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English Studies

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“Because You’re Worth It”

Multilingualism in Finnish Television Advertising

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ABSTRACT:

Monikielisyys on osa suomalaisten jokapäiväistä elämää. Siitä syystä koin merkitykselliseksi tutkia, miten vieraat kielet ovat edustettuina suomalaisessa televisiomainonnassa. Valitsin kolme televisiosarjaa, suomalaisen saippuasarjan *Salatut elämät*, amerikkalaisen draamasarjan *Täydelliset naiset* ja niin ikään amerikkalaisen draamasarjan *Asema 62*. Kyseisten sarjojen uskotaan vetoavan eri katsojakuntaan, mikä taas vaikuttaa tauoilla esitettäviin mainoksiin ja niissä käytettäviin kieliin. Nauhoitin sarjoja marraskuussa 2009 siten, että jokaisesta sarjasta minulla oli tutkittavana neljä mainoskatkoa, yhteensä 138 mainosta. Mainosten analysoinnissa käytin apunani Guy Cookin luokittelua televisiomainonnalle tyypillisistä piirteistä sekä Helen Kelly-Holmesin tutkimusta monikielisestä mainonnasta.

Yleishuomiona voidaan todeta, että monikielisyys on erittäin näkyvässä osassa suomalaisessa televisionmainonnassa. Suurimmaksi osaksi kieliä käytetään kuitenkin siten, että katsoja ymmärtää mainoksen ilman kielitaitoakin. Tulokseni osoittavat, että televisiosarjojen katsojakunnat vaikuttavat monikielisyyteen mainonnassa. Toisaalta *Salattujen elämien* mainoskatkoilla käytettiin huomattavasti enemmän pelkästään suomenkielisiä mainoksia verrattuna *Täydellisiin naisiin* ja *Asema 62*:een. Tämä selittyy ainakin osittain sillä, että *Salatuilla elämillä* on kaikkein heterogeenisin katsojakunta. *Täydellisten naisten* mainoskatkoilla oli eniten aikuisille naisille suunnattuja monikielisiä mainoksia, kun taas *Asema 62*:n mainoskatkoilla oli osittain monikielisiä mainoksia, joiden on perinteisesti uskottu vetoavan miespuolisiin katsojiin. Useimmiten monikielisissä mainoksissa on koodinvaihtoa eli sekä suomea että vierasta kieltä, mutta nauhoitetuista mainoskatkoista löytyi myös täysin vieraskielisiä mainoksia.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, television advertising, code-switching

1 INTRODUCTION

All over the world companies selling goods or services use advertising, and it is always purposeful and targeted at a certain group. Consumers are exposed to advertising in several different ways through television, magazines, newspapers as well as the Internet. Television advertising differs from other forms of advertising in the sense that it employs both the auditory and the visual communications channels (Geis 1982:1), which means that consumers are able to see what is happening on the screen as well as hear the possibly narrated information of the product or the music playing on the background. In addition to television advertising, also Internet advertising is a medium that employs both of these channels.

Television advertising provides another mode for companies desiring to advertise their products. Before an advertising campaign is launched a careful market study of viewer profiles is conducted, determining the site where a particular product or brand would reach a desirable consumer group. "More likely" is the tentative link used by advertisers in order to classify people (Brierley 1995:29). For example, teenage girls are more likely to buy fashionable sneakers or jeans than adult or more mature women.

The use of foreign words relies on the fact that how advertisers want to convey the information. They use particular countries or languages to create a certain image of the product that is likely to be appreciated by their target audience (Kelly-Holmes 2005:49). Countries and languages have acquired a variety of associations, for example, France is linked with beauty products and fashion, among other things, Italy with food and Germany with engineering and innovation. Another important fact is that media companies, as well as advertisers, need to plan their marketing strategies by studying target consumers (Gough-Yates 2003:77). That is a way for a media company, such as a television channel, to sell the "right" consumers to "right" advertisers. A media company has to be able to attract viewers/readers and advertisers with customer profiles to remain competitive (Gough-Yates 2003:56). Commercially-driven television

channels have to be able to “sell” popular television programs first to advertisers and then to viewers. Advertising is the main source of finance for the programs.

The two leading commercial television channels in Finland are MTV3¹ and Channel Four Finland (referred from this on to as Channel Four), and they were the first commercial channels on Finnish television (Finnpanel 2010). In addition, there are other commercially-driven channels, such as SubTV, JIM, Liv, TV Viisi² and 4 Sport, but these channels are more recent and have therefore not solidified their audiences in the same way yet. Furthermore, some of the newer channels are pay-channels, accessible only for those who have subscribed to the service. They are also connected to the two major commercial channels in that SubTV is a subsidiary channel of MTV3, while JIM, Liv and 4 Sport are subsidiaries of Channel Four. Most of the newer channels were introduced when digital television was launched in August 2005 in Finland. Also, they are aiming at certain viewer groups with their own tailor-made programs, for example, Jim is targeted mainly male audiences, Liv for females and so on.

Two Finnish television channels, YLE1 and YLE2³, are state-subsidized and do not carry advertising at all. This is an important part of their media value because they can be identified as “more serious” channels that are not driven by the value of entertainment and commercialism. They are similar to the British Broadcast Company (BBC) which is the national broadcast company in Britain. Non-commercially driven channels tend to broadcast less entertainment and more talk shows, documents and news. (Kelly-Holmes 2005:145) They are owned by the government, which mostly finances their broadcasts, and all Finnish television owners are required to pay a license fee. There has been debate about this particular fee, because even those who do not watch YLE1 and YLE2 are obliged to pay the fee simply for having a television set in their home.

¹ Abbreviation of Mainostelevisio, ‘commercial television’

² English translation: TV Five

³ Abbreviation of Yleisradio, which is the Finland’s national broadcast company

Because of varying viewer demographics and psychographics, commercially-driven advertisers seek to place the commercials within the content whose audience represents the most likely consumers of the product. The profile of target audiences has, thus, a significant influence on how much advertisers are willing to spend on their advertisements (Napoli 2003:96). In consequence, audiences that are more likely to purchase a product are more expensive than audiences that are less likely to purchase it. Audience markets are defined by geography and product characteristics (Napoli 2003: 98). From a geographical standpoint audience markets can be either local or national. Both MTV3 and Channel Four have national audience markets as both channels are being watched throughout the country. Product characteristics are connected to various demographic and psychographic classifications, such as age, sex, lifestyle, income and interests. MTV3 and Channel Four have fairly similar audience markets. Their target audiences range from children to senior citizens. In contrast, YLE1 and YLE2 attract and reach older viewers than MTV3 and Channel Four, which can be inferred from the program structure of the channels (Finnpanel 2010).

Finland is known to be a country with a tradition of studying foreign languages. English is one of the multiple languages studied in Finland, although the most commonly studied one. Besides the status of English as a global language, television programs shown on Finnish television are subtitled rather than dubbed, which is important, however, for the visibility of foreign languages and Finnish television audiences are used to hear foreign languages from an early age. Therefore, it can be expected that multilingualism is used in television commercials. Moreover, Kelly-Holmes (2005:74,104) argues that English, as well as other foreign languages, in advertising is purely decorative and does not necessarily require even a basic understanding of the language.

The purpose of this study is to explore how multilingualism materializes in Finnish television advertising. In addition, I hypothesize that certain product categories targeted at certain demographic and psychographic viewer groups employ more foreign languages and associations to foreign countries. The viewer profile is connected with lifestyles and interests, as well as with gender and age of the target audiences. This

determines who are the potential buyers of certain products which leads to the decision of the use of foreign languages in the commercial. For example, commercials of cosmetic companies targeted at women are more likely to employ English than grocery store chains, because it is linked to associations such as “trendiness” and “cosmopolitanism”.

In order to prove the validity of my hypothesis, I will explore if and how the use of foreign languages varies when products are targeted at different demographic and psychographic groups. For this, I will apply the suggestion by Guy Cook (1992:32) to identify three modes of television advertising – music, picture and language – to discuss the differences in the use foreign languages and nationalities. In order to study the relation between multilingualism and audiences, I have chosen three television programs, *Desperate Housewives*, *Salatut elämät*⁴ and *Rescue Me* that are aired at prime time on the Finnish channels MTV3 and Channel Four. One of the programs is a Finnish soap opera, while the others are drama series produced in the USA.

The first section of this study will focus on the selection of data and the method of the study. This will be followed by sections focusing on how commercially-driven television has developed, to what extent multilingualism has affected its development, and how multilingualism is present in Finnish society today. The second chapter will introduce television advertising. The theoretical framework for the study will be based on the analysis of advertising as multilingual communication by Helen Kelly-Holmes (2005), and also Cook’s (1992) suggestion to identify the three modes of television advertising. After presenting the theoretical tools, I will discuss the findings of the study which will be followed by the conclusions.

⁴ In English, *Secret Lives* (my translation)

1.1 Material

Advertisers segment product categories and target audiences of television programs, which guarantee that the “more likely” buyers will be watching television when a commercial is broadcast. “When advertising is sold according to the size of the audience, this typically involves looking at ratings predictions for the broadcaster’s programme schedule and then booking sufficient slots to reach an audience of a given size and demographic profile” (Doyle 2002:61). Demographic profile means viewer’s age, sex and occupation. It is predicted that foreign language content constitutes commercials targeted at young women rather than those targeted at senior citizens. Before, advertisers used only demographics, to segment groups into smaller ones. According to Brierley (1995:32), this was widely criticized as an unwieldy and crude basis for predicting consumer behavior. It was replaced by “lifestyle” segmentations which represented consumers as more diverse and changeable than ever before (Gough-Yates 2003:2). To give an example of the segmentation is that two families living in the same area, having nearly equal incomes, differ from each other significantly due to their lifestyles, attitudes and aspirations, and, thus, belong to different segments (Bennett 1993:153). Lifestyle, or psychographic, “types” are categorized on the basis of a specific personality trait. For example, people can be admiration seekers, pleasure seekers or anti-authority rebels who want everything their way. Nowadays, both demographic and psychographic segmentations are employed.

The material consisted of recordings of three different television programs, *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* whose viewer profiles differ from each other. One of the programs chosen for this thesis was a Finnish soap opera *Salatut elämät* with a 30-minute episode airing at 7.30 p.m. from Monday to Friday on MTV3. As with soaps, the audiences become committed to the show, and it is not broadcast on weekends when people are expected to spend less time at home. The commitment to the program is one the characteristics of a soap opera (Kilborn: 1992:76). A typical viewer of *Salatut elämät* is a Finn, male or female, their ages ranging from 10 to 90. Thus, the viewer group of the program is large and heterogeneous. The material of this program consisted of four episodes and four commercial breaks of *Salatut elämät*.

