discuss. This method was chosen since I wanted to explore the copywriters' thoughts and views about advertising without affecting their answers by asking straightforward or strictly structured questions. Moreover, I did not know for sure what I should ask them because beforehand I could not know their opinions, or the turns the conversations would take. The questions are included in Appendix A. In addition to those questions, I asked them to comment on the eight advertisements selected from *Suosikki* (see Appendix C).

The interviews of the ninth-graders were conducted at Savitaipale in April 1996. The pupils were interviewed in an empty classroom one by one, and the interviews were all taped and transcribed. The pupils' interviews lasted for about seven to twenty minutes each and their total length was approximately two and a half hours. The interviewing method with the pupils was more structured than with the copywriters, and the planned questions were asked mainly in the planned order, refined with some auxiliary questions if necessary (for the questions, see Appendix B). The pupils were also asked to comment on the same selected advertisements as the copywriters. To prevent a bias in the interviews, the pupils were asked not to tell the questions or their answers to their classmates, but obviously the request was not completely obeyed. The questionnaire was pre-tested with two pupils of a secondary school and some refinements were made to it.

In order to get as unbiased information as possible, I did not mention English to the ninth-graders at any point before they themselves mentioned it and asked the questions concerning English last. In the beginning, the pupils were not led to think of any specific kind of advertising or any specific fea-

ture in advertisements. They did not know that the English language in advertising directed to young people was of special interest in the study. In this respect the data should be fairly unbiased and authentic.

As seen above, the method used in collecting the data for the present study was an opinion survey in the form of thematic and semi-structured interviews. Uusitalo (1991) stresses some points which must be considered when surveying a person's opinions and attitudes. Firstly, he says that the way the questions are presented to the informant may affect the answers. I tried to minimize this effect in the ninth-graders' interviews by presenting the questions to all the pupils as similarly as possible. Secondly, Uusitalo argues that the answers the informants give may reflect the role the informant plays rather than the actual thoughts of the person him/herself. Attempts to prevent this effect were made by trying to create an intimate and relaxed atmosphere during the interviews, for example by starting the interview with a short conversation about general matters and by asking the questions of lesser importance first. The third problem with the method is, according to Uusitalo, that the subject of the study may be unfamiliar to the informants, and consequently their answers are superficial. Obviously some of the ninth-graders interviewed had not pondered upon advertising before, and therefore some questions seemed to be rather difficult to them. However, this should not have much effect on the results because the pupils were able to answer all the most important questions, for example those concerning their attitudes to English and to codeswitching in advertising.

The taped interviews were transcribed, and also the English words were transcribed as they were pronounced by the Finns. Pauses were taken into account, yet they were measured only by my personal evaluation of the length of the time. No punctuation marks were used in the transcription, and capital letters were used for proper names only. The transcription symbols are the following:

-	=	a short pause (few seconds)
---	=	a longer pause (approximately more than three seconds)
...	=	some words left out
word-	=	a false start, stammering, or interruption
[]	=	the topic of the utterance
()	=	a translation or a summary in English.

3.3.2 The advertisements

Eight advertisements published in *Suosikki* during 1994 and 1995 were presented both to the pupils and to the copywriters, to serve as a starting point to a conversation about the use of English in Finnish advertising (see Appendix C). *Suosikki* was chosen as the source of advertisements because it is the most popular youth magazine in Finland with a circulation of 74,548 (Levikintarkastus 1995). It is mostly read by teenagers, and therefore advertisements published in it are very likely targeted to adolescents.

The criterion for selecting the advertisements was that there was some English in all of them. All the advertisements contained one or two switches from Finnish to English and one also two switches to Swedish (the latter are not included in the study or in the figures presented below). The product names, brands or the names of the manufacturers or retailers are not considered here because, as stated before, they are cases of borrowing rather than codeswitching (see Chapter 2.2).

In general, most advertisements published in *Suosikki* seem to deal with one of the following topics: refreshments (sweets, snacks and drinks), clothing, cosmetics, education, and entertainment. The topics of the advertisements for the present study were picked out randomly, and two refreshment ads (Jenkki and Tupla), two cosmetics ads (Kevrans Silica Young and Aapri) and two education ads (Casio calculators and EK

International Language School) were selected. Below, I will describe the selected ads and suggest some functions code-switching may serve in them.

The **Jenkki** chewing gum ad (Appendix C: 1) is very colourful but not very informative. There is hardly any text in it at all: the only words are the headline "smile" and the slogan "pure Jenkki", in addition to the names of the product and the manufacturer. It contains either one or two code switches, depending on the interpretation of *pure* (1: English 'clean'; 2: Finnish 'chew'). The switch in the headline is extrasentential and in the slogan intrasentential. Apparently the switches do not have clear linguistic functions, but they seem to be used for style, or for creating an international atmosphere to the ad. In the illustration there are trendy young people smiling, some of them have skateboards, and a packet of Jenkki. The people in the illustration do not look very Finnish, and the advertisement has an international atmosphere although the product is Finnish.

The **Tupla** chocolate bar ad (Appendix C: 2) contains much more text than the Jenkki ad: in addition to the headline and the signature there are eleven lines of text in the body copy, mostly giving information about a competition at retailers', and a competition coupon. The language in the ad is very colloquial and informal. The body copy is written to "you", in second person singular, and it tries to invite readers also by asking questions. There is one extrasentential switch consisting of two sentences in the illustration. The illustration presents a smiling, adventurous young man with a Tupla bar in his hand, a box full of Tupla bars, the moon, and an old-fashioned aeroplane. The colours in the illustration are yellowish and warm. The function of the switches is seemingly to quote the man in the illustration.

The body copy in the **Kevrans Silica Young** cosmetics ad (Appendix C: 3) is considerably long and informative. A part of the body copy is written in second person singular, but the product information is in the third person. There is one intrasentential code switch in the headline of the advertisement, and

it seems to be used either for alliteration ("siisti ja simple"), or just for tone. The product has a foreign name and it seems international, and the advertisement may be a translated one. Again, there are smiling young people forming a group in the illustration, in addition to the products. The illustration is black and white but the background of the body copy is coloured, as well as the pictures of the products and some of the texts.

In the **Aapri** cosmetics ad (Appendix C: 4) the whole headline is in English ("It's caring for you"). The function of the switch is not very clear. In addition to this extrasentential switch, there is one intrasentential switch in the body copy ("1 in 2"). The text is mainly written to "you", and there is some information about the products in it. The ad is very likely a translated one: the product is international and the people in the illustration do not look Finnish. The illustration presents a young beautiful girl smiling and looking at the camera, with a handsome young man holding her, and of course pictures of the products. The colours of the ad are warm: there are mostly different shades of orange in it.

The **Casio** calculator ad (Appendix C: 5) includes two intrasentential switches in the ad, one in the headline ("in colours") and one in the body copy ("Number one"). It is perhaps the most informative of the selected advertisements, which is quite natural because the product, and the claims made in the advertisement, can be evaluated more objectively than for example different cosmetics brands. The whole ad is in the third person, as informative texts usually are. In spite of the factual approach, the style is informal and youthful, and also the switches seem to be motivated by the youthful style. The advertisement is very colourful, and the illustration presents a wildly dressed girl making faces at the camera, and pictures of the different calculators.

The **EK International Language School** ads (Appendix C: 6-8) are actually a series of one-page advertisements published in three consecutive issues of *Suosikki*. The advertisements are quite bare and clear: there are only a short headline with

large letters, a subcaption, a black and white picture and a competition coupon on a bright red background. The coupon calls for ordering more information about the EK Language School and taking part in a competition of translating the subcaptions. There is a extrasentential switch consisting of a sentence in each subcaption. Two of them are completely in English but in one of them, there is a switch from English to Swedish. The subcaptions are repeated in the coupons and they are continued in Finnish. Consequently, in the coupons they are cases of intrasentential codeswitching. The function of the switches seems to be giving emphasis: if you do not understand them, you had better take an EK language course. In these ads, too, the intimate second person singular is used.

All in all, six of the advertisements seem to be originally Finnish, five of them because the product is Finnish, and in one at least the text is probably made in Finland. One advertisement is very likely a translated one (Aapri) and one could be either Finnish or foreign (Kevrans). The Tupla, Casio and EK ads are very youthful colloquial in style, whereas the body copy of the Kevrans ad is relatively neutral and factual. Six of the advertisements contain at least some information about the advertised product, but the refreshment ads (Jenkki and Tupla) do not. In all the other ads, product information is stated in the third person, but in the Aapri ad it is in the second person.

The advertisements contain a total of fourteen code switches, of which six are extrasentential and eight intrasentential switches. Five of the switches occur in the body copy of the advertisement, four in the headline, three in the subcaption and one both in the picture and in the slogan. The switched item in the ads is most often one or two sentences long (six times). Clauses and phrases are switched three times and single words twice. Of the switched sentences (total: seven, five times one sentence and once two) four were simple, one complex (subordinated), one compound (coordinated) and one incomplete (just a subordinate clause without a main clause). Of

the phrases, two were prepositional phrases and one noun phrase, and both the single words were adjectives.

Much cannot be said about the linguistic features of English in Finnish advertising when compared to Finnish since the amount of data is so small. On average, both the English and Finnish sentences in the data contain 5 or 6 words. The English words in the advertisements are quite easy and it could be expected that most teenagers would understand them. Of single English words, the most common ones in the advertisements are *I/me/my* (5 times), *please* (4), *you* (3) and the preposition *in* (2). Many of the sentences seem to be talking to the viewer (eg. "Please, don't tell me true lies", "It's caring for you"), which is typical for the intimate style of communication in advertising. Especially in the cosmetics ads "power words", such as *uusi* 'new' and *helppo* 'easy' were used, yet not in English. In these ads at least, English is not used to freshen worn-out words, as it was assumed, but they are expressions young people are used to hearing in other connections, eg. in entertainment. For example, "number one" is frequently used in pop music charts, and "smile" is almost a cliché. In none of the ads was English used for repetition, nor for avoiding it.

In general, the advertisements employing Finnish-English codeswitching do not seem to differ from plain Finnish advertisements. Their language is otherwise typical advertising language with intimate, colloquial style and short sentences, among others. The illustrations present young, happy, trendy people, and they are very colourful, which are typical features in youth advertising. Above I have offered my interpretation of the selected advertisements. In the following chapter, I will present the informants' views on them, in addition to their opinions on Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising in general.

4 THE INFORMANTS' VIEWS ON CODESWITCHING IN ADVERTISING

The interviews of both the copywriters and the ninth-graders were analysed as follows: The answers to the questions presented in the questionnaire (see Appendixes A and B) were gathered and categories were formed to cover the individual answers. The informants were presented three types of questions: those concerning attitudes, yes/no -questions, and open questions. Their answers to the attitude questions (see eg. Appendix B: questions 2 and 7) and to the yes/no -questions (see eg. Appendix A: 9, Appendix B: 6) were categorized to positive, negative and neutral answers (the last include "cannot say" and no answer). Most of the questions were open ones, and the informants' answers to them were "reduced", ie. I tried to find the core meaning behind the actual wordings and to form as few categories as possible. For example, if one informant described an advertisement as "good", another as "OK", and third said that it is "quite nice", all the three were considered positive comments, and furthermore all of them belonged to the category labelled *good*. Within the categories several more specific features were mentioned. For example, the features concerning the Aapri ad were *good*, *not good*, *clear*, *unclear*, *attention catching*, *does not catch attention*, *emotional*, *too emotional*, and *ordinary*. After finding answers to the questions asked, other relevant comments and things that seemed to be important but were not asked straight were examined. For example, the qualities connected with good and poor advertisements were collected and analysed in the similar way as the answers to the actual questions.

After analysing the copywriters' interviews, I examined how they relate to the background literature. The ninth-graders' interviews were analyzed similarly. In addition, their thoughts and comments were compared with those of copywriters in order to be able to answer the research questions. As

stated above, the main problem of this study is why Finnish-English codeswitching is used in Finnish youth advertising, ie. what kind of functions it serves according to copywriters and adolescent readers.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the copywriters' attitudes to English in advertising, and then their comments about advertising, especially what kind of advertisements they find good and what they think of the selected advertisements. Third and most important, I will look at their comments on Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising, for example, whether they think the target audience should understand the switches, and in what functions they use codeswitching. The ninth-graders' interviews will be discussed in a similar manner.

