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El Making of ... Top Trendit!

Anglicisms in Women's Magazine Advertising in Finland and Spain.

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ABSTRACT

Englanninkielistä alkuperää olevien sanojen eli anglismien määrä mainonnassa kasvaa jatkuvasti ja ne herättävät reaktiota sekä puolesta että vastaan. Sekä Suomessa että Espanjassa englannin kielen käyttö yleistyy koko ajan. Nämä kaksi maata ovat kulttuuriltaan ja kielitilanteeltaan erilaisia: suomi on pieni kieli kun taas espanja on maailman toiseksi puhutuin kieli ja sen asema näyttää vakaalta myös englannin kieleen verrattuna.

Mainonta heijastaa yhteiskuntaamme ja englannin kielen määrä sekä käyttötavat osoittavat kuinka hyväksytyksi tämä kieli koetaan. Tutkimuksessa vertaillaan Suomessa ja Espanjassa julkaistuissa naistenlehdissä olevaa mainontaa ja tarkastellaan miten paljon ja minkälaisia anglismeja niissä esiintyy. Lisäksi tutkitaan missä kohdissa mainoksia anglismeja esiintyy. Tarkastelun kohteena ovat *Elle* ja *Cosmopolitan* lehdet. Hypoteesi on, että suomalaisissa mainoksissa käytetään enemmän anglismeja kuin espanjalaisissa mainoksissa kulttuuriin, historiaan ja kielelliseen identiteettiin liittyvien syiden vuoksi.

Tutkimus osoitti, että suomalaisissa mainoksissa esiintyy enemmän anglismeja kuin espanjalaisissa mainoksissa, mutta jälkimmäisessä anglismityyppien skaala oli laajempi. Kummassakin aineistossa yleisimmät anglismit olivat ns. koodinvaihtoja, mikä tarkoittaa, että anglismit olivat suurimmaksi osaksi yksittäisiä englanninkielisiä sanoja tai lauseita. Eniten anglismeja kummastakin aineistosta löytyi tuotteiden nimistä ja mainosten informaatio-osioista. Myös prosentuaalisesti kummankin maan tutkimusaineistossa oli enemmän mainoksia, jotka sisälsivät vähintään yhden anglisimin kuin mainoksia, joissa niitä ei ollut yhtään.

KEYWORDS: anglicism, advertising, identity, language, code-switching

1. INTRODUCTION

English has invaded all areas of our daily lives. We hear it on the television, we see it in the streets and we spice our speech with it. We have become so used to the abundance of English that we pay barely notice its existence nowadays. One area where English seems to have exploded in popularity, is advertising. The use of English has become more the norm than an exception in advertising in Finland. It is not only the multinational companies which use English in their advertising. Even local companies sprinkle their advertising campaigns with English words and phrases. Clearly, many advertisers trust the selling power of English despite the product's country of origin and the nationality of the target audience. The aim of advertising is to make the consumer to think favourably about a product and the choice to use English helps to create a certain type of image of the product in the consumers' minds. Advertising plays around with meanings drawn from a preexisting culture (McFall 2004: 3–4). Thus, the choice to use English in advertising also reflects our culture and values.

Finland, however, is not alone with the invasion of English. Spain is a country where English may not yet enjoy the same level of popularity as it does in Finland, but is slowly becoming more common on the streets and in the living rooms. The spread of English into these two countries has not happened in the same way or at the same pace. Nevertheless, anglicisms are becoming more frequent in advertising in Spain. It seems that the advertisers in Spain also think that using English in advertisement makes a product seem more significant, more desirable and more personal. Despite the fact that the Spanish language has more native speakers in the world than English, Spain has not remained uninfluenced by the modern *lingua franca*.

English words and phrases that have spread to other languages are called anglicisms in linguistics. The term anglicism refers to syntax, grammar, meaning or a structure that is borrowed from English. Anglicisms may be words that are either directly borrowed into another language or words that have been adjusted to fit the appearance of the other language.

The aim of this thesis is to study the use of anglicisms in the magazines *Elle* and *Cosmopolitan* in the years 2009 and 2010, printed in two non-Anglophone European countries: Finland and Spain. The thesis aims to unravel whether there is a difference in the use of English in the advertising in the two countries.

There are three research questions studied in this thesis:

1) How many anglicisms are there and what type of anglicisms are the expressions found in the material? The anglicisms in this study are divided into three main categories: *active anglicisms*, *reactive anglicisms* and *code shifts* (Gellerstam 2005: 164–166). These main categories can be further divided into several sub-categories. The categorization is based on the degree of changes that an anglicism has gone through in the process of integration into the target language, and on how English is used in a non-Anglophone context. Active anglicisms are lexical borrowings that may have a naturalized spelling and may be used in compound words mixing the English loan and the target language, like for example in ‘spa-kokemus’ (a spa experience) (Finnish *Cosmopolitan*: 111). They are naturalized items and are accepted as valid words in the target language. Reactive anglicisms refer to changes that have happened in the target language in either meaning, spelling, pronunciation or punctuation because of the influence of English. The changes may be systematic or isolated. For example ‘kuumimmat tähdet’ (the hottest stars) (Finnish *Elle*: 14) is a reactive

anglicism because there has been a change in the semantic meaning of the words in Finnish. Reactive anglicisms are words that are accepted already in the vocabulary of the target language. Finally, code shifts are English words and sentences that appear in a non-Anglophone context. Code shifts are not accepted as part of the vocabulary of the target language and tend to be used only by a certain group. A code shift is for example a whole advertisement solely in English. I set to find out which types of anglicisms are most frequent in the material and categorize them respectively.