The second program chosen was *Desperate Housewives*, broadcast on Channel Four every Monday from 9.00 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. The episodes of *Desperate Housewives* concentrate on adult female characters, thus the audience profile was assumed to be mainly women. Each episode of *Desperate Housewives* had two commercial breaks making the total of recorded breaks four⁵. The third of the programs in this study is *Rescue Me* which airs on Channel Four at 10.00 p.m. on Thursdays, and each episode was 60 minutes long and included two commercial breaks making the total of commercial breaks four.

The total number of commercials shown during each program forms the material for this thesis. *Salatut elämät* had altogether 48 commercials, *Desperate Housewives* 51 and *Rescue Me* 39. The total number of commercials was 138. This study included the sponsors of the television programs because they represent advertising, as well, and sponsorship money does not go to the sponsored programs, but to the TV companies (Brierley 1995:85). The commercials at the beginning and end of the same commercial break are called “break bumpers” (Brierley 1995:93). In other words they are either the first or the last commercials of a break and employ phrases such as ‘provided by’ or ‘sponsored by’.

The material was recorded during November 2009 when new seasons of each show had started airing. *Salatut elämät* was recorded on the same days as either *Desperate Housewives* or *Rescue Me*. Thus, both *Salatut elämät* and *Desperate Housewives* were recorded on the Mondays of November 9th and November 16th and *Salatut elämät* and *Rescue Me* were recorded on the Thursdays of November 12th and November 19th. The material consisted of four 30-minute episodes of *Salatut elämät* and two 60-minute episodes of *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* for the reason that the total numbers of commercial breaks equal for each program.

⁵ In 2010 both MTV3 and Channel Four added the third commercial break.

The episodes used as data were numbered. In the case of *Desperate Housewives* as well as *Rescue Me* the seasons were numbered too. The episodes of *Salatut elämät* were numbered according to their place in the series and included episodes 1821, 1824, 1826 and 1829. Thus, episodes of *Salatut elämät* are numbered and the recorded episodes were number 1821 (airing date: 9th), which was titled ‘Jenni is touched by the past’⁶, number 1824 (12th) titled ‘Peppi has to pay for her and Miro’s mistake’, number 1826 (16th) titled ‘Isabella joins the congregation of hypocrisy’ and number 1829 (19th) titled ‘Ismo is scared in the rollercoaster of life’ (*Salatut elämät* 2010). The recorded episodes of *Desperate Housewives* were the second and third episodes of the sixth season. The second episode was titled “Being Alive” (9th) and the third “Never Judge a Lady by Her Lover” (16th). The opening episode “Baby Face” of season four of *Rescue Me* aired on 12th of November 2009 in Finland. The second episode of that season aired the following week, on 19th of November, and was titled “Tuesday” (Internet Movie Database 2010).

1.2 Method

In television advertising a foreign language may become apparent when it is dubbed, or when the commercial has inserts in foreign languages or is completely in a foreign language. Dubbing differs from other features because it could be identified only from lip-synchronization, and it is difficult to identify the source language without visible signs on the screen. The inserts, for their part, may be minimal, consisting of only one foreign word, or they may be fairly extensive, consisting of entire texts or blocks of text (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 25). Naturally, there are commercials that do not use foreign languages, and according to Kelly-Holmes (2005:78), a significant number of them represents the domestic food sector, as well as the financial sector. These companies want their products to be identified as domestic and will thus not contradict their images with foreign languages. For example, a Finnish insurance company, “If”, employs English minimally because only the name of the company is in English, otherwise the

⁶ My translations

whole commercial is in Finnish. Moreover, dubbing is considered a method that does not use foreign languages at all.

The methods of using a foreign language are code-switching and subtitling, which represent multilingual commercials, and commercials that are entirely in a foreign language. Code-switching might appear both in written and spoken form, whereas subtitling appears only in written form. All these features (code-switching, subtitling and dubbing) of multilingual commercials were studied in the recorded commercials. Code-switching can be applied to spoken and written language, while subtitling provides a method for translating spoken language into a written form. In addition to these methods, associations of a particular nationality and country were taken into consideration.

The commercials were first categorized according to the product they featured to study the connection between a product and the use of foreign languages in the commercial. Product categories were cars, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, food and drink, technology and travel and miscellaneous products. Furthermore, commercials were categorized according to the use of Finnish and foreign languages: multilingual commercials, all-foreign commercials and all-Finnish commercials. Then the product categories were studied according to the use of foreign languages and each commercial was classified as a part of multilingual, all-foreign or all-Finnish commercials. Multilingual commercials included commercials which employed Finnish as well as a foreign language. They were further categorized in terms of where a foreign language was used: product name or setting, slogans or lyrics and longer expressions. All-foreign commercials were completely in a foreign language and all-Finnish commercials in Finnish.

The commercials were analyzed according to Cook's (1992:32) modes in television advertising. These introduce picture, music and language as elements of commercials which are all present in television advertising and that foreign languages or references to nationalities or countries can occur in any of these three modes but that the function of foreign languages alters. Each commercial was analyzed according to which mode foreign language employed in that particular commercial. For example, the picture

mode is employed in a “Samsung” camera commercial, where a group of young people is taking photos while running through the city of London, recognizable from the scenes of Big Ben and an English bobby (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1821). An example of the music mode is a “Pizza Ristorante” commercial with an Italian aria playing in the background creating the feeling that the frozen pizza is actually an original Italian pizza (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1826). Language mode is employed for example when “L'Oréal's” slogan ‘Because you're worth it’ is heard or it appears as a written slogan (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3).

The associations with certain cultures or countries can be drawn with several modes simultaneously. For example, a pizza commercial might have a song with Italian lyrics (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1826), which represents the assumed link with Italian pizzas even though they are, in fact, produced in Finland. Italy is associated with delicious cuisine, which creates positive associations with the product. Kelly-Holmes (2005:22) argues that the use and functioning of foreign languages is driven by “symbolism”, by connotation rather than denotation, and by the way the visual/aural aspect or the content aspect is formulated and understood. The understanding of a commercial does not necessarily require the knowledge of that particular language.

1.3 Finnish Commercial Television

In Finland, there are two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, which are, in addition to English, compulsory languages at school. Many countries have prioritized English in their foreign-language teaching, even though the language has no official status (Crystal 1997:3). This is the case in Finland, and English is taught because of its status as a global language. Crystal (1997:3) emphasizes that a language is capable of reaching the status of a global language when it is taken up by several countries throughout the world. Even though other languages are taught and studied in Finland, English appears to have held its status as the most popular foreign language.

Finland has always been the “borderland”, a meeting place for two cultural systems and religions. The neighboring countries of Russia and Sweden have had a significant role in the history of Finland until the country’s independence in 1917. (McRae 2000:10) The geographical location of the country northeast of mainland Europe is one of the keys of understanding its language situation (McRae 2000:9). For historical reasons, Swedish continues to hold an official status in Finland, and both official languages are minor languages; Finnish is only spoken in Finland, while Swedish is understood in Scandinavia.

Television programs and commercials display multilingual elements on a daily basis. Television arrived in Finland in the 1950s, and only seven years later the first commercially-driven channel, MTV Oy, was launched (MTV Media 2010). At first, the channel broadcast only in the area around the capital city Helsinki and the broadcasts were entirely in Finnish, but from the 1960s it started to incorporate foreign programs into its programming. According to Moore and Varantola (2005:141), television is nowadays the primary vehicle for new and fashionable expressions of multilingualism spreading into Finland. Most foreign television programs broadcast in Finland are subtitled, except for programs targeted at children who do not comprehend the source language. After a brief experiment with dubbing in the 1950s, programs have been broadcast with subtitles (Leppänen et al 2008: 17). Therefore, dubbing is not as familiar a translation method as subtitles but it is nevertheless used in Finnish television commercials.

Gradually, the channel became known among the Finns, and the broadcasts were seen throughout the country. Channel Four started four decades later, in 1997, and it was the second channel financing its operations entirely with commercials. Nowadays, the commercially operated channels represent the majority of Finnish television broadcasting, and MTV3 and Channel Four have, according to viewer statistics, solidified their status as the leaders of commercial channels (Finnpanel 2010). MTV3 dominated Finnish commercial television from the 1950s to the 1990s, and when Channel Four was launched these two channels were the only commercial channels for a decade, until digital television took over the market.

MTV3 and Channel Four have introduced subsidiary channels, and entirely new commercially-driven channels have started operating. Nowadays, twelve Finnish television channels can be viewed free of charge (Finnpanel 2010). It is possible to subscribe to additional pay channels, for example packages which concentrate on sports or children's programs. Eight of these channels are commercially operated, and some of them are subsidiary channels of MTV3 and Channel Four. In terms of viewer statistics MTV3 and Channel Four are the largest commercial channels and both have program structures appealing to people from various demographic and psychographic groups. Smaller channels broadcast, for example only sport or lifestyle programs. The emphasis of their program structures is on a certain type of broadcasts and they aim at reaching clearly identifiable audiences.

MTV3 and Channel Four do not broadcast only Finnish programs, as both of them have a variety of foreign programs in their weekly repertoire. Altogether, the weekly schedule of MTV3 contains 94 programs and that of Channel Four 114 programs (MTV3 Programs 2010, Nelonen Programs 2010). The percentage of foreign programs is 58 % on MTV3 and 82 % on Channel Four. Foreign programs on Finnish television originate from the USA, UK, Germany and Sweden. MTV3 broadcasts thus slightly more foreign programs while on Channel Four the domestic programs are clearly in the minority. Programs can be mirrored due to that background information because the Finnish soap opera *Salatut elämät* is broadcast on MTV3 while both foreign programs *Rescue Me* and *Desperate Housewives* are broadcast on Channel Four.

1.4 *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me*

Programs chosen for this study have several years been broadcast on Finnish television, and they have acquired loyal viewers who sit in front of their televisions each time the program is broadcast. The Finnish soap opera, *Salatut elämät*, has acquired a large heterogeneous audience as it is viewed by a wide range of Finns from teenagers to senior citizens. Approximately one million people, i.e. one fifth of the country's

population, watch *Salatut elämät* each time it airs. The program has maintained its popularity for over ten years. Approximately 450,000 Finns watch *Desperate Housewives* every week and the viewer statistics revealed that it is one of the most popular programs on Channel Four. In comparison, *Rescue Me* is viewed by approximately 200,000 people each week.