4.1 The interviews of the copywriters

4.1.1 Attitudes to codeswitching

Each of the three copywriters had a bit different attitude to the use of English in Finnish advertising. As to affective and cognitive aspects of attitudes, one copywriter strongly disliked the use of English in advertisements. He claimed that there is no real reason whatsoever for it, although some copywriters seem to think that it is somehow "cool". Another copywriter said that English can be used, ie. especially young people understand English well enough (if one holds to basic English), yet usually there is no reason to use it for Finns. It seems therefore that their affective attitudes to codeswitching in advertising are quite negative. The third copywriter had a positive (affective and cognitive) attitude to the use of English in Finnish advertising, and she was quite willing to accept its use. She believed that especially young people do not even notice the use of English in advertising, because they are so

used to it through entertainment business, and for example in pop music and films English is the dominant language.

It is somewhat contradictory, therefore, that later all the copywriters took a positive attitude to the use of foreign languages in advertising, provided that there is a good reason for it. They accepted, for example, the use of English in the EK Language School advertisement because the product advertised in it is knowledge of foreign languages. It seems that when thinking more about the matter, their cognitive attitudes towards codeswitching became more positive than their initial affective attitudes were.

As to the conative aspect of attitudes, all the copywriters admitted that they had themselves used foreign languages, most of all English, in advertisements they had made. However, they pointed out that foreign languages must be used with caution to avoid artificiality. Two of the copywriters criticized other copywriters for using foreign languages "just for the sake of using foreign languages" and found it unacceptable. One of them remarked:

se tuntuu päälleliimaukselta jos sä noin vaan valitset
- aha pannaaps tähän jotain italiaa - et tota -
hirveen paljonhan on - on semmostakin Suomessa
nykyään että - et sitä lätkitään sitä vierasta kieltä
vaan sen takia että - et pitää olla

(It is artificial to choose for example - let's use Italian here, although it is very usual in Finland to use foreign languages just because there have to be foreign languages.)

The copywriters seemed to think that they themselves could use foreign languages in advertising with good taste whereas their colleagues could not. Especially English seemed to irritate one of the copywriters, which is not so surprising when considering his background: he had studied French at university for several years.

It can be detected that among the copywriters, the affective aspect of attitudes to Finnish-English codeswitching is more negative than the other two aspects. The copywriters reacted emotionally negatively to codeswitching but in practise,

cognitively and conatively, they showed a more positive attitude towards the phenomenon.

4.1.2 Features of good advertising

As examples of good advertisements, the copywriters mentioned eight different advertisements or advertisement series. They were:

Kesoil (service station) ads,
 Finnmatkat (travel agency) print ads,
 Arla (dairy products) television ads,
 Alley (youth clothing stores) television ads,
 Voimariini (margarine) television ads
 Jenkki (chewing gum) television ad,
 Ruisantero (bread) television ad,
 Keiju (margarine) television ad.

The Kesoil, Finnmatkat, Arla and Ruisantero were said to be good advertisements especially as regards language. However, the copywriters pointed out that it is not enough for an advertisement to be verbally good but it has to work as a whole, and they said it to be difficult to separate the text from the whole. It is conspicuous that of the eight advertisements or advertisement series the copywriters mentioned, six were television advertisements. Moreover, only two of them were primarily targeted to young people (Alley and Jenkki) although it was mentioned to the copywriters that the focus of the study is on the language of youth advertising.

When talking about advertising in general, the copywriters mentioned as many as 38 positive qualities connected with good advertisements. The most often mentioned property was "witty", which was mentioned nine times. "Attention catching", "affective", and "well implemented" were positive qualities mentioned five times each. Good advertisements were described three times as "verbally well-functioning"; and "amusing",

"good music" and "good story-telling" were overtly connected with good advertisements twice. It is conspicuous that none of the copywriters mentioned at this point that good advertisements should be informative. Therefore, the copywriters seem to consider that the main purpose of advertisements is to entertain people rather than to inform them, for they mentioned features which can be connected with entertainment rather than with giving information.

All the copywriters agreed that the primary task of an advertisement is to attract attention, which is also stressed in the literature of advertising. According to the informants, a good advertisement is built around a good idea, and it often offers a new approach to a familiar phenomenon and is entertaining, in one way or another. However, the latter does not mean that every advertisement should contain a joke. One copywriter pointed out that jokes cannot be used for all products or target groups, and that there are plenty of fine affective and entertaining advertisements which are not at all funny.

The copywriters stressed that advertising affects primarily our emotions and it has often little to do with rationality. They claimed that in a buying situation, and in advertising, our emotions affect us more than we even dare to admit, and in this respect, advertising is similar to art. One of them stated that people often feel that they have to get a certain product and then they look for rational reasons for their desire:

he pyrkii rationaalisiin argumentein perustelemaan ostoksensa - esimerkiksi - oli hyvä hinta/laatu -suhde --- mutta loppujen lopuksi se päätös tulee kuitenkin siitä - että - teki mieli just sitä - oli hyvä väri oli hyvä fiilis tuotteen suhteen oli kiva pakkaus -

(People try to convince themselves that they make buying decisions rationally although often they are actually made on an emotional basis.)

All of them said more or less explicitly that an advertisement has to attract the attention of the target audience at an emotional level and arouse their interest, no matter what the

method used is. Therefore, getting attention is the first goal of an advertisement and the emotional involvement and interest of the target audience is the second. This criterion, getting attention, is said to be the same for all advertisements and target groups. However, different things appeal to different people, especially people of different ages and situations in life, and that is why advertisements targeted to young people need to be different from advertisements targeted to older people.

In addition to attracting attention and interest, an advertisement should be well planned and implemented. An advertisement should look easy to approach, and it should be short enough to be read in a few seconds. This puts pressure especially on the headline and slogan since nothing very relevant can be left in the body copy of an advertisement because people do not always read them. "Easy to approach" means also that, to be good or effective, an advertisement should be created on the terms of the receiver, ie. it should have something to say to the target audience.

Furthermore, the context and the medium in which the advertisement is published must be taken into consideration when evaluating advertisements, because they have an effect on what kind of advertisements are able to attract attention. As one of the informants said, advertisements in *Suosikki* must be very colourful and wild to be noticed at all, due to the colourfulness of the magazine itself. In the present study, however, all the selected advertisements were published in the same magazine and therefore, their context is more or less similar and causes no special demands to any of the selected advertisements.

All the copywriters claimed it to be naïve to blame advertising for creating desires or needs, advertising being a consequence of a market economy and not the reason for it. They also criticized the popular claim that advertising raises prices and claimed that it in fact lowers prices by lowering production expenses (mass production) and by causing price competition. It seems that the copywriters want to think that

they are only doing their job and do not want to take any responsibility for the messages they transmit.

All in all, the copywriters found it difficult to define what a good advertisement is like. One of the copywriters reminded me of there being two dimensions in good advertising. First of all, the ultimate goal of advertising is selling, and therefore, only ads that meet the target can be good. Secondly, good advertisements are noticed and well liked by the target audience. Yet not all ads meet both goals: an advertisement may give a person a good laugh, but, unless the person buys the product advertised, it is not good. Thus, advertising is sponsored only if it is successful in the task of selling a product.

As we see, the copywriters stressed most of all the tasks of attracting attention and arousing interest in advertising, although they admitted the primary aim of advertising to be encouraging action, ie. to get products sold. The importance of these functions is emphasized also in the literature on advertising (see Chapter 2.1). Only one of the copywriters, however, mentioned the task of creating desire, which is also essential in advertising. It may be that copywriters are not so willing to discuss those aspects of advertising which can be interpreted as negative. It seems that they like to stress the task of entertaining people, which is perhaps regarded as being more positive than the task of creating desire.

4.1.3 Advertising as communication

As a form of communication, the copywriters claimed advertising to be always persuasive and to appeal to emotions rather than to reason. In this sense, according to the copywriters, advertising can be compared with art. However, advertising is always purposeful, it is sponsored only if it is successful in the persuasive function, which is not the case with eg. poetry. Furthermore, two of the copywriters pointed out that in advertising, unlike in some other forms of communication, there must always be something entertaining. There need not to be a joke

in every advertisement, but the entertainment can be for example a poem, or an attractive picture.

The copywriters stressed that, as a persuasive form of communication, advertising makes use of all the means available. This means that it communicates through the typography and layout in addition to the actual words. In this sense they said that advertising is unlike any other form of written communication: it never contains just the rational message, but also the form and other external features count. In factual communication, such as in the news, the layout does not influence the interpretation of the message. Yet, although the copywriters did not mention it, connecting the form with the message is done in literature, especially in poetry (eg. layout, number of lines or syllables). However, their claim has a point because even poetry is not as much connected with the layout as advertising is. Advertisements are unique (in one sense), whereas poems (although unique in another sense) can usually be printed and reprinted with different types of letters, for example, without changing the core message. If poems are read in their physical context, in a book, all the poems are quite likely to be printed with the same text type, which is not the case with an advertisement.

In consequence, the copywriters found it a bit artificial to examine the language of advertising as such, disconnected from its other aspects. They admitted, however, that there may be a good text in an otherwise poor advertisement, and that it is possible to discuss the language of advertising as a "sublanguage" or jargon. One of the copywriters did not seem to appreciate the language of advertising. He claimed it to be often grammatically incorrect and stylistically not very enjoyable. The other two copywriters seemed to find the language of advertising at its best witty and enjoyable, and from time to time even creative.

Although sometimes creative, the language of advertising was claimed to follow trends, not to create them. One copywriter said it to be typical for advertising to use "in" words like *siisti*, or *törkee*. However, the copywriters pointed out that

teenagers do not necessarily want to be spoken to with their own language if the speaker is not one of them (compare Grönfors 1982:100). One copywriter said that it turns young people off if they feel the advertisement to be artificial, for example if they feel that old people are trying to imitate the language of young people.

The copywriters were asked what they thought of Cook's (1992:230) claim that advertising "may have usurped some of the functions of literature, and in particular poetry". All of them saw Cook's point, and one even agreed with him completely. She said that especially within the younger generation, advertising really has taken over some functions of literature. According to her, older people often want advertising to tell the price and the advantages the product has to offer, as seen in the following:

kertokaa nyt mikä se hinta on - mitä hyötyä mulle on tästä

(Tell me the price and the benefits the product can offer to me.)

Younger generations, on the other hand, put advertising in line with music videos, and the boundaries between these are becoming blurred. As an example, she said that it is almost a social obligation for Levi's to entertain young people constantly, to introduce for example new hits. Therefore, according to her, young people are willing to accept advertising as part of their culture, and almost as a form of art.

Another informant stressed that advertisements are meant for ordinary people and thus they are not high culture or art. He also said that the features of advertising that resemble older poetry, for example rhyming, are not necessarily good features of poetry. One of the copywriters, however, pointed out that advertisements cannot really be compared with literature nor regarded as entertainment, for people are not absorbed in them. A person's relationship to advertisements is not similar to for example his relationship to books, because in the former all the work is done by the advertisements. Accord-

ing to him, advertisements do not require much active effort, as literature does. He claimed that:

ihmisen ja mainoksen suhteessa kaikki työ on mainoksen tehtävä - ihminen voi nojata taakseppäin ja ajatella että mitähän tuo mainos on keksinyt jotta se sais mut niinku - kiinnostumaan itsestään

(In the relationship between a person and an advertisement all the work is done by the latter. The person can just lean back and think that "I wonder what that ad has come up with to arouse my interest".)

He continued that some advertisements may give "a primitive impulse of pleasure" but advertising cannot be considered a pastime like literature, although they do have some similarities, for instance they both are dramatic and attractive. Yet according to him, this has nothing to do with the language of advertising.

To sum up, the copywriters stressed the persuasive nature of advertising and that an advertisement should be examined as a whole. Advertisements were said to follow trends rather than to create them, and that the relationship of old and young people to advertising is different. Young people were said to consider advertising a part of their culture and to expect it to entertain them, whereas older people often seek for information in advertisements. However, when comparing ads to art, the copywriters pointed out that ads are easier than art and they do not require much effort from the audience. Perhaps this is why some people find advertising so attractive: ads are easy, they are quick to evaluate, and they entertain and give aesthetic experiences in a few seconds, whereas art usually requires time and effort. In modern society, life is hectic and speed is highly valued, as well in work life and information as in transportation and nutrition. It is a popular claim that the concentration span of people has decreased. Consequently, it may be easier to concentrate on "fast food" art, ie. advertising, than on "real" art, for example paintings and novels. This may be one reason for the triumph of advertising in recent years.

4.1.4 Comments on the selected advertisements

Of the eight advertisements the copywriters were asked to comment on, the **Jenkki** ad was considered the best by two copywriters. It was described as "well balanced", "compact", and "attention catching", and especially its layout and implementation were praised. One of the copywriters noted that the advertisement looks like what most advertisers expect youth advertising to look like, with snowboards, tattoos and other youthful things. One copywriter suspected that teenagers would find the advertisement embarrassing because its resemblance to the Pepsi Max advertisements, published some months before the Jenkki ads, is too obvious. Another copywriter suspected that it might have a problem with credibility because rastas hold a negative attitude to advertising and hence the people in the picture cannot be real rastas. All in all, the advertisement was said to be skilfully implemented but rather artificial.

As to the language of the advertisement, *pure* with the double meaning was accepted by all the copywriters since it was said to work and to be true in both the senses. One of the informants claimed *smile* to be close to being "non-language" because it is so widely known. Another said that it is quite justified to use *smile* in the print advertisement since the song in the television advertisement goes "I surrender to your smile". Yet he did not give an explanation to why English is used in the television ad, and whether he thinks it is justified there.

In the **Tupla** ad, all the three copywriters interviewed found the role of English artificial and having no purpose. Two of them proposed that it might be used in order to connect the advertisement with the "macho system" typical for some adventure films. They explained that perhaps "the Tupla man has to speak English", as film stars do.

The copywriters found the role of English unimportant in the **Kevrans Silica Young** ad. One of them suspected that *siisti ja simple* hardly is an expression people use in everyday speech. However, 15-year-olds would evidently understand it.

The use of trendy language, *siisti*, was said to be typical to advertisements directed to young people. Otherwise, the informants found the advertisement quite nice and described it as having a pleasant atmosphere. The girl in the picture was found very natural and attention-catching. As a negative feature, the copywriters commented on the advertisement being a bit unclear.

The **Aapri** ad was said to be rather poor, yet a very typical cosmetics advertisement. The copywriters found both the language and the picture artificial, and the role of English in it as having no point. One of the informants suggested that either the headline is left untranslated because it would be disturbingly stupid if in Finnish,

otsikko vois olla vaan häiritsevän tyhmä jos se ois suomeks sama juttu - ni nyt se ei niiku nyt se vaa on siinä - se on niiku naamioitu se typeryys sillä että se - on pistetty englannin kielellä koska jos toi ihan sama ois suomeks ni - kaikki tajuais että se on ihan korni.

(The stupidity of the headline is masked by saying it in English.)

or because the same headline is used with the product all over the world. In the latter case, the decision not to translate the advertisement would not have been made by the copywriter but by the manufacturer, who has ordered the advertising agency not to translate it, which is sometimes done in international advertising.

The **Casio** ad divided the opinions of the copywriters more than any other of the selected advertisements. One of the copywriters found it the best of the advertisements and described it as "brisk" because it does not take itself too seriously. He found it containing "some primitive self-irony", and that is why it is better than the others. Another, however, claimed that the advertisement is very artificial both because of the combination of Finnish and English and style. He said that it is trying hard to win the favour of adolescents with the text type and the picture, yet he doubted the success of the strategy.

Of all the selected advertisements, the role of English was best understood and accepted in the **EK Language School** ad. The copywriters said that "it is quite justified to put the product advertised in the advertisement", the product being better competence in foreign languages. Especially the phrase *if you wanna talk - flera språk* was found nice and witty. As an idea, the advertisement was praised, but the implementation was criticized. To sum up, the copywriters' opinions on the use of English in the selected advertisements appears to be congruent with what they said above of using foreign languages in advertising (p.45): it should be used only for good reasons.

4.1.5 English in Finnish advertising

As mentioned above, all the three copywriters had sometimes employed Finnish-English codeswitching in advertisements they had created. However, they noted that, if English is used in advertisements, it must be plain, easy "basic English" to be understood by the average audience. Single words like *cool*, *hot*, *good*, *bad*, *great*, and *power* were given as examples of suitable expressions. The typical function of such words was said to be to season the Finnish language in advertisements.

All the copywriters told that they have to translate advertisements into Finnish from time to time at the request of their international clients. However, they do so reluctantly because there is no room for creativity in it. Sometimes they have to leave some expressions in international advertisements untranslated, either because a client demands it, or because the expression does not have an equivalent in Finnish. The request for simple language must be taken into consideration also when translating advertisements of foreign origin into Finnish. Sometimes there is for example a witty word play that the copywriter would like to leave as it is. Often this is not possible, however, because most Finns would not understand them. One copywriter complained:

ei käytännössä voi - jättää kääntämättä - koska jos sä pistät jonku hyvän - amerikkalaisen tai englantilaisen mainoksen suomalaiseen lehteen - ni sull on kolme prosenttia jotka ymmärtää mitä siinä sanotaan - jos se on hyvä ja perustuu johonki - sanaleikkiin joka ei oo niiku love tai boots tai - käytännössä ei siis voi tehdä sitä koska sitä ei tajuta

(It is not possible to leave foreign ads untranslated because most Finns would not understand them.)

As we see, the English expressions in advertisements are meant to be understood, although the copywriters reported to use English mostly for "seasoning", ie. for tone and colour. As one of the informants put it:

mun mielest tavallaa kyl mainonnan pointti on se et ihmiset sen kans ymmärtäs

(I think that ads are meant to be understood.)

According to the copywriters, this is the reason why English is the most frequently used foreign language in advertisements: people understand it better than for example French. I wonder that why they do not use Finnish, then, because Finns understand it best anyway.

Although the copywriters were not asked to compare Finnish and English as languages, two of them did so. Both of them claimed English to be more concise and better in word plays than Finnish:

englanti on - tietyllä tavalla otollisempi kieli hyvälle tekstimainokselle koska - sillä pystyy niiku kikkailemaan enemmän ja sanomaan asioita tiiviisti

(In a certain way, English is much more apt for making a textually good ad because in English many things can be said concisely and with it you can do tricks you cannot do with Finnish.)

The copywriters claimed it to be harder to find ambiguous words in Finnish, and consequently it is difficult to make puns in Finnish. They also claimed English to be "cooler" in style and better in stating things calmly than Finnish. One of them

argued that English sounds more fluent than Finnish, and she claimed it to be easier to say things in English for that reason:

se on äänteellisesti sujuvaa et - ei oo päriseviä ärrää
eikä oo - kauheesti niiku kovia vokaaleja niin tota -
niin sitä on - niiku helpompi mukamas sanoo asioita
sillä tavalla

(English is very fluent, there is no trilled r:s and not many hard vowels (apparently the speaker means consonants), and therefore it is easier to say things in it.)

Finnish, on the other hand, was said to be better than English in story-telling and in transmitting subtle nuances. This may well be true because Finnish is the mother tongue of the copywriters interviewed, and it is easier to make subtle differences and tell stories with the language one knows best.

When asked why the copywriters thought English was used in Finnish advertising, the most frequently offered reason was that English is simply "cooler" than Finnish, as was mentioned above. One informant suggested that English is considered more elegant than Finnish because people tend to think that other people always lead a more glorious life than they do themselves. She also said:

monet nykyään uskoo et niiku - ravintola - pitää olla
mielummin casa bella kun - kun tota - kun - mummon
maja --- me aina uskotaan et ruoho on vihreempää sil
toisel puolel et - et - naapuril on kaikki hienompaa ja
- kyl - mä luulen et se tuo semmost - etäisyys - tuo
sellasta hohdetta - asioille - kaikki oma näyttää aina
niiku - jollain tavalla arkisemmalta

(Many people think that for example restaurants should have foreign names, ie. that grass is greener on the other side of the fence. I think that distance makes things look better.)

I think she has a point here because most of what an ordinary person knows about the life abroad he/she has learnt from television, films, or when on holiday. Therefore he/she hardly realizes the everyday routine and reality of the people actually living there. It is easy to suppose that abroad every day is like Sunday.

Another informant explained that English is considered cooler than Finnish because many trends, especially those regarding youth culture, come from the Anglo-American world. He noted that the cultural influence coming from the English speaking area is enormous when compared to the influence of other cultures. Latest hits, films, and hobbies as well as trends in youth fashion mostly come from the Anglo-American world. In consequence, English is often regarded as having authority; it is the "mother tongue" of many fashionable things, and that is why it may have prestige over Finnish.

ne tarkastelee sitä asiaa sillä tavalla että - tää englanninkielinen - kulttuuriympäristö on niiku se missä nää harrastukset on kehittyneet ne katsoo niiku ylöspäin - se on tavallaan sen - lumilautailun niiku äidinkieli - koska se on kehittyne jossain ja jossain

(English is looked up to and regarded as the "mother tongue" of some hobbies because they were developed in the English-speaking world.)

According to the copywriter, English may therefore be used in Finnish advertising in indicating the authenticity of a product, or in flattering the target group, as the following quotation indicates:

siis vaan sen takii et ne ihm- muu- ihmiset erottus niiku omaks rypäleeksee ni niitten täytyy kutsua lunta niiku snowks - et onks tääl snouta - tai onks tääl niiku tätä - vaik ne vois sanoo et onks tääl lunta - ni sen takia - sillon tietysti niiku - jos joku - jonku tuotteen valmistaja haluaa im- imarrella näitä tota - ihmisiä nii se sillo - sanoo että nyt on snouta eikä nyt on lunta

(Producers might use *snow* instead the Finnish equivalent *lumi* if they want to separate devotees of snowboarding from other people and to flatter them.)

This can be interpreted also as an appeal to group membership or identity. Hence, Finnish-English codeswitching can be considered to serve a social function of group identification. Both group identification and indicating authority were among the expected reasons for codeswitching in Finnish advertising.

Another reason the copywriters offered for Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising was that the possible artificiality of a statement made in a foreign language is not as obvious as if it was in Finnish. One of them said:

sun korva ei kuule sitä et onko joku teennäistä vai ei
 - et ku suomeks tehdään - repliikkejä - tavalliseen
 elokuvaanki - sä meet kattoo jotai Kaurismäkeä niin
 sua saattaa koko ajan vaivata ihana elokuva mut sua
 vaivaa et ku ne puhuu niiku - ei oikeet ihmiset tollai
 puhu

(The artificiality of the lines may bother you while watching a Finnish film even if the film itself was good.)

Consequently, an advertising message expressed in a foreign language gets through more easily: it is more likely to be noticed and it even sounds more credible. One informant expressed this in the following way:

tarkotus menee niiku perille ilman esteitä kun sä et
 rupee miettimään et ei oikeet ihmiset noin sano -
 koska et sä oikee tiedäkkää et miten oikeet ihmiset
 amerikassa sanoo - sä oot oppinu sen kaikki vaa
 elokuvista

(The message gets through because you are not bothered by the artificiality of lines spoken in English since you do not know how people in the U.S.A. really speak.)

A further benefit in using English, according to the copywriter, is the ability of changing the role via language. Advertisements often try to offer models for identification to the target group (see eg. Williamson 1978), and sometimes it may be easier to identify with a character in an advertisement speaking a foreign language because it is possible to take a totally new personality through it:

sä otat ihan toisenlaisen roolin ja sä niiku irtaannut
 semmosista - tietynlaisista tunnesiteistä - ja omista
 estoistas ku sä puhut - niiku toista kieltä

(You can play a role and be free from emotional ties and taboos while speaking a foreign language.)

She suggests that, with a foreign language, a person can play a role and thus be free from emotional ties and inhibitions connected with the mother tongue. That is why it is easier to say some things in English, and that is one motivation for the use of English in Finnish advertising.

According to the copywriters Finnish-English code-switching is used in Finnish advertising also in stylistic functions. Two of them noted that codeswitching may be used as a stylistic device when referring for example to entertainment business or to leisure activities, since most of them are in English. For that purpose, English need not to be understood literally. All the copywriters reported English to be used also in word plays (eg. *pure Jenkki*: the double meaning) and in strengthening or highlighting a claim (eg. saying the same thing twice, in Finnish and in English). By using English, or other foreign languages, copywriters said they are able to extend their choice of different styles and vocabulary.

One of the copywriters pointed out that the final gatekeepers of the use of English are not the teenagers or copywriters but the advertisers (manufacturers). They are the ones to make the final choice of whether or not to use English in advertisements:

se - kynnyshän ei ole nuorissa - se on mainostajassa
 - et jos ne haluu kuitenkin olla suomalainen tuote
 niin ne - niitä itseensä pelottaa että - et ei nyt sit
 käytetä vierasta kieltä

(Advertisers are afraid of using foreign languages if they want their products to be Finnish.)

The informants also stressed that advertisers do not usually take chances with advertisements. They are not willing to try completely new ideas but prefer to use means which are proved to be effective in some other forms of communication. Thus, it may be inferred that copywriters consider young Finns approving of codeswitching in advertising, otherwise it would not be used in ads directed to them.