These programs have a heterogeneous audience profile but they differ from each other in certain ways. *Salatut elämät* is clearly categorized as a soap opera, which provides a regular source of entertainment for its viewers who are usually committed to a particular program (Kilborn 1992:76). Soap operas attract masses of people so there has to be particular pleasures for watching them. First, and possibly foremost, there is the pleasure of continuing involvement. *Salatut elämät* is broadcast from Monday to Friday at the same time each day, which provides an escape from daily routines. Second, soap operas employ many forms of conjecture. For example, “cliff-hangers” are used, where the audience is left in considerable suspense about what the next episode will reveal. (Kilborn 1992:13,40) These are means of luring the audience into watching the following episode.

On the one hand *Salatut elämät* is a soap opera, which is broadcast every week from Monday to Friday. The intention is to present the characters as ordinary people since soaps seek to create the illusion of reality (Kilborn: 1992: 85). American critic Horace Newcomb is quoted in Kilborn (1992:86):

It offers itself to its audience as the representation of lives that are separate from but continuous with their own...Through the very power of continuity it suggests a kind of heightened realism that is further reinforced by an apparent absence of the kind of compact dramatic patterning associated with traditional theater or cinema.

Soap operas attract viewers because there are similarities with their own lives and in addition to that viewers can relate to the characters in ways that are often denied them in real-life relationships (Kilborn 1992:9). Soaps are a way of relaxing in front of the television, and they provide a way of experiencing involvement in the lives and relationships of the characters. Soap operas are easy to watch and follow, and that is why they attract different demographic and psychographic groups and the margin for

advertisers is wide. This might be a problem for advertisers. The impact of heterogeneous audience is visible in the products advertised during *Salatut elämät* because they vary from cosmetics to groceries and from toothpaste to insurance companies. This fact revealed that the target audience is heterogeneous varying from families to independent individuals. In addition, because *Salatut elämät* is a Finnish soap opera, it is targeted at people who can understand the Finnish language which excludes people who do not know Finnish, for example visitors and immigrants. This fact might have an effect on the lack of foreign languages in its commercials.

Salatut elämät, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* all have features of soaps because they have a core set of characters and locations, and the main focus of the narrative is on the everyday personal and emotional lives of its characters (Hobson quoted in Solange & Jackson 2008:25). Still, only *Salatut elämät* represents a soap opera. *Salatut elämät* deals with people living in an apartment building in the capital city, Helsinki. *Rescue Me* is set in New York City while the setting of *Desperate Housewives* is the fictitious Wisteria Lane in the city of Fairview. *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* could be classified as drama series

In contrast to *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* represent drama series. They are broadcast once a week and they have some of the spectacular and gripping qualities often associated with the Hollywood film. Considerably more money is invested in prime-time soaps and they introduce melodramatic events designed to keep the viewers enthralled. (Kilborn 1992:28) For example, each episode of *Desperate Housewives* has a twist in the end, which guaranteed that the audience watched the following episode in order to find out what happened. This is the reason why the audiences become loyal to the program and watch it every week, and at the same time they see the same products being advertised over and over again.

Desperate Housewives contains elements of drama and comedy, even though there are even some darker elements to the plotline. Judith Lancioni (quoted in McCabe & Akass 2006: 131) describes *Desperate Housewives* as a 'dramedy', because it fuses together two distinctive genres: drama and comedy. Dramedies blend the comic and the serious;

some separate comic and dramatic storylines, while others combine them (Lancioni quoted in McCabe & Akass 2006:131). *Desperate Housewives* does both, as the narrator Mary Alice Young's suicide and the murder of another resident of Wisteria Lane are purely dramatic, while the competition of one of the protagonists with another woman over a man is comical. Another protagonist struggles to control her children, which might seem comic but this leads to an addiction of prescription medication with definite dramatic elements (Lancioni quoted in McCabe & Akass 2006:132). It is worth noting that four protagonists of the program are all female while male characters appear in supporting roles. According to McCabe and Akass (2006: 1) *Desperate Housewives* is a harmless, darkly comedic drama series. The products advertised during *Desperate Housewives* suggested that the target audience is mainly adult women. There was variation but the commercials were mostly targeted at women, such as mascaras, hair colors, sanitary towels and so on.

Rescue Me appears less fictitious than *Desperate Housewives* due to the fact that it is located in an actual city and it introduces events that have really happened, for example, 9/11. The protagonists of this program are firefighters who have been traumatized by the 2001 terrorist attacks. The program depicts the lives of eight firefighters and their families. *Rescue Me* focuses mainly on the Gavin family and the firemen of the ladder 62 in New York City. The protagonist's life is in turmoil because of a divorce, fears related to his job and sexual anxieties. Due to the background information of the program, storyline is dramatic with some comic features in it. Most protagonists of the program are male and the angle of the program is rather masculine, which suggests that the target audience consists of males. The commercial breaks of *Rescue Me* had products that are typically considered as interests of males, such as cars, beer and video games.

The popularity of the program is crucial to advertisers. They want to be assured that the commercial, and thus the product, is visible to prospective consumers and that their money is well spent. In addition to genre features, the scheduling of the program is a feature affecting the popularity and thus advertising. According to Kilborn (1992:19, 20) considerable attention is paid to the way in which programs are scheduled. Almost

invariably television soaps and drama series are made with a particular family audience in mind, which means that these programs occupy the daytime or early evening slots (Kilborn 1992: 20). *Salatut elämät* airs on MTV3 at 7.30 p.m. daily from Monday to Friday while the chosen drama serials air once a week: *Desperate Housewives* on Mondays at 9.00 p.m. on Channel Four and *Rescue Me* on Thursdays at 10.00 p.m. on Channel Four. The programs airing on Channel Four have a later airing time which affects the demographics of the viewers in the sense that younger viewers are excluded. Content and language of the programs is adult-oriented and might be, for example, sexual or brutal. Thus, the programs are targeted only at adults.

2 TELEVISION ADVERTISING

The aim of this study is to determine whether the product categories of commercials and target audiences affect the use of foreign languages in television advertising. The findings of this present study are drawn from commercial breaks of television programs *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me*. In this chapter advertising will be discussed generally, then Guy Cook's (1995: 32) three modes of television advertising will be discussed, as well as challenges and viewer profiling of television advertising.

2.1 Advertising

In the western world advertising reaches people in many different forms. People are surrounded by advertising on a daily basis, yet the concept of advertising is complicated and difficult to define, because it can be approached from many angles which make it more complex. Kotler (2008: 793) defines advertising as "any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor". Advertising can be executed in the form of print ads, television commercials, direct mailings and web ads (Janoschka 2004:18). Print ads, such as newspaper and magazine advertisements, and television commercials are examples of traditional advertising. Online advertising is a product of a fairly recent development and categorized on its own.

Companies and brands always have a reason for advertising. Brierley (1995: 45-47) specifies different reasons for advertising: it is often used to try to increase the sales of a product or the use of a service; sometimes it is used to improve the corporate image or to change attitudes; one reason for advertising is that well-established brands want their customers to stay loyal to them, and sometimes it is used as social advertising attempting to change people's behavior. All in all, the most common reason for the use of mass media, such as television advertising, is to gain coverage to generate awareness

(Brierley 1995: 47). These are the main reasons for launching an advertising campaign, after which it is important to decide how to advertise and in which form. Language is employed in almost all advertising, and that is why it is important to analyze advertising language.

Advertising language differs from other forms of language. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8) describes it as a 'functional dialect'. In other words, advertisers use the consumers' 'ordinary' language in an attempt to create similarity with colloquial language. Nevertheless, the difference is that advertising language is carefully planned in advance due to the fact that each word costs money. Planning differentiates advertising language from everyday language. Thus, advertising language is described as colloquial rather than complex and difficult to understand, yet it is always purposeful with one or more functions. According to Kelly-Holmes (2005:8) advertising language is employed for five different functions:

to express feelings and emotions (the expressive function); to offer advice and recommendations or to persuade (the vocative function); to inform, to report, to describe or to assert (the informational function); to create, maintain and finish contact between addresser and addressee (the phatic function); to communicate through a code which could not otherwise be communicated (the poetic function).

All of these functions can sometimes be found in an individual advertisement, but usually the informational and vocative functions dominate the advertising discourse. Language in an advertisement needs to be comprehensible by consumers. Sometimes advertisers decide to use a foreign language in order to create, strengthen and maintain certain conceptions and perceptions, although usually it is employed in a decorative way (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 107).

Along with the actual language, paralinguistic features should be taken into consideration. According to Cook (1992: 64), voice quality and choice of script and letter size are examples of paralinguistic. This is how language is presented to the consumer. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 9) emphasizes that paralinguistic can be seen as a texture of language with a significant proportion of the meaning. The effectiveness of

paralanguage heavily relies on interpretation because knowledge varies from one language user to another (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 9, Cook 1992:74). Furthermore, paralanguage is particularly important for television advertising because it employs the modes of picture, music and language.

2.2 Three Modes of Television Advertising

The fact that television advertising employs both the visual and aural communications channels provides unique possibilities for advertisers. They are able to use songs, moving footage and voice. Television as a commercial medium differs from print media, and, for example, languages can be presented in forms unknown to most forms of media. Cook (1992:37) uses the term ‘mode’ when referring to the three means of communication that are employed in television advertising: music, picture, language. Foreign languages or references to other countries or nationalities can occur in any of these three modes, not just in the language mode. According to Cook (1992:37) all three modes may be further subdivided into categories in various overlapping ways. For example, music may be orchestral or solo, amplified or acoustic; language may be sung, overlapping with music, written or spoken; pictures may be still or motion, cartoon or photographic (Cook 1992: 37). In this study lyrics were considered to constitute a part of music. Piller (quoted in Ungerer 2000:264) observed that for example music might have multilingual lyrics, and the moving picture of a television commercial can imply a foreign language or culture if it is clearly set in a famous city.

Language in television advertising can be either in written or spoken form. How languages are employed and which languages are used in commercials is linked with the product category it represents. In television advertising a preference within the language is speech over writing. Sound and vision are the vehicles of face-to-face interaction, while in writing we neither see nor hear our interlocutor. (Cook 1992:53) To give an example, in a “Lipton” commercial (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2) most of the information is given in the spoken form of Finnish, while the additional written

language employs English. The oriental flavors of teas are in English, e.g. ‘Bangalore Palace’ and ‘Oriental Bazaar’. Also, the slogan ‘Tea can do that’ is in English.