All in all, many of the functions the copywriters reported codeswitching in advertising to serve are similar to those detected also in many previous studies. For example, Finnish-English codeswitching was said to be used in expressing feelings and emphasis by Koskinen and Ojala (1992). Furthermore, it has been said to be used for expressing identity and group membership (see eg. Blom and Gumperz 1972, Myers-Scotton 1993b), and for tone and style (see eg. Hatch 1976). However, there seem to be some functions reported by the copywriters which are typical especially to Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising. The most frequently offered reason for codeswitching in the present study was that English is more elegant, or "cool", than Finnish, and it has prestige over Finnish because it is more trendy, elegant, and international than Finnish is. For these reasons, it was reported to be used also when advertisers want to flatter teenagers and to indicate that they are regarded as being international and modern. In addition, English may be used when attempts are made to connect a product with Anglo-American culture; it being the "home" of most innovations and trends in youth culture, or at least it is spreading them. Furthermore, codeswitching was reported to be used for role-play, when saying things that are difficult to express in one's mother tongue (taking a role via language, self-defence). Also the artificiality of English statements was said to be less obvious than Finnish ones. As to the discursal motivations for codeswitching, it was reported to be used mostly for extending the choice of different styles. These were the most important functions of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising according to the copywriters interviewed. In the following chapter I will look at the teenagers' opinions on English and on advertising, and more specifically, on Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising.

4.2 The interviews of the ninth-graders

4.2.1 Attitudes to English, advertising and codeswitching

Nine of the twelve ninth-graders interviewed for the present thesis had quite a positive or a very positive general attitude to advertising and only one of them had a rather negative affective attitude. However, even she said that advertising is good in the sense that it makes it possible to have a break when watching television or reading a magazine, ie. cognitively her attitude was partly positive. Several informants seemed to find advertisements amusing and entertaining, and almost everybody claimed that they enjoyed them once in a while. None of them wanted them totally removed. Some informants did criticize the amount of commercials on television and junk mail. In addition, one of them was worried about their leading some people astray, and even creating false needs:

on se sellai iha hyvä mutta - ehkä - se menee joskus
liia- liiallisuiksii saakka jos aattelee sellai et - jotkuu
vanhuksetki ni ne menee vähä höplää - ku
mainostetaaki tällai asiaa - ni ne ei jaksa ottaa
enempää selvää siitä tuotteesta - ... - ja sit pitää
niiku mennä muodin mukaa - ja vaik se tuote ois kovi
kallis - ni se pitää hankkia

(It is quite a good thing but sometimes it goes too far. For example, old people may trust ads too much and get cheated, or some people may think that they have got to get some product because it is in fashion, even though the product is too expensive.)

The copywriters did not find advertising responsible for creating needs, as some of the ninth-graders and also some researchers do (eg. Williamson 1978, Vestergaard and Schroeder 1985).

All the young informants had a positive (affective and cognitive) attitude to English as a language, as it was assumed. The copywriters seem also to assume it, because they constantly employ English. Many of the ninth-graders pointed out the instrumental importance of English as an internationally

useful language. Some said that it is the nicest foreign language they have studied, as indicated below:

mitä mä oon kieliä opiskellu ni kyl se kaikist tota -
 kaikist mukavinta sitä on lukee - tai tietyst kun sitä
 niiku osaa kaikist eniten

(As far as I have studied languages it is the nicest
 one I have studied - or of course it is because I
 know it best.)

It seems that the success of English in advertising is linked with its important position in the western world. This is by no means surprising, since advertising is a part of western culture. If the "ruling" language was for example French, it would probably be used also in advertising.

The ninth-graders' overall attitudes specifically to Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising were generally speaking also very positive, as I had assumed. Nine out of the twelve informants said that it is all right to use English and only one had a slightly negative attitude. Two of the informants were somewhat hesitant and could not say if it was a positive or negative phenomenon. The conative aspects of the pupils' attitudes (eg. whether English in advertising encourages their buying) were not studied in the present study. Based on the interviews, it seems that young people hold more positive attitudes to advertising, to English, and to Finnish-English codeswitching than copywriters do. The same tendency has been noted also in some other studies (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995). It really seems that "the threshold for using English is not in young people", as one copywriter said (p. 60).

Several informants said that the use of English in ads does not bother them because they know it quite well. However, they were worried about those who do not know English, for example of elderly people. English seems to be accepted especially well in music and in slogans, but disapproved in large quantities or in the body copy of the advertisement, as the following examples show:

siis sillee pienis määräs ettei nyt koko tekstii

(It is all right in small quantities, but the whole text should not be in English.)

tykkään [englannista mainoksissa] - sellai varsiki jos on englanninkielinen musiikki

(I like English in ads, especially if the music is in English.)

English music in advertisements may be well accepted because most of western popular music is sung in English. It often comes from the U.S.A. or Great Britain, but even if it comes from some other place, eg. Sweden, the lyrics are often in English, which is undoubtedly the language of youth music. The copywriters also talked mostly about using English words and expressions "to season" otherwise Finnish texts. In addition, two of them remarked that English music in ads is commonly approved of, just because it is such a usual language in music. As we see, the copywriters' and ninth-graders' opinions on the matter were quite congruent.

Most of the ninth-graders approved of the use of foreign languages (mainly referring here to German and French) in advertising, especially when a foreign product is advertised. Again, the copywriters seem to think similarly when saying that the use of foreign languages should be justified. However, since (young) Finns rarely know them as well as English, the use of these languages is rather limited. Several interviewees pointed out that although they liked English in advertisements, they should not be totally in English because all people do not know it. Therefore, both the young people and the copywriters seem to agree on that foreign languages can be used in advertising as a stylistic device rather than in transmitting valuable information.

4.2.2 Features of good advertising

The ninth-graders mentioned the following fourteen advertisements as examples of good advertising:

Jenkki chewing gum (with snowboards, mentioned twice),
Levi's jeans (two different ads mentioned: the pool and
the blind man),
Coca-Cola (King Kong),
Aurinko Jaffa lemonade,
McDonald's fast-food restaurants (the radio-controlled
car),
HK meat products (the house blowing up),
Valio sour milk,
Martini liquor (the skirt),
Light Beer,
Kitekat cat food,
Kesoil service station chain (the test grannies),
Weckmann roofs, and
Ray Ban sunglasses (mentioned twice).

It is conspicuous that all the advertisements mentioned spontaneously were television ads. Television really seems to be the most powerful and influential medium in advertising. This may be partly due to the wider range of effects available in television. In print ads, the effectiveness relies on still pictures and text, whereas in television, moving pictures and sound are also available. It is quite obvious that usually, if a message is transmitted and received through multiple channels (eg. both sight and hearing), it is more memorable than when only one channel (eg. either sight or hearing) is employed. The ninth-graders were not told that the focus of the present study was on the language of print advertising, and therefore it is not surprising that they mentioned only television advertisements; even the copywriters mentioned mostly television ads even though they knew that the focus was on print ads.

The Kesoil and Jenkki ads were mentioned both by the copywriters and the ninth-graders. Consequently, especially the Jenkki ad seems to have succeeded because it is well liked both by its target group and the professionals of advertising. Yet, it might be argued that the Kesoil ads are even more successful because they are well liked by professionals, which

belong to the target group (addressees), and people outside the target group (receivers).

Of the advertisements mentioned above, the first five are clearly targeted to young people. The Valio sour milk and Ray Ban eyewear ads are perhaps targeted primarily to a bit older audience than the informants of this study. The other advertisements mentioned are not targeted to teenagers, but still the interviewees said that they enjoyed them. Therefore, it seems that Cook (1992) is right when claiming that even though a person does not belong to the target group of an advertisement, it may mean something to him/her, ie. advertisements have also other functions in addition to the selling function.

Among the 14 advertisements the informants mentioned spontaneously, half were of Finnish origin. Finnish was used in the music, text or voice of five advertisements. Six advertisements were completely in English, and in three ads, both English and Finnish were used. In three of the seven advertisements of Finnish origin, English was used at least partly, ie. none of the Finnish ads mentioned were solely in English, but in half of them English was used. In all the advertisements targeted to young people English was used either solely or combined with Finnish. This leads to the conclusion that either youth advertising often employs English, or then young people prefer advertisements which are at least partly in English. One reason for this may be that at present many products are international. The producers can save in costs and use the same advertisements in many countries if they are in English, because usually (young) people all over the western world know it. Yet this does not explain why Finnish products, such as Jenkki and Aurinko Jaffa, are advertised in English in Finland. Motivations for the phenomenon are discussed below in Chapter 4.2.5.

Generally the informants gave four types of reasons for why they liked a particular advertisement. First, they liked advertisements that were funny, amusing or humorous (eg. Kesoil, Weckmann, Coca-Cola). Second, some of them said that they liked an advertisement because of the good music in it

(eg. Aurinko Jaffa, Valio Sour milk). Third, an advertisement may offer an aesthetic experience by showing something pleasant, for example attractive people, animals or a beautiful scenery (eg. Ray Ban, Light Beer) (of course, music may offer a pleasant aesthetic experience as well). Fourth, the informants seemed to like some advertisements because they had a taste of something "forbidden" (eg. Martini, Ray Ban, Levi's). Usually, they may connote sex or unconventional behaviour, like stealing or jumping into other people's pools. An advertisement may be liked for all these reasons or for none of them, but these seemed to be the most important reasons for liking an advertisement among the ninth-graders.

When talking about advertising in general, the informants connected for example the following qualities with good advertisements:

- colourful (mentioned 10 times)
- has action, something (fun) going on (8)
- cheerful, brisk (8)
- catches the attention or interest (6)
- clear, explicit (5)
- affective (5)
- short (4).

In addition, "big size", "amusing", "informative", "black and white colours", and "memorable" were qualities mentioned several times. Thus, both the copywriters and the ninth-graders described good advertisements as attention-catching, affective, amusing and short. They stressed also that a good advertisement has to work as a whole. Broadly speaking, both the two groups seem to agree on the features of good advertising, although the ninth-graders did not pay attention to the "technical" features of advertising which the copywriters thought to be important (eg. implementation), due to their profession.

When the ninth-graders were actually asked what good advertisements would be like, the most frequent comments were that they should be amusing (mentioned by 8 informants), informative (5), memorable (5) and there should be good music in them (3). In other words, it seems that young people want

advertisements to be entertaining, just as the copywriters thought. However, the good and desired qualities depend on the advertisement and the product (and the preferences and personality of the viewer, of course). Most of the informants had quite sensible expectations of advertisements, as the following quotation indicates:

[hyviä mainoksia] sellaset mis on joku juoni - sillee et ei oo pelkkää tämmöst - jonku tuotteen myymistä - vaa just tämmöne joku tarina - ... - [tuotteesta] tarvii kertoa sillee niiku - pääpiirteittäi - sillee et se jotekii - jää mielee

(There should be a plot, a story, not only the selling of a product. The most important characteristics of the product should be told in a memorable manner.)

It seems that facts and information are required especially of technical, expensive or durable products, like the Casio calculator ad in the sample. However, most products depend more or less on the image they have, and advertising is used to create, modify and maintain the product image. This kind of advertisements need not be so informative; the aesthetic experiences or entertainment they have to offer get more weight.

If the product is familiar to the audience the advertisements are expected to be first of all entertaining and information about the product is not required, as the following example shows:

[Tupla] ku - on tommone tuote mist ei varmaa paljo tietoo tarvi se on tuttu - kirjotettu kaikkee muuta sitte

(There is no need for giving information about the Tupla chocolate bar because it is well-known.)

It is conspicuous that the young informants in the present study, as in some previous studies (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995), wanted advertising to be informative, but the copywriters did not mention this aspect at all. However, although many of the ninth-graders said it, none of those ads they mentioned spontaneously can be claimed to be especially informative. Many of them are humorous and, inevitably, they are all attention-

catching and memorable. Sometimes it even seems that copy-writers know better what kind of ads teenagers like than teenagers themselves. Consequently, there may be no definite explanations based on conscious thinking why an advertisement is well liked. In this respect, advertising resembles art: both depend on feelings and emotions they arouse in the audience, and there is no way to define objectively what is a good piece of art or advertisement although some of them may be preferred to others.

When giving reasons to why the informants did not like a particular advertisement, many of them mentioned that they disliked advertisements which were inconspicuous and not attention-catching. Other negative qualities connected with advertisements were dullness (mentioned 8 times; for example, too much text or too colourless or not amusing), lack of clarity (5; the product is indicated badly or the ad is difficult to understand), and not sharp enough (4). "Chaotic", "too sweet" and "too little information" were mentioned twice. However, the informants remembered also advertisements they think were poor, ie. it may well be that for advertisements, all publicity is good publicity, as some researchers have suggested (eg. Perfect and Askew 1994).

The comments presented above may give some clues to what kind of advertisements young people like, but even if all the good qualities mentioned here were combined, the result would not necessarily be a good or effective advertisement. Furthermore, it is not possible to say for sure what people mean by what they say, because even they themselves are not fully aware of their attitudes. For instance, a person may say that an advertisement with beautiful people in it is funny although in fact, it attracts him/her not because it is funny but because the people in it are attractive. Therefore, in the present study, it is not possible to create a formula for good advertising.