The picture is an important feature of television advertising because it is ever-present in television commercials. Television, as well as Internet advertising, represents the media that incorporate moving pictures (Janoschka 2004: 28). They can be photographic or animated. According to Cook (1992:49) pictures create powerful and complex messages even though they are virtually language-free. The importance of the picture mode is noticeable when watching television commercials. The picture helps create a certain image. For example, a commercial of a digital camera, manufactured by South Korean electronics brand “Samsung”, is set in London. A group of young people are running through the city taking pictures, and the viewer recognizes at least one identifiable feature of London, which is a “bobby”, a British police officer wearing a traditional custodian helmet and a police uniform. (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1821) A Samsung camera makes an angry-looking British representative of law enforcement smile, which creates a certain image of the power of the camera.

The third mode used in the analysis of television commercials is music. In television commercials, music is often used in the background or to fill in silent gaps. According to Cook (1992:44) music may evoke a certain mood, associated with quite specific places, events and images. A certain mood means that the music is of a certain type, for example “gloomy” or “cheerful”. Cook (1992: 44) emphasizes that “such broad connotations are at once both predictable and also vague and variable”. The different reactions between individuals are an interesting matter when considering music. In Finnish television advertising music appears more prominent for some commercials. For example, a commercial of a product advertising vitamins for women called “LadyVita” had Tom Jones’s song ‘She’s a Lady’ playing loudly in the background (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). In that commercial the music, in addition to pictures of the product, conveys the message to the viewers. The lyrics of the song emphasize the femininity of the product, if the viewer is able to understand the English language.

2.3 Audience Profiles in Television Advertising

Commercial television channels are owned by companies that are seeking to make profit. According to Barwise and Gordon (quoted in Briggs et. al. 1998:193,194) most media is paid by the consumer directly and/or advertisers wishing to reach the consumer. Here lies the reason why advertisers want to reach the “more likely” buyers of a product and why audience profiling is an important task to complete. Companies have a motif to advertise, which is the reason to invest in television advertising. In addition, advertisers want to be aware of the costs of that particular medium because companies do not want to invest their money in vain, and the audiences need to correspond to the costs. (Barwise & Gordon quoted in Briggs et. al. 1998: 192-195)

The material of this study comprises programs of different types. *Salatut elämät* is a soap opera, while *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* are drama series. A commercial break during *Salatut elämät*, broadcast on November 19th, 2009, illustrates a possible viewer profile:

Commercial	Product Category
Hesburger	Food & Drink
Valintatalo/Siwa	Food & Drink
Eniro	Technology & Travel
Oral B	Pharmaceuticals
Devisol	Pharmaceuticals
K-ruokakaupat	Food & Drink
Pizza Ristorante	Food & Drink
Suomi Soffa	Miscellaneous Products
Fortum	Miscellaneous Products
L'Oréal	Cosmetics
Oltermanni	Food & Drink
Nivea	Cosmetics

Table 1. Commercial break during *Salatut elämät*.

Nearly half of the commercials during *Salatut elämät* belong to the food and drink category which consists of companies advertising fast food, groceries and so on. The pharmaceuticals category contains products such as toothpaste and vitamins that are marketed at families.

One commercial break during *Desperate Housewives* illustrates the differences between the television programs and product categories advertised during the programs. This commercial break was broadcast on November 16th, 2009.

Commercial	Product Category
LadyVita	Pharmaceuticals
Tresémme	Pharmaceuticals
020202	Technology & Travel
Devisol	Pharmaceuticals
Helsingin Sanomat	Miscellaneous Products
Dove	Cosmetics
Canal Digital	Technology & Travel
Andiamo	Miscellaneous Products
L'Oréal	Cosmetics
Lipton	Food & Drink
VR	Technology & Travel
Möller	Pharmaceuticals
Flora	Food & Drink
Always	Pharmaceuticals
Amarula	Food & Drink

Table 2. Commercial break during *Desperate Housewives*.

Many of the products are clearly targeted at adult women, such as “LadyVita”, “L'Oréal” and “Always”, or they represent products that are usually considered to be of

interest for females, such as shoes and hair-styling products. Still, there are some everyday items that can be targeted at the whole family but they are fewer than during the commercial break of *Salatut elämät*.

One of the commercial breaks during *Rescue Me* illustrates the assumed viewer profile of the program. The commercials of the following table were recorded on November 19th, 2009.

Commercial	Product Category
Volkswagen	Cars
Grandiosa	Food & Drink
Mobil 1	Cars
Lotus Soft Embo	Pharmaceuticals
Fazer Puikulat	Food & Drink
Miesinfo.fi	Pharmaceuticals
Ford	Cars
Diners Club	Technology & Travel

Table 3. Commercial break during *Rescue Me*.

This commercial break contained commercials targeted solely at adult males, such as “Miesinfo.fi” which is an Internet site for males suffering from erectile problems. In addition, the commercials introduced things that are usually considered to attract the attention of males, such as cars. For example, the “Volkswagen” commercial focuses on a young man who, after BMX biking, drives away in his Volkswagen Golf. Another masculine example is the “Fazer Puikulat” commercial with an elderly man enjoying a piece of rye bread.

On the basis of the recorded commercial breaks, there are certain noticeable differences between both the programs and the commercials. Commercials during *Salatut elämät*, as well as the program’s audience profile, are heterogeneous and targeted at people with

diverse demographic features and lifestyle types. Therefore, the structure of its commercial breaks consists of products for everyone, while *Desperate Housewives* is explicitly targeted at adult females, although with diverse lifestyle features. Finally, *Rescue Me* is targeted at an audience of adult males.

2.4 Challenges of Television Advertising

Naturally, there are problems with each medium of advertising, as there is with television advertising. Even if a consumer is watching a program targeted at his demographic and psychographic group, it does not necessarily mean that he sees the commercials because usually the viewer is interested in the program and not commercials. Nonetheless, the basic assumption is that watching the program equals seeing the advertisement (Stoessel quoted in Briggs et. al. 1998:254). Thus, “peplemeters” that measure the viewer statistics of a program do not necessarily reflect the statistics of a commercial break.

In television advertising, advertisers deal with masses, not individuals. The aim is to measure what the “most likely” buyers have in common (Brierley 1995:27). The greatest problem with psychographic types, as with the demographic types, is that we can probably see all of the possible traits in ourselves at different times and in different contexts (Brierley 1995:33). This is a challenge for advertisers because they want to reach a certain segment of consumers.

Another challenge of television advertising is the cost of a commercial. Television commercials are highly expensive and it is difficult to fill the commercial slot in a substantive way (Geis 1982:10). An example of the costs of advertising is the rates of the Finnish television channel MTV3. MTV3 has made a clear target group division, and their television programs, as well as the costs of an advertising campaign, are divided accordingly. The channel’s website indicates that, for example, a 30-second television commercial during a television program targeted at females whose ages range from 25 to 54 costs 51.8 CPT (cost per thousand), and the size of that target group is

1,034,000. This is equivalent to 0.5 cents for each viewer. The same total for males aged 25 to 54 is 59.2 CPT, the target group size being 1,069,000, which equals 0.55 cents for each viewer. Prime time starts at 6.00 p.m. and ends at 10.29 p.m., and all other times are considered off prime. The main idea is that the more viewers a particular time slot gathers, the more advertising costs. (MTV 3 Spotti 2010) Due to the high costs of television advertising it is important to reach the right target group, which is achieved with audience profiling. Due to the costs, advertisers want to ensure that their money is properly spent, i.e. the message is received by people who are in their brand's market (Brierley 1995:28). Therefore, advertisers build up a demographic and psychographic profile of their target market, including a definition of the "most likely" buyer of the product.

The costs of television advertising have caused another restriction for television advertising, and that is time. Television commercials are usually of short length, averaging from 10 to 30 seconds or even less (Janoschka 2004:27-28). It is challenging to utilize that amount of time in an effective and functioning way. Forms of media aim to remain competitive in relation to other forms of media, and that is why newspapers, for example, have responded to television advertising by keeping their advertisement rates as low as possible (Brierley 1995:86). In this way they have sought to attract advertisers who have not been enthusiastic with television advertising due to its costs. A commercial for painkiller "Burana-C" presents the product in a simplistic way: it shows only the package of the product with a Finnish voice-over explaining that the medicine contains vitamin C (*Salatut eläimät*, episode 1829). The length of the commercial is approximately 15 seconds but it manages to convey the important information to the viewers.

For television advertisers it is challenging to keep the audience tuned into the channel during commercial breaks. Janoschka (2004:28) introduces phenomena which might be problematic for advertisers: the concepts of 'zapping' and 'zipping'. Zapping refers to the process by which viewers switch programs when a commercial break occurs (Janoschka 2004:28). Viewers want to avoid the commercials and watch other channels until the break is over. Sometimes a viewer might decide to watch another program

which s/he found while zapping and does not switch back onto the first channel he watched. Television viewers are not always motivated to concentrate on commercials because they might feel annoyed with the flood of advertising information (Janoschka 2004:28). Another problematic phenomenon for advertisers is zipping (Cook 1992:13). Zipping differs from zapping because it means that a program is recorded, and when it is watched the viewer fast-forwards the commercial breaks (Cook 1992: 13). Therefore, zipping and zapping define action where the viewer is interested only in the program and does not want to pay any attention to the commercials.

3 FROM GLOBALIZATION TO MULTILINGUALISM

Globalization and the ability to travel have increased the necessity of learning second and third languages. Nowadays, being able to use several languages is not considered remarkable, in fact, sometimes a monolingual individual might be regarded as exceptional. Multilingual person is capable of understanding three or more languages. The concept in television advertising means that several languages are used in its three modes: picture, music and language (Cook 1992:37). Code-switching is the most common way of employing multilingualism in television advertising. In what follows, the focus will first be on the functions and reasons for code-switching, then the discussion will move onto the use of nationalities and countries as selling attributes, and the chapter will close with a discussion of the special status of English in advertising.

3.1 Code-Switching

People from different parts of the world have become accustomed to the use of two or more languages. They interact with each other and sometimes mix languages. This mixing may happen subconsciously. The only requirement for mixing languages is that both languages are comprehended by the participants. In sociolinguistics, this mixing is referred to as code-switching or code-mixing. According to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 10), code-switching has long been recognized and studied by sociolinguists. The concept is defined as “alternation among different speech varieties within the same event” (Gumperz quoted in Kelly-Holmes 2005: 10). Code-switching can be applied to both spoken and written language.

‘Max Factorin uusi False Lash Effect -ripsiväri’ is an example of a commercial employing two languages, Finnish and English, in the form of code-switching (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2). There are two types of code-switching. Intersentential switches from one language to the other between sentences and intrasentential switches within the sentences (Myers-Scotton 1992:101). More precisely

analyzed, the Max Factor commercial thus represents an intrasentential code-switch. An example of an intersentential switch is an “Always” commercial which employs Finnish, but the last two utterances are ‘Have a happy period. Always’ (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2). Both of these code-switching types are employed in Finnish television advertising.