4.2.3 Comments on the selected advertisements

The ninth-graders were asked to comment on the same eight advertisements as the copywriters. Ten of them liked the **Jenkki** ad best, as did two of the three copywriters. The only negative comments were that the advertisement is a bit chaotic (but still the informant said that it suits the product) and it looks like a toothpaste ad. The informants stated that they liked the ad for the shortness and the action it has (both mentioned 6 times), and because it is cheerful and brisk (4). Furthermore, the Jenkki ad was said to state clearly what it advertises, to be colourful and different from most other advertisements. The ninth-graders did not mention the implementation or layout as good features of the ad, as did the copywriters, but both groups praised the shortness (or "words used sparingly") of the ad.

Codeswitching in the Jenkki ad was approved of and most of the ninth-graders said that it could not be in Finnish since *hymy* or *hymyile* instead of *smile* would sound stupid, as the answer below shows:

emmä tiiä ehkä siihen hymy nyt saattas mennä - tai ei käviskää - kuulostas aika pässiltä

(I guess *hymy* would be all right - on second thoughts, no, it would sound stupid.)

Furthermore, they said that English was better because the people in the ad are not Finnish, or because the product is so youthful, and young people frequently use English words in their speech. Only two of the twelve informants would accept Finnish in the advertisement and both preferred the shorter form, *hymy*, for it is "short and pithy".

As mentioned above (Chapter 4.1.4), two of the copywriters suspected that the Jenkki ad has problems with credibility, either because it resembles Pepsi Max ads too much, or because the people in the picture cannot be real rastas. Yet, the young people did not notice or mention these points at all, and they did not find the advertisement artificial. On the contrary, they

liked it quite a lot and remembered it well. If the young people recognized any resemblance to the Pepsi Max ad, they regarded it as a positive thing. It may be that teenagers are attracted by international youth advertising of institutions like Levi's or Coca-Cola, and therefore it is worthwhile to imitate it also in Finland. Some evidence supporting this can be detected in the interviews: the **Tupla** ad was not very well liked as such, yet many informants connected it to the television ad and therefore liked it.

Eight of the ninth-graders considered the **Tupla** ad good and quite nice. It was also described as clear and the competition in it attracted the attention of some informants. Most of them found the competition nice, but one informant, who had a negative attitude to advertising in general, regarded it as a negative gimmick to get people to buy far too many chocolate bars in order to maximize their chances to win something. Two of the informants said that the advertisement reminded them of the ads on television, which are good, but this particular piece of advertisement was not very good as such. However, one of the twelve informants liked this the best of the selected advertisements. None of the informants wanted the ad to have more information of the product, although it does not contain any real facts about the chocolate bar itself (see the quotation on p. 68). None of the ninth-graders interviewed noticed that there was some English in the advertisement, so it seems that the copywriters were right when saying that English serves no purpose in it.

The advertisements for both **Jenkki** and **Tupla** clearly reminded the ninth-graders of the corresponding television ads. Thus their comments may concern partly the respective television advertisements of the products. The ninth-graders could not think about the advertisements presented to them in the interview situation as disconnected from the ads they had seen before, and this should have been considered while selecting advertisements for the study.

The **Kevrans Silica Young** ad seemed to be rather unfamiliar to the informants. Usually the girls liked it more than

the boys, which is quite natural. One of the girls liked it the best of the selected advertisements. Many informants described the ad as nice with the pretty black and white picture in it. It was also said to be cheerful, affective and quite informative. However, half of the ninth-graders said that the ad is unclear, as did the copywriters. One ninth-grader remarked:

tääl on sellane pien pränntti täst kosmetiikasta - ja sit
täs on kaikkii tällasii ilosii ihmisii ja täs on niiku et -
kyl jos ensin kattoo ja jättää vaik tän kohan pois ni
ei kyl kertakaikkiaa tiä et mitä täs mainostetaa

(There is a small text about the cosmetics, and then there are happy people in it. If you left this part out, you would not know what the ad advertises.)

One of the informants said that the products should be more clearly presented in the advertisement:

nää tuotteet vois olla täs vähä enemmän etualalla et
tietäs vähä enemmi siitä

(The products should be here in the front so that one could get more information about them.)

It is questionable, however, whether a pot of cream would actually attract the attention of the readers. Here again, it can be detected that what the informants say is not necessarily what they would do in reality.

One informant describes the ad as "siisti" (Finnish for "neat") and it seems that she got the double meaning the word has in the language of youth (1: 'tidy, clean, neat' and 2. 'cool, good'). The Kevrans ad was accepted both in Finnish and in English. One of the pupils explained:

jos se on sillei katottu että tää on akneihon hoito ni
tää on nuorille ni - se on enemmän nuorten kieltä
sanoo joku simple kun että tota - yksinkertainen

(It may be that because the product is for young people that - it is more like the language of young people to say "simple" than "yksinkertainen".)

The copywriters seemed to consider the use of trendy language as a negative feature, whereas the young people did not, as the example above indicates.

The **Aapri** ad did not arouse very positive comments. Like the copywriters, the ninth-graders found the advertisement very commonplace and ordinary, just like every other cosmetics ad, and too sweet. There was some controversy as to whether it is easy to see what is advertised, but this was mostly due to the gender of the informant: the girls knew the product, the boys did not. However, the advertisement had some admirers and it was described as affective, interesting and conspicuous.

The use of English in the advertisement also divided opinions, partly probably because the ad and the product are more familiar to girls than to boys and partly because the slogan is quite strong ("*It's caring for you*"). Three of the seven comments on the selection of language in the advertisement were in favour of Finnish, but two of them with the reservation that it could not be translated "se välittää sinusta" without some modification. One informant said that Finnish might suit the ad and four that it would not. They claimed that Finnish would sound dull and the slogan would be connected too much with the man in the picture if Finnish was used.

The **EK language school** ads aroused as many negative as positive comments among the informants. They praised most the conspicuousness of the advertisements with the large letters ("**HÄH**"), the bright red colour and weird attention-catching pictures, and the competitions in the ads. Some of the informants said that the advertisements were dull and monotonous, and claimed that they probably would not read them at all. Like the copywriters, also the young people approved of codeswitching in these advertisements, since foreign languages "relate to the subject".

The **Casio** ad got slightly more negative than positive comments. The comments of both the ninth-graders and the copywriters were rather controversial. For example, some pupils said that the advertisement is very informative, while others would have liked it to contain more information. Again one

informant regarded it as clear and the product well indicated, and another as chaotic. One ninth-grader and copywriter found the advertisement irritating, and one ninth-grader said that the picture of the girl in it is totally unnecessary.

The use of English in the Casio ad was quite well accepted and even preferred by some ninth-graders. One informant drew her attention to *kalkulaattori* and disapproved of it, as shown below:

kalkulaattori - se on vähä omituinen - vaik kyl se saattais iha suomekskii olla

(*Kalkulaattori* ["twisted" or dialectal Finnish for calculator] is weird, it might be in Finnish as well.)

Yet she was quite willing to accept the code switch of "*in colours*". Some said that English is all right in the advertisement because calculators are meant for pupils or because it is an international product and the same advertisement may be used in several countries. However, the same informant said that the Aapri ad could be in Finnish although the product and the ad are international. Thus, it seems that what is said in English and how familiar the informants are with the advertisement matter more than the country of origin or internationality of the product, when deciding whether the English expressions should be translated into Finnish.

All in all, when asked whether the words or phrases in the selected advertisements could be in Finnish, instead of English, nine of the twelve informants said that it depends on the ad or the clause or the context. They said that sometimes English "suits better" to the context or it rhymes well in the sentence. Sometimes the corresponding Finnish word or phrase would be "stupid", and therefore English is better. Two of the informants said that they could all be also in Finnish. One of these two said that it is all the same which language is used and the other that they could all be in Finnish if slightly modified, not translated word by word, because exactly the same words would sound artificial. One informant said that they could not be translated and that they are better as they are.

This may be partly because the informants are used to seeing the advertisements since they are "old" and published in other magazines which many of the informants may have read. One informant remarked that:

[esimerkkimainoksissa] englanti kuulostaa paremmalta mut sit siihe voi vaikuttaa ku o nähny sen mainoksen semmosena

(English is better in the selected ads, perhaps because you are used to seeing them as they are.)

It seems that in the advertisements which were familiar to the ninth-graders (eg. Jenkki) English was accepted more easily than in those ads which they had not seen before or did not remember seeing before (eg. Kevrans). Unlike the copywriters, the ninth-graders did not usually expect codeswitching in the advertisements to be "justifiable". Again, it seems that English is a part of everyday life for young people and they do not question its role in their lives.

4.2.4 English in Finnish advertising

One aim of the interviews was to see whether the young informants mentioned the use of English in the advertisements when not asked about it. Ten of the twelve ninth-graders mentioned English only when their opinion on the use of English in Finnish advertising was asked. Some informants even talked about the text in the advertisements, for example, one of them talked about the English headline, without noticing or at least without mentioning that it was in English. One informant mentioned it when she was asked if she understood the advertisements, and another mentioned it straight away, in his third utterance. Obviously he already knew the subject of the interview, although the informants were asked not to talk about the questions or the interview to those not yet interviewed.

When asked if they had noticed that there was some English in all the advertisements, six informants told that they

had noticed it and three that they had not thought about it. One of them remarked:

no pistihä se [silmään] oikeestaa niiku sillee - tai no ehä sitä sillee aattele ku melkei kaikis mainoksis on jotakii englantia

(Yes, I noticed it - or actually you do not think about it because there is some English in almost every ad.)

Based on the interviews, young people appear to be so used to English in advertising that they do not even question if it really belongs there, because they are used to hearing English in various contexts anyway, for example in music and television. It might be therefore questioned whether Finnish-English codeswitching really attracts the attention of young people, ie. whether it could be used in the function of catching attention in advertising. Other functions of codeswitching will be discussed in the following chapter (4.2.5).

According to the copywriters, foreign elements in advertisements are usually meant to be understood by the audience. This goal seems to be met: eleven of the ninth-graders said that they understood the selected advertisements completely or quite well. One claimed that he did not understand all of them. When asked whether they usually understood foreign languages in advertisements, six reported that they usually did so completely or mostly, with the help of the pictures and the context of an advertisement. Four pupils said that they understand at least the most important parts of advertisements, again with the help of the pictures and context. Only two pupils said that they do not always understand advertisements in which foreign languages are used. Naturally, understanding depends on the pupil's competence in foreign languages. The pupils in this study were not asked about their competence in foreign languages, but all of them must have known at least some English after seven years of studying it.

Like the copywriters, also many of the ninth-graders compared Finnish and English as languages when asked why they thought English is used in advertising. English was often

described as "sharp" (4 times) and "memorable" (3), and it was often connected with action (3). It was also described as "international", "youthful", and "commonplace". One informant described English in the following way:

[englanti] on niiku iha jokapäiväst elämää ku se on nii kansainvälinen kieli - sitä puhutaa melkei joka puolel maailmaa - se on hyvä et jokaine osaa sitä ja - se on iha hyvä täs mainoksissakii se o niiku iskevämp kiei ku suomi - suomes on kauhee vaikee sanoo joitakii asioita ne on iha paljo helpompi sanoo englanniks

(English is a part of our everyday life because it is such an international language and it is spoken almost all over the world. It is a good thing that everybody knows it, and it is quite good also in these ads: it is sharper than Finnish. Some things are much easier to say in English than in Finnish.)

In addition, English was said to sound very delicate and fluent and more elegant than Finnish, and that some things are easier to express in English, which is what also one copywriter said. English was also described as "short and pithy" and "relaxed". For example,

se o sellai iskevämpi just niiku - jos puhuu tällai niiku - rentoa jenkkiä - ja - sen takii täskii varmaan on tää smail - se on nii kauhee jäykkä sanoo hymyile - se on nii paljo rennompi ja - siihe niiku tarttuu paremmi mielee jos tollai sanoo

(It is sharper and more relaxed to say "smile" in (American) English than in Finnish, and it also stays in the mind better.)

ne näyttää paljo vauhikkaammalta yleensä niis on on niiku englanniks laitettu kaikki

(Ads with action are usually in English.)

It is conspicuous that many of the informants seem to consider English more attractive or elegant than Finnish. Out of the total of twenty comments, there were ten that suggested this. Furthermore, some claimed that English is used because it is

"sharper" and more relaxed than Finnish, and it attracts young people for that reason. One informant said plainly that:

englantiha on sillee - sillee - hieno kieli

(English is a fine language.)