There are several reasons for code-switching. Code-switching can be motivated by the topic, which means that individuals decide to discuss a particular topic in a different code or language (Kelly-Holmes 2005:10). Code-switching might be motivated by a dramatic effect or variation to produce for example amusing or provocative results (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 11). A motivation for code-switches might also be the desire to be associated with an ethnic or regional identity, known as tag or emblematic switching (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 11). For example, “Knorr”, a German food manufacturer, advertised a new soup flavor by the name of ‘Fond du Chef’ which translates into English as “foundation due to chef” (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2). Here, French is used for a purely symbolic effect which is the primary motivation for code-switching in advertising (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 14). Even though French is used, it does not carry a referential meaning.

Languages used in code-switching differ from each other in terms of meaning and use. That is why the concepts of matrix and embedded language are introduced. In the Knorr commercial all the information is given in Finnish, which is the matrix language, and French is the embedded language of the commercial. Laura Callahan (2004:11) defines these two concepts in the following way: “Matrix language is the language that provides the grammatical structure in an utterance with a code-switch”. In code-switching the less important language is, therefore, called an embedded language and its elements are deployed in the matrix language. There are some problems with code-switching when the research is driven by advertising. Firstly, code-switching research has mostly covered ‘spontaneous’ and ‘natural’ oral communication, which are not features of advertising. Secondly, the knowledge of the embedded language is neither displayed nor assumed. Nevertheless, it provides a way to interpret a particular message in a particular context. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 11-12) For example, the video game “Modern Warfare

II” is advertised partly in English because all the commands of the game are solely in English. That is why the context justifies the use of English. It should be noted that code-switching is not always seen in a positive light. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 12) reminds that there are scholars who think that code-switching threatens some of the existing languages, and it might even cause language deaths instead of language evolution and change. Contrary to this claim, however, incorporating code-switches into the matrix language may also be regarded as language evolution that is no less significant than the ‘pure’ kind of evolution.

3.2 Nationality and Language as Selling Attributes

Advertisers use foreign languages, nationalities and countries in creating a desired image and in increasing competitiveness. Consumers have prior knowledge of countries, even though sometimes crude stereotypes, and they form an opinion on the basis of this knowledge. These opinions are called fetishes (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 28). Thus, a particular language or nationality causes a certain reaction in consumers. Naturally, advertisers try to choose a language or nationality which causes a positive reaction among consumers.

The country-of-origin effect can be considered a linguistic fetish. It can be defined, according to Jaffe and Nebenzahl (2001:27), as “the country which a consumer associates with a certain product or brand as being its source, regardless of where the product is actually produced”. It is, therefore, a stereotype of a particular country; a way in which people fetishize a country or a culture. For example, cosmetic companies, such as “L’Oréal” often use French language or cities in their advertising because high-quality beauty products are more likely to be associated with France, particularly Paris rather than, for instance, Germany and its capital city Berlin. Sometimes brands use countries with which they want to be linked but with which they have nothing in common. Kelly-Holmes (2005:35) gives an interesting example of beers: Guinness is fetishized to be Irish, although it is actually brewed outside London.

Some brands emphasize a particular country as the origin, or at least the pretended origin, of a product, and, according to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 36), employ the language in order to maximize this purpose. Kelly-Holmes (2005:26) explains this in the following way:

The presence of a word or phrase from the language associated with the country of origin reinforces both the visual and/or aural texture of the advertisement, working with the paralinguage, the graphics, the particular scenario, use of colour and so on, to reinforce the message.

An example of this could be the commercial of car manufacturer “Volkswagen”. The company emphasizes the fact that it is from Germany with its slogan ‘das Auto’, denoting ‘the car’ in English (*Rescue Me*, episode 2). As Jaffe and Nebenzahl point out in their study (quoted in Kelly-Holmes 2005:30), Germany’s image is associated with “reliability, solidity and quality”. Country image is not a static phenomenon, nevertheless. Jaffe and Nebenzahl (2001:21) state that the images change over time. Hence, the image of a country has an effect on its products. Moreover, a country image is not completely independent of products. For example, Afghanistan is considered a third world underdeveloped country. Asked about its products, most would rate them at the bottom of the scale. Yet, Afghan rugs are highly valued in world markets. (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2001:21) Therefore, consumers’ prior knowledge of the country might sometimes be deceitful.

English as the global language differs from other languages in the sense that it is usually used in commercials because it is not directly linked to country-of-origin competence (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 68). For example, L’Oréal is associated with France even though the company employs English in the commercials, and even the slogan, ‘Because you’re worth it’, is in English. English-language slogans are a popular strategy adopted by brands that want to appear international (Kelly-Holmes 2005:71). This is one of the fetishes associated with English. Another example is the Finnish cosmetic store chain “Emotion” (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1824). The company has an English name even though it is otherwise recognized as all-Finnish. A third example of a patriotic company, apart from the name, is the Finnish national airline, “Finnair”, who set its wintery commercial in Finland. There is a reindeer looking for its family and she runs

through snowy fells while following a bright light in the sky. The light turns out to be a Finnair aircraft, and the commercial ends happily as the reindeer finds her family and the plane lands safely on the runway surrounded by snow. Even the colors of Finnair are patriotic, blue and white, representing the colors of the Finnish flag. (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1829)

Brands' seeking to appear international is not the only reason for using English. In some fields the technical lexicon is in English, for example in video games, such as *Modern Warfare II*, the commands sometimes function only in English. Another situation where English could be used is a multilingual culture. For example, English can be used in a bilingual country. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 67, 69, 71, 73) English is a *lingua franca* and that is why it is useful in, for example, bilingual or multilingual countries. Jennifer Jenkins (2007:1) defined a *lingua franca* as a contact language used among people who do not share a first language. People want to feel unity which leads to a feeling of safety and that, according to Jenkins (2000:11), is one of the reasons why English is a global language. So, people need to have a common language in order to travel, do business and communicate.

English is considered trendy due to the associations with British and American influenced popular culture and media. Through printed press, advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures and popular music, English dominates one's aural and visual senses in the western world. At the end of the nineteenth century mass production had increased in volume, fostering competitiveness. Accordingly, magazine publishers realized that advertising was a source of income that allowed them to decrease the price of a magazine. This opened up the markets for advertising in the printed press and on television later on. English conquered Europe when commercial channels developed and nowadays English is undeniably the most used foreign language in advertising in the European countries. (Crystal 1997: 85-86) Some people are concerned about the expansion of English in terms of national languages of some countries. Anderman and Rogers (2005:2) state that with minor languages their uniqueness and survival could be jeopardized. This is an important matter since influences of English are visible in the use of Finnish, as well.

People respond to the use of foreign languages and cultures in a variety of ways which results from their demographic and psychographic categorization. Jaffe and Nebenzahl have identified four different types of consumers. The first type is 'patriots' who, as the name suggests, prefer domestic companies and products, the second type is 'cosmopolitans' who are open-minded and capable of judging products on an equal basis, the third type is 'traitors' who prefer to buy imported rather than domestic goods, and the fourth type is 'hostiles' who have negative attitude toward a particular country or nationality and will not buy products imported from that country (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2001:71). The linking factor for the different consumer types is the recognition of the country of origin, whether seen as a positive or a negative attribute.

4 “WHEN EVERYDAY THINGS BECOME EVERYDAY PLEASURES” – MULTILINGUALISM IN FINNISH TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Commercial television channels are created by advertisers and consumers. Commercials would not function without the interest of both advertisers and consumers. Program slots are sold to advertisers by presenting the viewer profile of the program that corresponds to the most likely buyers of the advertiser's product. This clarifies the importance of advertising on television and why television channels acquire different kinds of programs for their channel. Cook (1997:37) divides the means of advertisements for attracting the viewer's attention into three modes: language, music and picture. Multilingualism can be noticeable through all these modes. The commercials were divided into categories which represent the product they are advertising. Later on, the commercials of this study were divided into all-Finnish, multilingual and all-foreign commercials. By looking at these variables, this research aims to study multilingualism in Finnish television advertising. As it was hypothesized, product categories of programs have an impact on the use of foreign languages in television commercials. Len Masterman (1985:215,216) states that audiences are receivers of messages who use the media actively and make positive choices based on their own needs and likings. The audience receives the message that is created by the advertisers. The analysis will first focus on the use of foreign languages in the commercials which introduces multilingual commercials and all-foreign commercials. The commercials will be analyzed on the point of view of product categories. This will be followed by an analysis of commercials which do not employ foreign languages at all, known as all-Finnish commercials. After that, programs and the use of foreign languages in them will be compared.

The recordings were conducted in November 2009. The consecutive episodes of *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* were recorded, and *Salatut elämät* was recorded on the same days as either *Desperate Housewives* or *Rescue Me*. Thus, the total of the commercial breaks was the same in all of the programs. The table 4 illustrates the

number of commercials per each break as well as the days when the episode was recorded.

Program	Nov. 9	Nov. 12	Nov. 16	Nov. 19	Total
Salatut elämät	10	13	12	13	48
Desperate Housewives	24	-	27	-	51
Rescue Me	-	22	-	17	39
Total					138

Table 4. Commercials per program.

The total of commercials nearly equals between *Salatut elämät* and *Desperate Housewives*, while *Rescue Me* had less commercials. During the recordings of *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me*, the audiences received altogether 138 messages in the form of commercials. On MTV3 and Channel Four sponsors are identified with sentences such as “sponsored by” or “provided by”, which were expressed both in written and spoken form. Sponsoring commercials appear as the first and last commercials of a commercial break. Only *Desperate Housewives* had “break bumpers” during the recordings; those were “Schwarzkopf” hair-styling products, “LadyVita” vitamins and “Amarula” liqueur (*Desperate Housewives*, episodes 2, 3).

First, the commercials were divided into categories according to the product they were advertising. The categories were cars, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, food and drink, technology and travel and miscellaneous products. The product categories were chosen in order to find differences between the programs. Table 5 illustrates the division of product categories during the programs.

Program	Cars	Cosmetics	Pharmaceuticals	Food & Drink	Technology & Travel	Misc.
Desperate Housewives	-	10	9	14	7	11
Salatut elämät	-	2	15	16	8	7
Rescue Me	9	-	6	12	8	4
Totals	9	12	30	42	23	22

Table 5. Categorization of commercials.