Some informants claimed that in some cases English is simply "better", or sounds better, than Finnish, and in advertising English slogans "work better" on teenagers than Finnish ones would. Perhaps young people really think that English is "cooler", as one copywriter suspected. One ninth-grader remarked:

tämmöset englanninkieliset iskulauseet ni just sillee - tai ainaki nuorii ne menee paremmi [kuin suomenkieliset]

(At least English slogans go down well with young people, better than Finnish ones would.)

All comments concerning English in advertising were not in favour of English, however. One informant first wondered why English should be used in Finnish advertisements at all and he said that ads which are completely in English are lousy. Later, however, he said that English does not bother him and sometimes it sounds more relaxed than Finnish, and it suits some advertisements better. In brief, based on the interviews, English in Finnish ads does not appear to arouse strong feelings among teenagers. They consider it quite a normal thing, and they understand English relatively well. Both the ninth-graders and the copywriters interviewed spontaneously compared Finnish and English as languages, and they considered English more elegant, sharp and compact than Finnish.

4.2.5 Motivations for codeswitching

The informants were asked why they thought English had been used in the selected ads, and why it is used in Finnish adver-

tising in general. The question was apparently rather difficult to the young informants and obviously they had not paid much attention to the phenomenon before. Some of them said first that they had no idea why English is used, but, when asked again or in a specific context, they offered some explanations.

The informants gave a total of twenty reasons for the use of English in advertising. The most often offered explanation was that English is used in advertisements in order to attract teenagers' interest, and to get them understand that the product is targeted to them (target group specification). For example, one pupil suggested that:

jos se sit on sen takii et - nuoret - tajuais et se on
enemmin niille tarkotettu

(Maybe it is used in order to get young people to understand that the product is for them.)

The ninth-graders explained that English is used for young people because older people do not usually know English as well as young people do. When asked if English could be used also for adults, one pupil answered:

no aikuisille - kävishä se niillekkii sellai - mut siis
niille ei kyl varmaa iske mikää tämmöne smail - ne
varmaa kattos että mitäköhä tuokii tarkottaa tuo smile
- ... - ei niit englanti kiinnosta

(English could be used also for adults, but I think that it would not attract their interest.)

English may therefore be successfully used in target group specification in advertising, as the copywriters assumed. Furthermore, one of the ninth-graders said that if there is English in an advertisement, young people know that it is targeted to them because they are attracted by Anglo-American entertainment, such as music and films, and they are used to hearing English in them. Consequently, English might be used to get the advertisement noticed.

As mentioned above, the young informants had generally speaking very positive attitudes to English. One of them even said that they sometimes use English expressions when commu-

nicating to each other (compare Koskinen and Ojala 1992). I think this can be seen as an indicator of a desired group identity. Perhaps young Finns feel that they are sharing their culture, ideas, world view, and especially their entertainment, with other young people all over the western world rather than with older Finns, and English is the lingua franca of international youth culture. As said, many of the informants considered English to be more elegant and relaxed than Finnish, and this seems to support the claims stated above, for a positive attitude to a language usually correlates with a positive attitude to its speakers (Saville-Troike 1982, Baker 1992). The copywriters reported to be using English also when they want to flatter teenagers and to indicate that they are regarded as being international and modern, by appealing to their sense of group identity. Group identification is one of the functions of codeswitching stated in several studies (eg. Heller 1988, Myers-Scotton 1988).

Four of the informants said that English may be used in Finnish advertising because it is such an international language. They seemed to regard internationality as being a positive thing and having intrinsic value. Two of the informants suggested that perhaps the ads or products are international and that is why English is used in the advertisements. One of them remarked:

voi olla et jos joku tuote on tuotu ulkomailta ni -
 siitä mainoksesta on kopioitu - ja sitte suurinpiirtein
 jokane kuitenkin ymmärtää ne - tai semmone sana et
 kaikki tietää mitä se on suomeks

(Perhaps ads for imported products are not translated but just copied, because almost everybody understands them anyway.)

It seems that advertisements do have a recreational function, as Cook (1992) suggests. Both the copywriters and the ninth-graders said that good ads are entertaining and nice to look at. Since the common language of entertainment business is English, it might be used in advertisements to strengthen the link with entertainment. One possible function of English in ads

is, therefore, to disguise an ad in the form of amusement so that people would notice and look at it. It is probable that people take up a more positive attitude if they think that they are being amused than if they think that they are being persuaded to buy something. In addition, people may not be on their guard against the persuasive element of an ad while they are having fun and thus, the message gets more easily through.

Some informants said that English gives "action" to advertisements, which attracts young people. Again, this can be linked with English as the language of entertainment business, and with the USA as the country where "everything happens". Perhaps English is also regarded as having more status and authority, because most of new inventions and trends reach Finland through the Anglo-American world. Therefore, if the ad is in English, the product is "the latest and the original". In consequence, one explanation why English is used also when advertising a Finnish product may be that advertisers are trying to fade out the country of origin of the product, because they think that young people prefer American products.

Two informants explained that English may be used in ads if the Finnish expression sounds "stupid" or it does not suit to the advertisement, which is related to Hatch's (1976) notion of switching sounding "better". In addition, two pupils said that some things are easier to express in English. This may mean the same thing as Finnish sounding stupid, because one is not used to hearing certain things in Finnish often or publicly (eg. Aapri: *It's caring for you*, Appendix C:4). One of the informants said that:

sellai et on niiku vaik telkkariohjelmist tullu sellai -
 jotakii asiaa sanottuu - ni se on sit helpompi sitä
 kautta niiku - itte niiku vähä näyttelee sitä - sit se -
 mikä ite on aito - sitä ei osaa sit sanoo - omal kielellä
 [Interviewer: nii elikkä se on helpompi sanoo joku
 asia esim englanniks kun suomeks]
 nii just - paljo helpompi

(Some things are easier to say in English because you have learnt them from television. This way you may

act a bit what you are - you cannot say some things with your own language.)

The ninth-graders and copywriters seem to agree that with a foreign language, a person can play a role and be free from emotional ties connected with the mother tongue. It may be, as the copywriters suggested, that people are used to hearing emotional phrases in English but not in Finnish, and the artificiality of claims made in English is not so obvious. Therefore affective filters can be avoided in English, and messages get through, because young people do not notice their artificiality.

As to the discursual motivations for the use of English in Finnish advertising, both the copywriters and the ninth-graders suggested that Finnish-English codeswitching gives variety to advertisements. This is, advertisers have more choice of words and stylistic devices when operating with two or more languages. It may be that advertising English is not yet as worn out in Finland as advertising Finnish is. Moreover, one of the ninth-graders said that English in advertising attracts attention because one is not so familiar with it:

ehkä ne huomioi ku ne ei oo nii tuttuja

(Perhaps foreign languages attract attention because they are not so familiar.)

Perhaps young people do not know English well enough to be familiar with all the clichés in it, and therefore it is easier for the copywriters to use English expressions than find out fresh expressions in Finnish. In addition, both the ninth-graders and the copywriters claimed that they often prefer "short and pithy" ads, and that there are shorter expressions in English than in Finnish.

One informant remarked that there are only a few advertisements for young people that do not employ English. Another put into words what many of them seemed to think:

sama se on mil kielel ne on [mainokset]

(It is all the same what language is used in ads.)

The use of English in ads seems to be quite natural for young people since they are used to switches from Finnish to English for example when listening to music or watching television, and sometimes they even switch between these languages when communicating with each other.

All in all, the motivations the ninth-graders suggested for Finnish-English codeswitching were quite similar to those motivations suggested by the copywriters. The two most common reasons the ninth-graders announced were specifying the target group and attracting the interest of young people, which were reported also by the copywriters. Both the copywriters and the ninth-graders said that English is used in Finnish ads because it is more elegant and international, and because some things are easier to express in it than in Finnish. In addition, codeswitching was suggested to be used in discursal functions, such as in giving variety and emphasis to advertisements, and in avoiding clichés. The ninth-graders also said that English gives "action" to advertisements, which the copywriters did not mention. Yet this can be linked with English being the language of for example trends and entertainment business and therefore having authority, which was mentioned also by the copywriters. Codeswitching in advertising appears to be effective, because the sender-functions the copywriters reported it to serve are quite congruent with the addressee-functions perceived by the teenagers. In addition, teenagers said to approve of, and sometimes even prefer, English in Finnish advertising.

When compared to the results of previous studies, the findings of the present study are not very surprising. Many researchers (eg. Saville-Troike 1982, Myers-Scotton 1988, 1993a) have pointed out the importance of code choice in defining identities and group memberships. In Finnish advertising, too, Finnish-English codeswitching appears to be motivated largely by these factors. Yet it is conspicuous to codeswitching in advertising that, by switching, the senders (copywriters) define identities for addressees (in this case teenagers), whereas normally switching is used for defining the identity of

the sender and his/her relationships to other people. Partly this is due to advertising being usually one-way mass communication, but this does not account for the motivations for codeswitching behaviour. In advertising texts, copywriters indicate their perceptions of what people are like, or rather, what they think people would like to be like. As they use Finnish-English codeswitching especially in youth advertising, they think that young people are attracted to it. As mentioned before, apparently copywriters are more or less right in this.

The discursial motivations suggested for codeswitching in this study were also quite similar to those stated in previous studies (eg. Hatch 1976, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989). Consequently, it seems that in this respect there are similarities with codeswitching in Finnish advertising and codeswitching in general. However, it would be interesting to know whether the suggested universal constraints for codeswitching concern also written language. This would offer a subject for further study of Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising, or in some other area of Finnish life.

5 CONCLUSION

In the present thesis, I have studied the attitudes of young people and copywriters to Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising, and their suggestions to why the phenomenon exists. In addition, I have examined what they think the features of good advertising are, and to what extent their opinions on these features, and on motivations for codeswitching in advertising, coincide. This study being a case study, only suggestions of these attitudes and motivations can be proposed and no general conclusions can be drawn to concern all copywriters or teenagers. However, the present thesis offers a general view of their attitudes to English and to advertising, and of the motivations they suggest for Finnish-English codeswitching. Consequently, it also offers a starting point for further research, because, to my knowledge, no academic research on the subject has been conducted before.

The general attitudes of both the copywriters and the ninth-graders interviewed for the present study to advertising were positive, and so were their general attitudes to English. However, the teenagers showed a more positive specific attitudes to Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising than the copywriters, especially what comes to the affective component of their attitudes. Nevertheless, all the copywriters reported that they had sometimes used switching in advertisements they had created, and regarded it as a useful tool if used with care, ie. the cognitive and conative aspects of their attitudes to the phenomenon were positive. As we can see, the first assumption of the present study, that teenagers' attitudes to English in advertising are positive, proved to be valid.

In addition to inquiring about features of good advertising, the informants were asked to comment on eight advertisements published in *Suosikki* some time ago. Both the copywriters and the ninth-graders agreed that good advertisements are attention-catching, affective, and amusing. The copywriters also

pointed out that good advertisements are witty and well implemented, whereas the teenagers wished for different colours, action, and information. The last-mentioned feature was not connected with youth advertising by the copywriters at all; they talked about young people preferring entertaining ads, coming close to music videos, whereas older people were said to prefer informative ads. This might be true since none of the ads the teenagers mentioned as examples of good advertising contained much information. Thus, it seems that copywriters do know what kind of ads young people are attracted to in reality. All in all, the features the informants connected with good advertising were quite similar, and most of the informants stressed the importance for good ads to be entertaining.

As examples of good advertisements, both the groups interviewed mentioned mostly television advertisements. The Kesoil and Jenkki television ads can be claimed to be especially successful because they were mentioned by both the copywriters and the ninth-graders. The ninth-graders mentioned also advertisements which are not primarily targeted to them (eg. Weckmann roofs ad, Martini ad). Consequently, advertising has also other meanings and functions in addition to the selling function, as Cook (1992) suggests. The opinions of the ninth-graders and copywriters on the eight selected ads were again quite similar. Both the groups considered the Jenkki ad best, and accepted the use of English best in the Jenkki and EK language school ads. In most cases, however, the teenagers were more willing to accept the use of English than the copywriters. This is not surprising, for also in some previous studies (eg. Suomen Gallup-Media 1995) young people were found out to hold more positive attitudes to English than older people. Apparently copywriters think that, as a rule, codeswitching should be avoided and used only with a good reason. However, they seem to think that other copywriters seldom use codeswitching in the proper way.

According to the ninth-graders, the familiarity of the ad affects how well English suits it, and since the selected ads are youth ads published in a youth magazine, they are more

familiar to teenagers than to older people. Familiarity affecting attitudes is supported also by the findings of Perfect and Askew (1994). To avoid a bias, the preference of Finnish over English could have been studied for example by asking the informants to comment on ads among which were pairs of identical ads, one with a Finnish text and the other English. By comparing the comments on the pairs of ads, it could be detected if one of them is regarded more positively than the other.

The copywriters stressed that, as communication, advertising is persuasive and appeals to emotions rather than to reason. They agreed with Cook (1992) in that advertising has become a kind of entertainment, on the expense of some forms of art, for example literature. Print advertising was said to be different from other forms of written communication because it communicates through the layout and typography, at least, in addition to the actual message. Therefore, the copywriters found it slightly artificial to examine the language of advertising disconnected from the whole. The difficulty to concentrate solely on the language can be detected also in the ninth-graders' interviews: they often talked about all features in advertisements even if they were asked about the language.

Both the groups interviewed recognized the tendency of using "in" words in advertising communication. The ninth-graders regarded it positively, but the copywriters negatively. This is understandable, because the "in" words used in youth advertising belong to the language of young people of which older people, for example copywriters, do not always approve of. To young people, using their own sublanguage means group identification and showing solidarity, ie. something positive. This may be valid also regarding to their attitudes to English in advertising. Young people consider English expressions belonging to their language, through influences for example music and films, whereas older people see thing differently and regard these influences as stylistically poor.

In the codeswitching data of the present study (the ads selected from *Suosikki*), the most often switched element was

one or more sentences, unlike in most previous studies on Finnish-English codeswitching (eg. Jarrett-Trygg 1991, Koskinen and Ojala 1992). The copywriters talked mostly about using easy single words, such as *hot*, *cool*, and *power*, although the only such word in the data was *smile* in the Jenkki ad. Most switches here were intrasentential, contrary to Poplack's (1980) suggestion that non-fluent bilinguals switch more extra- than intrasententially. Her claim may be better valid regarding spoken than written data, and besides, most copywriters write English quite fluently. It must be noted, however, that because of the small amount of data in the present study, no conclusions can be drawn on the nature of Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish print advertising. The comments presented here are therefore only tentative and speculative.

When asked why the informants thought English was used in Finnish advertising, both the copywriters and the ninth-graders first explained it by comparing English and Finnish as languages. Many of them said that English is more elegant, or "cool", and international, and that there is shorter and sharper expressions in it than in Finnish. It is conspicuous that several teenagers described English as more relaxed, sharper and sounding better than Finnish. Yet, most of them agreed that the whole ad should not be in English, ie. it can be used to season Finnish texts, as the copywriters said.

As was assumed, it seems that codeswitching can be used in Finnish youth advertising to meet both social and discourse goals, the former being the primary one. Codeswitching in advertising seems to be at least partly socially motivated, because usually there are no "real" reasons for using English among Finns. It is used for indicating relationships between young Finns, their peers worldwide, and older Finns, as copywriters perceive them. English can be regarded both as a 'they' and a 'we' code (see Gumperz 1982). When thought globally and compared with Finnish, English is a majority language. Since a majority 'they' code implies authority and objectivity, English can be used in Finnish ads to give more emphasis and authority to the advertising message. Many of the teenag-

ers interviewed considered English somehow better than Finnish, and considered internationality desirable. It seems that they tend to consider certain foreign languages, products and people as having more status and authority, and look up to them. Therefore, messages including English may attract more attention and have more weight than messages in plain Finnish. However, the ninth-graders did not connect internationality with product quality, as was assumed, but seemed to regard it as having intrinsic value.

As a 'we' code, copywriters can use English to imply that teenagers already are international and use their common language "to flatter them", as one of the copywriters put it. In addition, according to the ninth-graders, advertisements can be targeted to young people by using English, because it attracts their attention and interest. Consequently, in addition to defining identities as a boundary-maintaining and boundary-levelling strategy, Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising can be used in addressee specification, which is one motivation for codeswitching detected in many previous studies (eg. Gibbons 1987, McClure and McClure 1988). It must be kept in mind, however, that the use of English in advertising primarily indicates how copywriters perceive teenagers. On the other hand, since the motivations which the copywriters and ninth-graders reported codeswitching to serve coincided to a considerable amount, it can be assumed that copywriters' perceptions are quite valid. This means that switching in advertising largely meets the functions it is targeted to, ie. the sender- and addresser-functions are quite similar.

Some informants reported one possible function of codeswitching in advertising to be role-play. They claimed that it is easier to express some things in English, Finnish being their mother tongue and therefore more emotionally loaded. Thus, one further motivation for Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising is avoiding emotional involvement. Koskinen and Ojala (1992) found it to be important in written Finnish-English codeswitching. Apparently, in non-fluent switching the importance of this function is emphasized, because language fluency

affects the amount of experiences and emotions the communicators connect with a language.

Another motivation which some of the ninth-graders suggested for Finnish-English codeswitching was that some advertisements for foreign products are imported and left untranslated because almost everybody understands them. According to the copywriters, however, this is not possible, since not all Finns are competent enough in foreign languages. Nevertheless, both of the groups interviewed agreed that when giving important information, Finnish should be used rather than English.

Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish youth advertising has also discorsal motivations, ie. the specific switches give tone to the communication. Hatch (1976) claims the primary motivation for codeswitching to be that it "sounds better", and in the present study, too, many informants said the same. The ninth-graders often preferred English to Finnish, especially in advertisements which they had seen before. Perhaps this is why codeswitching looks better: young people have got used to it because of mass media influence.

As was assumed, stylistic motivations, such as giving tone and colour and indicating emphasis, were the most relevant discorsal functions of codeswitching (compare Koskinen and Ojala 1992). It was assumed that English may give more emphasis to advertisements because it attracts attention, it being a marked code in Finland (see Saville-Troike 1988). The assumption proved to be valid, for the ninth-graders announced it to catch their attention and interest. English was reported to be used for emphasis also when repeating the message in two languages, as was assumed on the basis of previous research (eg. Hatch 1976, Gumperz 1982, Olshtain and Blum-Kulka 1989). Further motivations the informants suggested for codeswitching were language play, avoiding clichés and repetition, although none of the last-mentioned functions were realized in the selected ads. Based on the interviews and the selected ads, Finnish-English codeswitching appears to be used in Finnish ads because it belongs to the youthful style, or to

the language of young people. Some teenagers interviewed stated that they are using English expressions among themselves, and in the selected ads in which there were code switches in the body copy, the style was colloquial and youthful. Therefore, switching seems to belong to the language of young people, and copywriters are imitating their language in order to flatter them and to indicate that the product is targeted to them.

All in all, Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising seems to be quite natural to teenagers and they do not question whether it is justified. English is an important part of international youth culture, and young people have got used to it in mass media and entertainment. The ultimate reason for the use of English in Finnish advertising seems to be that it is used in many recreational and informational aspects of life anyway. English in advertising seems to be mostly a question of style and a manifestation of the power of English in modern life. Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising is not a separate phenomenon but linked with the dominance of English in many fields of life in the western world, such as in entertainment, science and international affairs. In this respect, the results of the present study can be considered to give suggestions about the attitudes of young Finns towards English and codeswitching also in other areas of the Finnish society. Simultaneously, this may give some suggestions as to the role of English in Finland in future, attitudes being relatively stable by nature.

As I was not aware of any previous research close to my topic, studying the data caused some problems, and other studies concerning codeswitching offered little help. First of all, thematic interviews turned out not to be the best method for collecting the data. The questions could have been more specific, to avoid getting too much irrelevant information. Some questions were obviously too demanding to the ninth-graders, and they had not pondered upon functions of English in Finnish advertising before. In addition, the selected ads should have been unpublished ones, because their familiarity to the

informants may have affected their comments on them. Furthermore, analysing the meaning behind the informants' words was rather demanding, when trying to avoid drawing too far-going conclusions. Consequently, the functions of Finnish-English codeswitching presented here are my interpretation of the informants' thoughts; they are only one way to look at the phenomenon. This study only scratches the surface of teenagers' and copywriters' attitudes to Finnish-English codeswitching in advertising, and of what they think are features of good advertising. Yet the results offer a starting point for further research. In the future, the phenomenon could be studied for example by leaving the selected advertisements out and interviewing informants more thoroughly, concentrating more specifically on their attitudes to Finnish-English codeswitching in Finnish advertising. Another possibility for further research is to examine whether the universal constraints for codeswitching concern also Finnish-English codeswitching in written language.

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Appendix A

THE QUESTIONS FOR THE COPYWRITERS

1. Mainitse jokin viime aikoina näkemäsi nuorisomainos, joka on mielestäsi varsinkin kielellisesti onnistunut.
(Could you mention a good advertisement you have seen lately, especially as regards to language in it.)
2. Mikä tekee siitä hyvän mainoksen?
(Why is it a good ad?)
3. Mitä mieltä olet vieraiden kielten, esim. englannin, käytöstä suomalaisessa mainonnassa? Käytätkö niitä itse? Miksi (et)?
(What do you think about using foreign languages, eg. English, in advertising? Do you ever use them? Why or why not?)
4. Miksi englantia ylipäättään käytetään suomalaisissa mainoksissa?
(Why is English used in Finnish advertising?)
5. Käytetäänkö mainoksissa muita vieraita kieliä kuin englantia? Miksi (etupäässä) juuri englantia?
(Are foreign languages other than English used in advertising? Why is English used most frequently?)
6. Kuinka suuri osa (kokonaan tai osittain) englanninkielisistä mainoksista on todella suomalaisten tekemiä? Miksei ko. ulkomaisia mainoksia käännetä kokonaan suomeksi?
(To what extent are English ads in Finland made by Finns? Why are foreign ads not translated completely in Finnish?)
7. Tulisiko kohderyhmän (nuorten) ymmärtää myös englanniksi sanotun osan merkitys? Mikä tehtävä englannilla on mainoksissa?
(Should the target group, ie. young people, understand the meaning of the English expressions in ads? What is the function of English in ads?)
8. Guy Cook (1992) on sanonut, että mainonta on ominut joitakin kirjallisuuden, varsinkin runouden, tehtäviä. Mitä mieltä olet tästä väitteestä?
(Guy Cook (1992) has claimed that advertising has taken over some functions of literature, especially poetry. What do you think of this claim?)
9. Mitä pidät seuraavista mainoksista:
(How do you like the following advertisements?)
 - Miksi mielestäsi näissä mainoksissa on käytetty englantia?
(Why do you think English is used in them?)

- Mikä on sen tavoite, mitä sillä näissä haetaan?
(What is the function of English in them?)
- Voisiko saman sanoa suomeksi? Jos voisi, niin miksei sanota?
(Could the English elements be also in Finnish? If so, why are they not?)
- Tulisiko näissä mainoksissa englanninkielinen teksti ymmärtää?
(Should the English expressions in them be understood?)
- Mikä näistä mainoksista on mielestäsi paras? Entä englannin kielen käytön kannalta?
(Which one do you like the best? What about when thinking about the use of English in them?)

Appendix B

THE QUESTIONS FOR THE NINTH-GRADERS

1. Mainitse jokin viime aikoina näkemäsi mainos, joka on varsininkin kieleltään onnistunut. Mikä tekee siitä hyvän mainoksen? (Could you mention a good advertisement you have seen lately, especially as regards to language in it. Why is it a good ad?)
2. Kuinka suhtaudut mainontaan? (What is your attitude to advertising?)
3. Mitä pidät seuraavista mainoksista? (How do you like the following advertisements?)
 - Ovatko ne hyviä vai huonoja, miksi? (Are they good or poor? Why?)
 - Mikä niissä on hyvää/huonoa? (What is good/poor in them?)
 - Mikä näistä on mielestäsi paras mainos? (Which one do you like the best?)
 - Ymmärrätkö nämä? Jos et, niin mitä niissä et ymmärrä? (Do you understand them? What is it you do not understand in them?)
 - Miksi luulet näissä käytetyn englantia? (Why do you think is English used in them?)
 - Voisiko englanniksi sanotun sanoa suomeksi? Jos voisi, miksei sanota? (Could the English elements be also in Finnish? If so, why are they not?)
4. Mitä mieltä olet vieraiden kielten käytöstä mainonnassa? (What do you think about using foreign languages in advertising?)
5. Miksi mielestäsi mainoksissa käytetään vieraita kieliä? (Why are foreign languages used in advertising?)
6. Ymmärrätkö yleensä mainoksista myös vieraskieliset osuudet? (Do you usually understand foreign expressions in advertisements?)
7. Mikä on asenteesi englantia kohtaan (kielenä, ei oppiaineena)? (What is your attitude to English as a language, not as a subject at school?)