Categorization revealed some differences between the programs and the products advertised during them. This information is important when studying the commercials in order to prove differences in programs' viewer profiles. Recordings of the commercial breaks constituted the basis of the analysis of this study. The basic method of the theoretical framework, upon which the analysis was based, is to discover to what extent foreign languages are used in Finnish television advertising, and if the viewer profile had an effect on the quantity of multilingualism. Thus, the following research questions were answered: Which category employs multilingualism the most and which the least? Which mode conveys the most information in foreign languages? Are there differences in the use of foreign languages during the programs?

The commercials were further divided into categories of multilingual, all-foreign and all Finnish commercials according to the languages used in them. The division of the languages used in the commercials is presented in Table 6.

Languages	Total
Multilingual	70
All-Foreign	8
All-Finnish	60
Total	138

Table 6. Languages in Finnish television advertising.

As the table illustrates, multilingual and all-Finnish commercials dominated the commercial breaks. Multilingual commercials were further divided into subcategories in order to highlight multilingual elements: product name or setting only, slogans or lyrics only and longer expressions. The examination focused on the product categories by comparing them with the viewer profiles of the programs in order to find out which category employs foreign languages the most. After that the results were compared with each other from the point of view of the program.

The commercials were studied from the point of view of the quality of foreign languages used. Kelly-Holmes (2005:104) concludes that there is a clear differentiation between the language as decoration (the assumption in this study is that foreign languages are used in this way) and the language as information (Finnish). Even though Finland is a bilingual country the commercials are not both in Finnish and Swedish because the majority speaks Finnish. For example grocery stores advertise only in Finnish on television, therefore the language as information is considered to be Finnish only. The aim is to prove whether Kelly-Holmes's (2005:74,104) argument about the decorative status of foreign languages and their usage in advertising is valid when it comes to Finnish television advertising.

4.1 Foreign Languages in Commercials

Nowadays, because of globalization, it is more and more common to use foreign languages in the advertising field. Analysis of Finnish television advertising confirmed this widespread assumption. In the present study, when multilingual commercials and all-foreign commercials were combined altogether 78 commercials employed foreign languages. These commercials were first taken into consideration.

4.1.1 Multilingual Commercials

Code-switching and associations with foreign cultures or nationalities were used in 70 multilingual commercials, which meant that advertisers employed both the domestic and foreign languages or that there were references to cultures other than Finland. Eight commercials employed some other language than English, for example German, Italian, French or Spanish. One example is the German car manufacturer “Volkswagen” with their slogan ‘das Auto’. However, the majority, 62 multilingual commercials, were partly in English.

Multilingual commercials were further divided into the following categories according to the number of multilingual elements used in the three modes: only the product name in foreign language or the setting emphasizing a particular nationality or culture, only slogans or lyrics in foreign language and commercials with longer expressions in foreign language/languages. Table 7 presents the categories and the total for each category.

Categories	Totals
Product name or setting	31
Slogan or lyrics	16
Longer expressions	23
Total	70/138

Table 7. Multilingual commercials.

Table 7 shows that commercials with a foreign product name or setting appeared only slightly more common than those belonging to the category of longer expressions. The commercials belonging to the former category did not have anything else in a foreign language than the name or the setting which clearly fetishized a certain culture or nationality. The category of slogans or lyrics contained fewer commercials compared to the other two categories. This may simply be explained with the fact that usually commercials use either just the product name or they employ longer expressions in addition to slogans. Longer expressions materialized in commercials using foreign language throughout the commercial and localizing it through subtitles, for example, the “L’oréal” commercial with celebrities (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3).

If the only foreign influence in the commercial is the brand/product name, it does not require understanding the foreign language because the picture mode makes it self-evident of what is being advertised. In these commercials code-switching was intrasentential because foreign names were used in otherwise Finnish sentences. For example, British optician store chain “Specsavers” uses English only in the name of the chain, while the rest of the commercial is entirely in Finnish (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1821). However, the name of it connotes a foreign country. In order to understand the commercial, consumers do not need to be aware that ‘specs’ mean eye glasses in colloquial language or that ‘savers’ mean something that aid one to save money or use less of the thing mentioned, because the commercial speaks for itself. Another example is from a domestic brand, “Favora”, which markets quality skincare products. The “Favora” commercial is entirely in Finnish, but advertisers have chosen to use English

in the product name; ‘cleansing gel’ in order to create a more ‘international’ product (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1821). Again, the commercial’s picture mode sufficiently explains the purpose of the product.

The category of foreign product name or setting contained domestic brands, in addition to foreign ones. The total of domestic brands or products using foreign languages in the name of the product was 16, and the total of foreign brands or products was 15. English was used in 27 of the commercials, German in two and Italian in one which emphasizes the dominance of English language. Here are some examples of Finnish brands using foreign languages: toilet paper called “Lotus Soft Embo”, “Emotion” as the name of a beauty store chain, the government owned railway company “VR” was advertised through the picture mode by being set in the Coliseum. As noticeable, these brands and products show plenty of variety.

The product name category appeared in the language, both spoken and written, and picture modes. None of the commercials expressed the name in the music mode. The language mode was used in most of the commercials and only a few employed the picture mode as the only element of foreignness. There were altogether 31 commercials in the category and 30 of them had only the brand or product name in a foreign language. Only one was clearly set in a foreign country and that was the commercial for “VR”. Therefore, it can be said that the language mode is the most popular form of multilingualism when only one element of foreignness is employed.

There were altogether 16 commercials in the category of slogans or lyrics. In this category code-switching was applied in intersentential form. An example of a commercial is of car manufacturer “Seat” (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). “Seat” originates from Spain, which is not usually fetishized with the image of reliability and quality because, according to Kelly Holmes (2005:30), Spain had the least positive image. However, this commercial of “Seat” emphasized the origins of the car in the language of the commercial. In the last scene of the commercial the following text appears: ‘Seat – Auto Emoción’. At the same time a woman pronounces the letter “c” with a Spanish accent. The slogan means ‘car emotion’ in English which can be translated with some

knowledge of Spanish. There were five different car manufacturer commercials; “Seat”, “Ford”, “Subaru”, “Volkswagen” and “Renault”. Car commercials emphasize that cars are interests of males. Only “Renault” commercial has woman driving through a city in a red car with two men in other cars (*Rescue Me*, episode 1).

All three modes were employed in this category. For instance, a telecommunications company, “DNA”, incorporated the song ‘A Change of Heart’ by a Finnish singer Teemu Brunila. This particular song had been a part of several of the company’s commercials and, thus, familiar and recognizable to Finnish people (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). The song itself sounds like a traditional pop song which can be associated with Anglo-American pop culture. Therefore, use of foreign language, in this case English, was carried through the music mode.

Foreign languages through the picture mode in the slogans or lyrics category were employed in an “Eniro” commercial (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). “Eniro” is a Finnish company which provides help in finding telephone numbers, events and facts by telephone. The commercial is clearly set in Helsinki, recognizable from a well-known ice-hockey arena appearing in the first scene. At the same time, viewers can hear heavy metal coming from the ice-hockey arena. One ice-hockey player then shows up in front of the arena, only to realize that he is in the wrong place because the huge banners outside the arena read ‘Blizzard on tour’ and ‘Very Heavy Metal’. He dials the “Eniro” number, speaks Finnish and receives the information on the location of his game immediately. Nevertheless, this category does not presuppose an understanding of the foreign language as it functions at a decorative level, as in the commercials of the product name or setting category.

The third category was longer expressions in a foreign language or languages. Altogether, 23 commercials could be considered for this category. 11 of them were commercials of companies selling cosmetic or wellbeing products, such as French “L’Oréal”, German “Nivea” and American “Max Factor”, and eight of them were advertising food and/or beverage products, for example “McDonald’s”, “Amarula liqueur” and “Snickers”. An example of this category is a commercial for chocolate bar

“Snickers”, introducing Finnish ice-hockey player Jarkko Ruutu, who can be identified from the NHL ice-hockey jersey he is wearing. Narrator says: “Ruutu is an agitator, there’s no question about that. You either love him or hate him. Get on with it” (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). Picture mode is employed as well, because in the locker room, where Ruutu is shown seated, the words, such as ‘sacrifice’, written on the wall are in English. The only thing in Finnish is a short sentence uttered by Jarkko Ruutu himself. Toward the end of the commercial viewers hear a voice of an ice-hockey commentator saying in an American accent “Ooooooh. He’s hit by Jarkko Ruutu”. This is in reference to the roughness that Jarkko Ruutu is known for in NHL.

A commercial of a cosmetic company “Max Factor” introduced new mascara called ‘False Lash Effect Mascara’ by showing ‘before’ and ‘after’ pictures of a model and employing English in its slogan ‘a make-up of make-up artists’ (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2). The picture clarifies the effects of the mascara, although the product name is not translated. This is common to most cosmetic company commercials; the product names are not translated into Finnish. Even monolingual viewers understand through the combination of all three modes what exactly the company is selling. Category of cosmetics was the category which employed multilingualism in the most varied way including country-of-origin effect. For example, one commercial utilized a sentence with a double meaning, which cannot be comprehended without the knowledge of the language. The particular commercial was one for “Always” with the slogan ‘Have a happy period. Always.’ (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2). In this sentence the word “period” has a double meaning, which cannot be understood without the knowledge of English.

The category of longer expressions of multilingualism had six commercials that were partly subtitled. Two of them were advertising the film premieres of “Couple’s Retreat” (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3) and “2012” (*Rescue Me*, episode 2). These commercials were subtitled because films targeted at adults are subtitled in Finland. In addition, two of the subtitled commercials advertised products of cosmetic company “L’Oréal” (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1826 and *Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). Both commercials have one characteristic in common: they use celebrities (models Linda

Evangelista, Laetitia Casta and Doutzen Kroes) whose speech is subtitled. Here, the company decided to value the Anglo-American features of the models. Although they are not from the USA, they all speak fluent English with American accents. Two commercials employed other language than English in this category. Those were subtitled commercials for an American product called “Mobil 1”, which manufactures car motor oils (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). The emphasis on these commercials is on the performance level of “Mobil 1”, therefore, a person from arctic Sweden is telling in Swedish how well it works during winter and a person from a hot and crowded city in Turkey praises the product as well. The main idea in these commercials is to understand the excellence of “Mobil 1”, which is why it is important that the people appearing in the commercial speak their national language. That guarantees the immediate contrast between the two men and the capabilities of the oil no matter what the circumstances.

Product categories that utilized multilingual commercials the most were cosmetics, cars and technology and travel, and a clear majority of them were broadcast during the commercial breaks of *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* which suggests that the psychographic profile of the audience is regarded as “international” and “cosmopolitan”. The analysis of multilingual commercials emphasized the fact that English is the dominant foreign language in the field of television advertising. Still, foreign languages were embedded languages employed in the decorative way while Finnish was the matrix language and therefore dominant in the commercials.