Appendix C

THE SELECTED ADVERTISEMENTS

LEAF

103

C:1

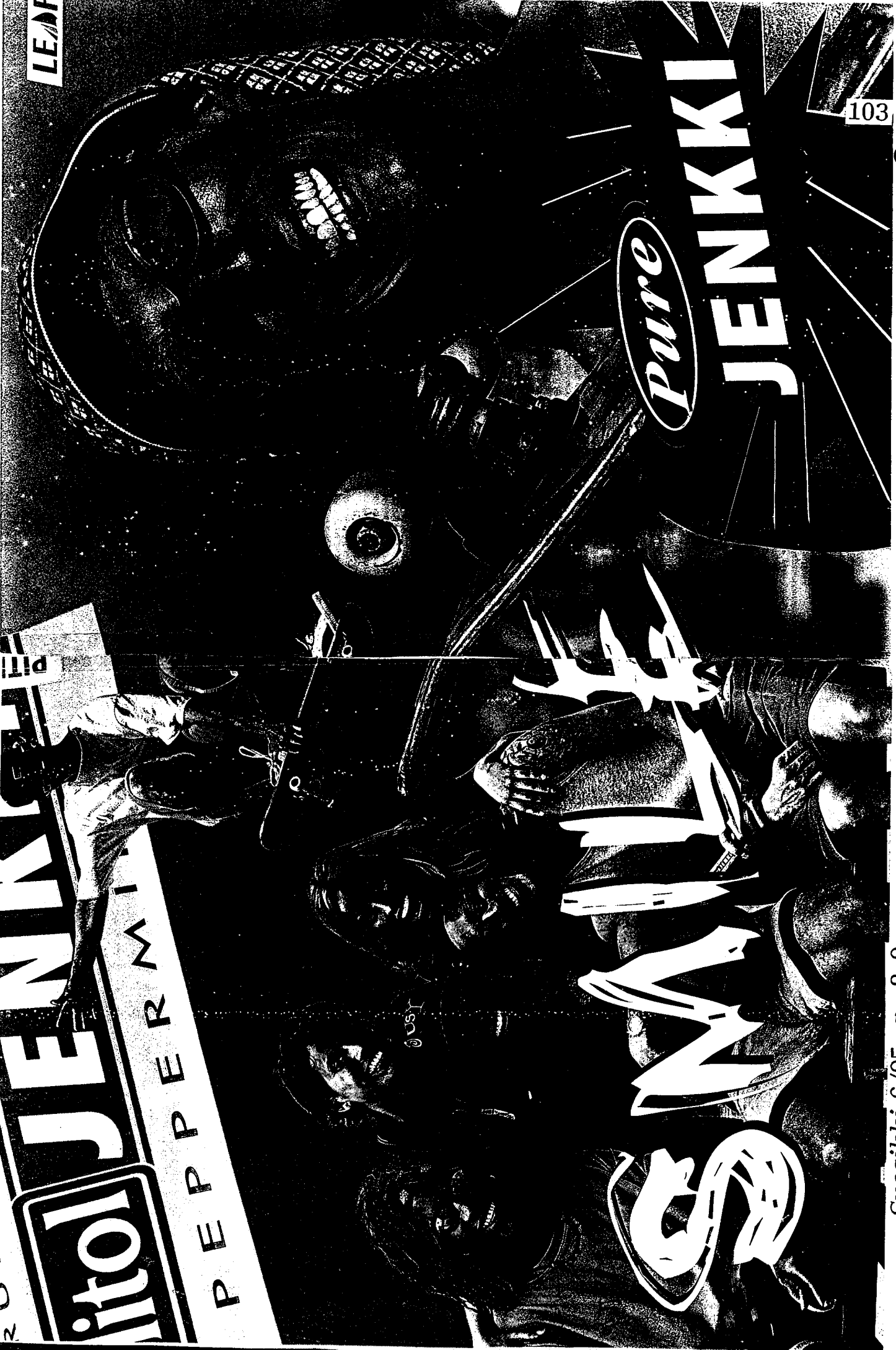
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Suosikki 6/95, p. 8-9



LEAF

NYT JOKA JANNU TUPLAA PATUKKANSAA!

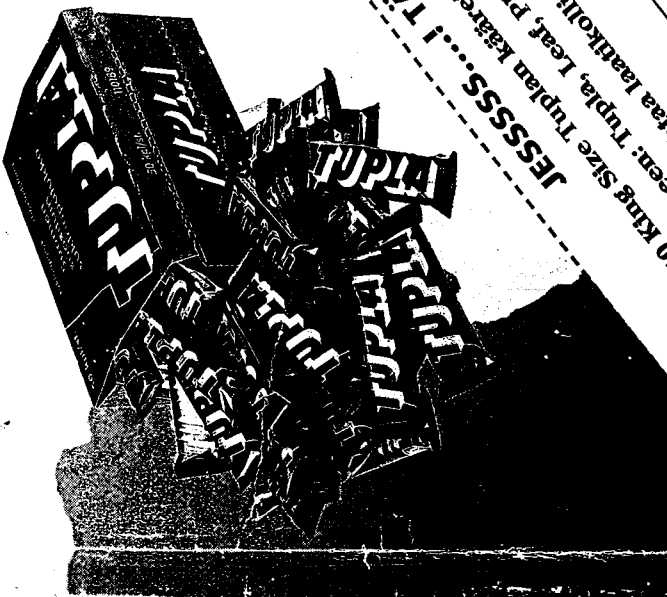
-PLEASE, DON'T TELL ME TRUE LIES. I'LL BE BACK... MY SWEET HONEY.

Suosikki 12/94, p. 4-5



FIKSU PITÄÄ OLLA JA INNOKAS MYÖS, MUTTA EI HÖLMÖ. JOS MISSAAT TÄMÄN KISAN, TURHA SYYTTÄÄ KÄVEREITA TAI KOULUN VAKSIA. SÄÄNNÖT OVAT NÄET YHTÄ IISIT KUIN TIKANHEITOSSA: KERÄÄ KING SIZE TUPLA KÄÄREITÄ PIENEN ORAVAN LAILLA, PALAUTA KÄÄREET JA AHKERUUTESI PALKITTAAN ISOLLA LAATIKOLISELLA TUPLAAI

REILUA? NIIN MEISTÄKIN. ETTÄ SILLEEN, PANE TOIMEKSI - AIKAA ON VAIN 31.12.1994 ASTI.



JESSSS...! TÄLTÄ ROPISE.



104

C:2

Kerää 40 King Size Tuuplaa kääreitä ja palauta ne tänään lupauksensa kanssa osoitteeseen: Tuupla, Leaf, PL 406, 20101 Turku. Paltupostissa kotitisi kolhatta laadittuinen Tuupla (50 kpl) ihan ilmaiseksi!

Nimi _____
Postinumero _____
Postitoimipatka _____

IT'S CARING

106

C:4

FOR YOU



Kokete, niin hienosti, mikä muuttuu sen ihonasi kauniiksi ihaksi. Kaikkissa
 Kauniin puhdistusmenetelmässä on aina tarkoituksella tarkkoja. 2-in-1 puhdistusaineella ja
 kasvovesi yhdessä, normaalisti ja puhdistusaineella on suunniteltu mielenkiintoisesti
 kashi tui ja uunin ihonni. Kasvovesi ihonni ihonni ihonni, ihonni ja vii-
 kasvinyt kum ihonni ihonni ja ihonni ihonni ihonni ihonni ihonni ihonni ihonni

APRIKOOSIN
FAKKAUS TUOLIAS

KALKULAATTORI IN COLOURS!

107

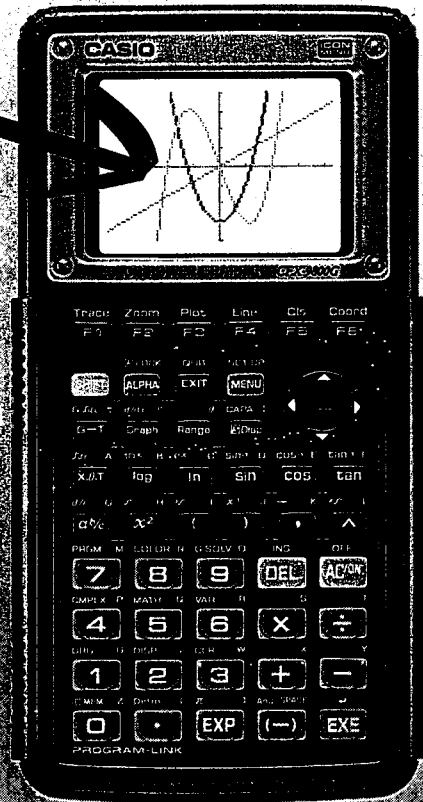
C: 5

Kaikki SALLITTU
kirjoituksissa



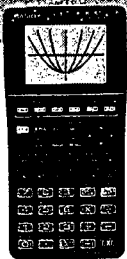
Casio CFX-9800G

Number One tällä planeetalla. Ohjelmoitava grafiikkalaskin (max 24 kilotavua) VÄRINÄYTÖN KERA. 672 toimintoa, 12 ikonia, matriisit (255x255), PC-liitäntämahdollisuus ja vielä kova kotelo! Suosittelemme lukioon, teknillisiin oppilaitoksiin, korkeakouluihin ja ammattikäyttöön. Suositus 995,-



CASIO

Casio-kalkulaattoreita kauppaavat kirja-kaupat ja toimistotarvikeliikkeet kautta koko kotomaan.



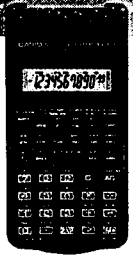
Casio FX-7700G
Ohjelmoitava (max 4 kilotavua) grafiikkalaskin. 475 toimintoa. 1 ikonia. Matriisit (9x9). PC-liitäntämahdollisuus. Kova kotelo. Lukioon, teknillisiin oppilaitoksiin ja ammattikäyttöön. Suositus 850,-



Casio FX-7300G
Ohjelmoitava (max 500 tavua) grafiikkalaskin. 296 toimintoa. 8 ikonia. Kova kotelo. Erittäin passeli yläasteelle, lukioon ja ammattikäyttöön. Suositus 474,-



Casio FX-115
Suomen ostetuin! 252 toimintoa. Paristovarmennettu. 10 numeron näyttö. Kova kotelo. Lukioon, kauppapilaitoksiin ja ammattikäyttöön. Suositus 213,-



Casio FX-82
139 toimintoa. 10 numeron näyttö. Automaattinen virran katkaisu 6 min. kuluttua. Kova kotelo. Perus- ja ammattikouluun ja yläasteelle. Suositus 122,-

A J A S T O O S A K E Y H T I Ö T O I M A A H A N

HÄH?

108

C:6



IF YOU WANNA TALK – FLERA SPRÅK

*Kansainväliset
Kielimatkat*

YES please, I would like to talk flera språk;
joten lähettänette minulle hetimiten:

- Koululaisten kielimatkaesitteen kesälle 1995
- EF Foundation vaihto-oppilasesitteen

Vapaa käännökseni kuvan alla olevasta lauseesta
on seuraavanlainen väännös:

HUOM! Hauskimmat käännökset palkitaan!

Nimi: _____
Osoite: _____
Postiosoite: _____
Puhelin: _____ Ikä: _____

EK
MAKSAA
POSTI-
MAKSUN

KANSAINVÄLISET
KIELIMATKAT

Vastauslähetys
Sopimus 00180/13
00003 Helsinki

HÄÄH?



IF YOU DON'T GET IT – LEARN IT

*Kansainväliset
Kielimatkat*

YES please, I would like to learn it,
joten lähettänne minulle hetimiten:

- Koululaisten kielimatkaesitteen kesälle 1995
 EF Foundation vaihto-oppilasesitteen

Vapaa käännökseni kuvan alla olevasta lauseesta
on seuraavanlainen väännös:

HUOM! Hauskimmat käännökset palkitaan!

Nimi: _____

Osoite: _____

Postiosoite: _____

EK
MAKSAA
POSTI-
MAKSUN

**KANSAINVÄLISET
KIELIMATKAT**

Vastauslähetys
Sopimus 00180/13
00003 Helsinki

HÄH?

110

C:8



SOME PEOPLE UNDERSTAND – SOME DON'T



KÄÄNNÄ JA VOITA!

YES please, I would like to understand, joten lähettänette minulle oitis:

- Koululaisten kielimatkaesitteen kesälle 1995
- EF Foundation vaihto-oppilasesitteen

Vapaa käännökseni kuvan alla olevasta lauseesta on seuraavanlainen:

HUOM! Hauskimmat käännökset palkitaan!

Nimi: _____

Osoite: _____

Postiosoite: _____

Puhelin: _____ Ikä: _____

Palauta kuponki osoitteella: EK Kansainväliset Kielimatkatkat, Kalevankatu 44, 00180 HELSINKI