4.1.2 All-Foreign Commercials

A minority of the recorded commercials was categorized as all-foreign, meaning that Finnish was not audible or readable. Altogether, there were eight commercials entirely in a foreign language. The commercial for cream liqueur “Baileys” was targeted at adults and the time of the year was taken into consideration (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). The music mode employed Sammy Cahn and Jule Styne’s traditional American Christmas carol ‘Let it Snow’. In the picture mode, a woman, whose lips are shown, drinks Baileys and this image is straightforwardly united with the slogan of the

company: ‘Listen to your lips’. This commercial is targeted at adults because the legal drinking age in Finland is 18. Moreover, the image it creates is very sensual. It is clear that “Baileys” is something valued by women because men are not present in the commercial in any way. Another all-foreign commercial during *Desperate Housewives* was “LadyVita” in which the vitamin bottle was shown in the picture mode, with the Tom Jones song, “She’s a Lady” playing loudly in the background (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2).

Another example of the all-foreign commercials comes from credit card company “Diners Club” (*Rescue Me*, episode 1, *Desperate Housewives*, episode 2, *Salatut elämät*, episode 1824). The picture and music modes are the most visible ones in this commercial because the scenes are from historical cities, for example Rome, which are filled with attractions and, while the scenes change, there is a song in English playing in the background. At the end of the commercial a voice-over says: ‘When everyday things become everyday pleasures. You belong’. “Diners Club” is a credit card for ‘cosmopolitans’ and therefore it is assumed that people who apply for the credit card know English and recognize the historical attractions in the picture mode. Again, the commercial is targeted at adults because it is impossible to apply for a credit card before turning 18, working full-time and having a stable income.

The all-foreign commercials employed all the modes in the same way; picture presented the product, music supported the picture and language was visible both in the picture as well as in the music mode. The combination of the three modes guaranteed the uniqueness of television advertising as well as an understanding of commercials without the knowledge of that particular language. In other words, consumers are not left confused because of the restrictions they might have in their language abilities. English demonstrated its status as a ‘*lingua franca*’ because it was the only language used in the all-foreign commercials.

4.2 All-Finnish Commercials

There were commercials emphasizing Finnishness in the material which is as important as the ones employing foreign languages and countries. As Kelly-Holmes (2005:78) concludes it is equally interesting to observe and comment upon the many advertisements that are monolingual. A total of 60 commercials employed only Finnish. According to Kelly-Holmes (2005:65), there are sectors that do not use foreign languages in advertising, for example banking, insurance and groceries. There are two simple reasons for this: these sectors want everyone to understand the commercial and aim to construct a relationship of trust with consumers, and this is best achieved through the domestic or local language. Kelly-Holmes (2005:78) defined this as “the purity fetish”. Thus, food and mortgages, for example, are sold in Finnish in Finland. In this study, nearly all completely Finnish commercials fell into these sectors. So, Kelly-Holmes’s (2005:78) argument applies to television commercials in Finland.

From the total of 60 commercials 55 were originally from Finland. There were four dubbed commercials and a commercial of the Finnish version of a “Donald Duck” comic book which had foreign origins. Interestingly, this Disney product is very much all-American, yet its Finnish counterpart was advertised entirely in Finnish including the names of characters (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). Most commercials employed both spoken and written language. For example, a typical commercial of this kind is for grocery store chain “Valintatalo” (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1826). There is a shopkeeper telling about the special offers of that particular week while the products and their prices simultaneously appear on the screen.

Some commercials use the picture mode in order to create the atmosphere that corresponds to Finland and Finnish people. “Lapin Kulta”, a Finnish beer brand, advertises through picture (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). The commercial is filmed in a Finnish sauna, a well-known Finnish icon, and thus it emphasizes Finnishness. Only a few commercials convey the message through music. One example is a commercial of alcohol beverage “Otto Virtanen” where the information of the product is rapped in

Finnish (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). This commercial combines the language and music modes.

The categorization of the products showed that a large proportion of all-Finnish commercials belong to the food and drink category. Kelly-Holmes argues (2005:78) that a large number of the commercials which do not use foreign languages come from the domestic food sector. The argument proved to be valid in this study because 19 of the all-Finnish commercials represented the food sector. Thus, the percentage of food sector commercials in all-Finnish commercials is 34 %. In these cases the lack of multilingualism is deliberate because the brands aim to be identified as Finnish and as selling Finnish goods or foods. There was one general commercial, “Sirkkalehtimerkki” whose main intention was to attract viewers to buy Finnish products, boost their image, and emphasize the excellence of products cultivated in Finland, and the fact that all-Finnish products are marked with a certain sign (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). This confirms the fact that for the food sector it is important to advertise domestic goods, because localized food products are valued by the consumers.

In addition to food sector commercials, only Finnish was used in the miscellaneous commercials, such as commercials of furniture companies “Koti-Idea”, “Suomi-Soffa” and “Unikulma” (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1824, *Desperate Housewives*, episode 2) that seek to be linked to the impression of Finnish quality and the fact that their products are manufactured in Finland employing Finnish citizens. In the “Suomi-Soffa” commercial the latter is mentioned by the CEO of the company, emphasizing the Finnishness of their products (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1826). The rest of the all-Finnish commercials represent banking and insurance services as well as the medical sector. All these different sectors comprise one larger sector with one thing in common; they aim at constructing a relationship of trust with the consumer and, naturally, it is best achieved with the domestic language. A product with a Finnish name and Finnish-language commercial is identified as more reliable than exactly the same product with, for example, Spanish name. Nevertheless, it should be noted that nowadays some banks and insurance companies have merged with foreign companies why they are not as Finnish as they used to be.

All-Finnish commercials can appear in the form of dubbing when language and picture modes are combined. One of the most important things about dubbing is lip-synchronization which makes the whole process rather demanding. In television advertising dubbing is easy to notice because of lack of lip-synchronization, which reveals that the commercial originates from a foreign country but identifying a particular nationality, without any other references to it, is difficult. These commercials were “Dr. Oetker’s Paula Pudding”, “Glade One Touch”, “Nivea” (*Salatut elämät*, episode 1821, 1826) and “Tresémme” (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). In the “Paula Pudding” commercial the message is conveyed through the music mode and a rap song. The song is sung in Finnish by young children who are shown dancing and eating the pudding at the same time. The chorus of the song is challenging and that is why it is clearly noticeable that the commercial is dubbed, even though the sceneries and children look rather Finnish.

Both the “Paula Pudding” and “Glade One Touch” commercials are created with the help of children, which suggests that implicitly they are targeted at children or at least they show children in order to attract parents to buy the products. Therefore, the picture mode is important for these two commercials. In the “Glade One Touch” commercial a mother and her young son are debating about going to the bathroom. The boy wants to go and use his friend’s bathroom because it smells better thanks to “Glade One Touch”. Then the mother decides to buy the product and their bathroom ends up smelling as refreshing as the friend’s bathroom. In this commercial, in addition to the lack of lip-synchronization, the bathroom and the toilet do not resemble traditionally Finnish ones.

The other two commercials represented beauty products companies. The third dubbed commercial was for German cosmetic company “Nivea”. In the commercial, two middle-aged women are eating presumably lunch in a skyscraper and talking about their problems with ageing and wrinkles. In the background of the scene a non-identifiable skyscraper can be seen. The fourth dubbed commercial was that of “Tresémme” which is a U.S.-based company manufacturing hair care products, even though the name of the brand sounds French and, thus, supports the foreign origin image. Demetrius Pombo

from Los Angeles, who is identified as the founder of the company, recounts the history of the company with the help of subtitles. His lines are dubbed which is confusing because the viewer clearly sees that the commercial is set in Los Angeles due to some identifiable landmarks, e.g. Rodeo Drive and the Hollywood sign. “Tresémme” was the only dubbed commercial that employed the country-of-origin effect. All dubbed commercials overlap in two modes: picture and language.

Even though the programs had all-Finnish commercials during their commercial breaks there was variation as presented in Table 8.

Program	All-Finnish Commercials
Desperate Housewives	18/51
Salatut elämät	28/48
Rescue Me	14/39
Total	60/138

Table 8. All-Finnish commercials.

The total of recorded commercials during *Salatut elämät* was 48, out of which 28 all-Finnish, which confirmed the fact that more than half of the program’s commercials were completely in Finnish. *Desperate Housewives* had altogether 51 commercials and 18 of them were in Finnish which gave a smaller percentage of all-Finnish commercials, as was the case with *Rescue Me* which had altogether 39 commercials and 14 of them in Finnish. This suggests that demographic and psychographic features of viewers of Finnish soap opera, *Salatut elämät*, are more potential buyers of products that are advertised in Finnish. These product categories feature food, banking and insurance sectors.

An interesting fact is noticeable in the use of the national language in Finnish television advertising. None of the commercials employ Swedish, which is the second official language in Finland. Neither voice-overs nor the text have a word in Swedish. This

could be explained with the fact that the channels, MTV3 and Channel Four, subtitle programs into Finnish and Finnish programs are not subtitled into Swedish. The only Swedish television channel, FST⁷, is run by the government and commercial breaks are not employed. Therefore, Swedish-speaking citizens do not have a free-of-charge commercially operated Swedish television channel. Still, advertisers assume that even this minority is capable of understanding Finnish commercials or instead of Finnish television they watch Swedish channels.

4.3 Comparison between the Programs

Commercial breaks were recorded during different television programs, which showed variation mostly in terms of the product categories. The programs – *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* – had different settings, different kinds of protagonists and supporting characters and different storylines. Therefore, they were chosen and their commercial breaks were compared. It was assumed that commercials and products being advertised differ from each other.

Salatut elämät and *Desperate Housewives* are broadcast on earlier prime time than *Rescue Me*, and these two programs have more viewers than *Rescue Me* according to Finnish viewer statistics. Their commercial breaks are therefore more easily marketed to advertisers and have more commercials than *Rescue Me*. At the same time, television channels are able to charge a higher price for these commercials. *Salatut elämät* has approximately 900,000 viewers daily, *Desperate Housewives* has approximately 450,000 viewers per episode and *Rescue Me* approximately 200,000 viewers per episode. Each program had commercials both in Finnish and in foreign languages.

The Finnish soap opera leader, *Salatut elämät*, had the most commercials in Finnish. One explanation for the high proportion might lie in the fact that the extremely popular program is Finnish and watched by a large heterogeneous audience where age,

⁷ Abbreviated from Finlands Svenska Television (Finland's Swedish Television).

occupation and social status, as well as products being advertised, vary a great deal. Heterogeneous audience might be considered as a restriction or a problem by advertisers because it could be more difficult to reach “more likely” buyers of their product. In all-Finnish commercials language had either an informational or vocative function.

The content of all-Finnish commercials during *Salatut elämät* consisted of products targeted at the whole family, for example food and drink, pharmaceuticals and household items. Dubbed commercials targeted at children and their parents (“Paula Pudding” and “Glade One Touch”) were, rather unexpectedly, recorded during *Salatut elämät*. Both of these commercials have children acting in the scenes, which may lead to children’s desire to purchase the product, but still the message is targeted at adults who, naturally, act as the buyers. This suggested that there are both children and adults in the audience of *Salatut elämät*.

Naturally, there were similar commercials during the programs. Some of the all-Finnish commercials during *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* were the same as during *Salatut elämät* such as newspaper commercials of “Helsingin Sanomat” and “Ilta-Sanomat”, but there were, for example, commercials for alcoholic beverages such as long drink “Otto Virtanen” (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 2) and beer brand “Lapin Kulta” (*Rescue Me*, episode 1). Both of these brands aim to be identified as Finnish. Here, the advertisers wanted their product to be fetishized with the country of origin, Finland. Because of the audience structure of *Salatut elämät* as well as the fact that it is broadcast earlier than the other two programs, such adult-oriented commercials were not shown at all.

In addition, *Rescue Me*, which is broadcast at the latest time when compared with the other two, had one unique all-Finnish commercial for “Miesinfo.fi”, which is an Internet site where doctors give advice for men suffering from erection problems (*Rescue Me*, episode 2). This again proves Kelly-Holmes’s (2005: 28) argument concerning the symbolic nature of foreign languages valid. Since the program in question had men as protagonists as well as a male-oriented audience profile, the particular commercial

appeared only during this program. All-Finnish commercials differed in the totals, as well as in the nature of commercials.

All the programs had commercials where two or more languages were used, and there were no remarkable differences between them, and foreign languages function in a symbolic or decorative way. There were altogether 70 commercials employing foreign languages which were further divided into categories called product name or setting only, slogans or lyrics only and longer expressions. *Salatut elämät* had 19 multilingual commercials, *Desperate Housewives* 27 and *Rescue Me* 24. The multilingual variation during the commercial breaks of the three chosen programs is presented in Table 9.

Program	Product Name or Setting	Slogans or Lyrics	Longer Expressions	Total
Salatut elämät	13	2	4	19
Desperate Housewives	7	7	13	27
Rescue Me	11	7	6	24
Total	31	16	23	70

Table 9. Multilingualism in the commercials.

The first category was represented during each program and it did not show differences between the programs. The category of slogans or lyrics had clearly less commercials than the other two categories. What is interesting is that six of them were car manufacturer commercials broadcast during *Rescue Me*. Car commercials emphasize the masculinity because only one of them had a female driver along with two male drivers. Car commercials use slogans in the language of the company's origin or employ English in the names of car models or both, for example French "Renault's" new model called 'Sport Tourer' and Japanese "Subaru" commercial with its model 'outback' which is advertised in Finnish as 'an authentic quality car from Japan' (*Rescue Me*, episode 2). Another interesting thing is that only two commercials belonging to this category were broadcast during the commercial breaks of *Salatut*

elämät. Nevertheless, this did not mean that foreign languages were not used at all in *Salatut elämät*'s commercial breaks because the subsequent category was utilized.

The category of longer expressions was mostly applied by advertisers during *Desperate Housewives*. There were 13 commercials, whereas the other two programs introduced half less commercials of this category. It was assumed that the target viewers of *Desperate Housewives* are adult women and this category reinforced that assumption because nine out of 13 commercials were beauty products targeted at women. There were commercials from cosmetic companies such as "L'Oréal", "Nivea", "Max Factor" and "Schwarzkopf", all of which introduced products for women. These commercials distinguished *Desperate Housewives* from the other two programs, pointing out evidently that the viewer profile of *Desperate Housewives* consists of women, at least according to advertisers.

If the programs are compared in terms of all-foreign commercials there were altogether eight commercials where all the modes, i.e. music, picture and language, were delivered in a foreign language. *Salatut elämät* and *Rescue Me* had only one all-foreign commercial which was "Diners Club". *Desperate Housewives* had, in addition to the "Diners Club" commercial, two other commercials entirely in English. Those were the vitamin commercial for "LadyVita" and cream liqueur "Bailey's" commercial (*Desperate Housewives*, episode 3). The songs in these two commercials were identifiable because both of them are played on the radio in Finland. Here again, both of these commercials were targeted at women, while the "Diners Club" commercial was targeted at cosmopolitans; both women and men. The target audience might vary because this commercial appeared during the commercial breaks of each program.

Salatut elämät is targeted at a more heterogeneous and larger audience, and its commercial breaks were therefore diverse and contained commercials for children, their parents, teens, as well as senior citizens. *Desperate Housewives* is watched by both women and men, yet the commercial breaks suggested that the majority of the viewers is women, at least according to the advertisers. Manly commercials were introduced by *Rescue Me*, which provided commercials for cars and war games which genuinely are

considered to be men's interests. It should be remembered that these are generalizations and do not apply to every person. Foreign languages function in a decorative way, which means that people can understand the meaning of a commercial without any knowledge of the language. This is due to the fact that television advertising uses three modes, which are picture, language and music. Foreign elements can be employed in any of these modes or combining two or three of them.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to find out whether certain product categories targeted at certain demographic and psychographic groups employ more foreign languages. It was assumed that most commercials are comprehensible without any knowledge of that particular language, and that foreign languages are often used in order to fetishize a particular country or emphasize the connotations of that country or region. On the one hand, television advertising has the unique feature of being audible and visible at the same time, which guarantees the exquisite possibilities for advertisers, but on the other hand, it is demanding with its disadvantages, such as a heterogeneous audience profile.

Most multilingual commercials employed English, although some companies highlighted their roots or wanted to be identified with a country of origin or nationality and employed that language in the commercial. Moreover, there were commercials for Finnish brands which had the product names in foreign languages, as well as foreign brands which employed some other foreign language in their commercials. There were altogether 70 commercials which had foreign attributes and the largest category was a foreign product name or setting. This category employed only the product name or associations with a particular country through the picture mode. This confirms the assumption that foreign languages are used decoratively by every product category. In other words, the matrix language was Finnish while foreign language represented the embedded language.

The category of slogans or lyrics only reinforced this assumption with its 16 commercials. The largest product category was cars, the commercials of which were all shown during *Rescue Me*. This suggested a more masculine viewer profile as I pointed out earlier. Even the category of longer expressions did not reveal a difference in understanding the language. Despite the longer sentences, expressions and songs in the commercial, the core of understanding relied heavily on the picture and on the parts that were in Finnish. Commercials of cosmetic companies used the most multilingualism in their commercials and they were mostly advertised during *Desperate Housewives*. Thus,

it supported the assumption of adult women being the target audience. Commercials of cosmetic companies fetishized a great deal with a particular country or nationality which lead to the conclusion that women are more commonly lured with country fetishes.

The all-foreign commercials constituted the clearly smallest category with only eight commercials. The three modes were all used in order to create an all-foreign atmosphere. Here, *Salatut elämät* had only one and *Rescue Me* only two all-English commercials, whereas *Desperate Housewives* had five. Evidently, these commercials were targeted at multilingual adults. Nevertheless, the names of the products are well-known and that is how also people with no language skills could understand what the commercials were advertising.

To conclude, it can be said that Kelly-Holmes's argument is valid; foreign languages are mostly used decoratively and not informatively, regardless the product category. If the company wanted to highlight the understanding of the commercial and/or create a relationship of trust through information, it was given in Finnish. This was recognized in the all-Finnish commercials which were mostly from the food sector as well as from banking, and this finding also supported Kelly-Holmes's discussion. Commercials are comprehensible even if the viewer does not have any knowledge of the language. In that case some points are, obviously, not understood but the viewer is capable of understanding what is being sold and what is the purpose of that product and/or brand. Still, the commercial remained understandable even for those who do not speak or understand that particular language. Even when the entire commercial was in a foreign language, the picture mode ascertained that the purpose would be understood. Furthermore, it can be mentioned that the majority of languages employed in these commercials was English which emphasizes the status of English as a *lingua franca*.

The total of all-Finnish commercials was 60, and most of them were names of products originating from Finland. Later discussion showed that the majority of the all-Finnish commercials were broadcast during the Finnish soap opera *Salatut elämät*. As a result of the program airing early prime time, the audience structure is more heterogeneous,

which was supported by the findings of the present study. Food & drink and miscellaneous product categories employed mostly the all-Finnish commercials, such as grocery store chains, different insurance companies and furniture store chains.

To conclude, the choice of products advertised during a specific program confirms the stereotypical demographics and psychographics of a viewer. The programs; *Salatut elämät*, *Desperate Housewives* and *Rescue Me* had similar commercials that mainly introduced products for everyday use. Still, each program had unique commercials which revealed the advertisers' target audience. For example, *Salatut elämät* had the most versatile commercials varying from a pudding commercial to a mouthwash commercial. Commercials for the most heterogeneous audience consisted of products which were mostly advertised in Finnish. *Desperate Housewives* had several cosmetic company commercials which employed foreign languages and cultures the most. Consequently, when focusing on the product categories, it can be suggested that *Salatut elämät* has the most versatile and heterogeneous audience whereas *Desperate Housewives* is targeted at young adult women and *Rescue Me* at adult men. In addition, foreign languages and countries were clearly less employed during *Salatut elämät* when comparing to the other two programs which may result from the Finnishness of the program and an earlier broadcast time. Overall, viewer profiles had an impact on the multilingualism in the commercials. Even though there were some similar commercials, the programs differentiated from each other by focusing on one or two product categories.

The limitation of this study was that only three television programs were taken into consideration. Even though differences could be found in these three programs, it might have been easier to compare viewers of, for example children's programs and late night programs, which are clearly targeted at different age groups. However, the main idea of the present study was to prove that there are, in fact, differences in multilingualism even though the programs do not differ from each other a great deal. Still, they have slightly different viewer profiles which affect multilingualism in commercials. That is why these programs were chosen.

This study could be continued by testing programs with clearly different product categories, such as toys and cars. Then, the differences would be even more drastic. One could, for example, conduct a study where only one foreign language, such as English, would be considered. Then, naturally, more commercial breaks would be needed. It would be interesting to see, if there were programs without any multilingual commercials and then reflect that on the viewer profile.

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