2) Where are the anglicisms located? The possible positions that the anglicisms in the advertisements have are divided into *brand names*, *product names*, *slogans*, *information* and *product pictures*. Schmitt et al. (1993: 56) has classified the node types of advertisements into three main elements: brand names, word message and visual message. Brand is the identity of a specific product, service or business and it can be a name, letters, numbers, a symbol, a signature, a shape, a colour or a particular typeface. (Blackett 2004: 3). A brand name can refer to a service or a business but also to a product. However, in this study, product names were considered separate from brand names. A slogan, as part of the word message, is a memorable motto or a phrase that is used as a repetitive expression of an idea or a purpose and can be a part of a brand. Information is also a part of the word message in an advertisement and it refers to all other texts in the advertisement that are not brand names, product names or slogans. Visual messages are the pictures a print advertisement contains. As many advertisements contain other pictures than merely those of the products, text on these pictures is categorized as either a brand name, a product name, a slogan or information, depending on the text.

3) What are the differences in the findings when comparing the Finnish and the Spanish material? The aim is to determine if there are any significant differences in the use of anglicisms between the two materials. Are there more advertisements that contain anglicisms in Finland than in Spain? Does the number of the anglicisms used in advertising in the two countries differ considerably? To which type of anglicisms do the two languages seem most receptive? In which part of the advertisements are the anglicisms most often used?

The frequency and type of the anglicisms found in advertising is one indicator of how acceptable they are considered to be in the country. Their acceptability is related to national identity which is tightly knit with language; therefore making the reaction to the spread and use of anglicisms different in each country. The hypothesis is that in Finland, the influence of anglicisms is more openly accepted than in Spain due to reasons relating to culture, history and language identity.

National identity strongly influences the way in which a nation receives and accepts English as a global language. Spain and Finland have little in common when it comes to history and language. Spain is an old colonial power and has a long, extensive and well-documented history dating back hundreds of years. Spanish¹ is widely spread and it is influenced by its many varieties: South American dialects of Spanish contribute to the variety spoken on the old continent. Finland, on the other hand, is a country that has become independent less than a hundred years ago and the development of the Finnish culture differs a great deal from that of Spain. Furthermore, there are only 5 million Finnish speakers compared with the 40 million Spanish speakers.

¹ Spanish is actually called Castellano in Spain. Spain itself has several other languages in addition to Castellano and this will be discussed later in this thesis. However, for clarity's sake, I will use the established name "Spanish" in this thesis to refer to the material in Castellano.

In addition to historical background and language, other factors that influence the reactions to English include cultural and national identity and how knowledge of foreign languages is valued. Outside influences may also create pressure for learning and using English. These influences come from sources such as the media and educational policies. Many of these factors are interconnected and are therefore hard to separate. Cultural identity, for example, is shaped by historical events and vice versa.

In comparing the number of native speakers, English is only the third or fourth largest spoken language in the world after Chinese, Hindi and Spanish (Lewis 2009). However, if taking into account also the non-native speakers, English is overwhelmingly the most widely spoken language in the world. Around every fourth of all mankind speaks English well or quite well. (Crystal 2003: 6) There are many reasons why English has spread around the world. One of the reasons is that the language itself was born as a mix of other languages and therefore it has been open for influences. English is not considered to be connected to one certain nation only, at least not anymore. It has been used in many different contexts and historical situations.

Historically one of the most important reasons is the British Empire that at one point covered half of the planet. After the Second World War, the development of The United States to a super power with significant economic, technical and political power, has contributed to the spread of English. The third main reason is economical and cultural globalization that have taken place over the last decades. In global economics English is an easily available tool of communication and nowadays any employee of an international company is expected to be able to communicate in English without the help of translators if the situation requires speaking English. The cultural globalization has also happened in English: the media, such as films, television, popular music and electronic games have transmitted English around

the world. Especially on the internet, the communication in international forums and message boards takes place in English. (Leppänen et al. 2008: 12–13)

After the Second World War, English and anglicisms began to spread into the national languages in both Spain and Finland. While in Finland, German used to be the first choice for those who wanted to study a foreign language (Leppänen et al. 2008; 17–19), in Spain French had been the most popular foreign language to study with over 90 percent of the students choosing it as their first foreign language. English was the first optional language on both secondary and university levels for merely 5 percent of the students (Rodriguez 1999: 113).

Because language is one of the fundamental markers of nation, resistance against the spread of English into national languages has risen. Language purism is not an unknown phenomenon in either Finland or Spain. Individuals as well as institutions have taken a stand on this so called language corruption. They tend to perceive that the English influence alters their native language in an undesirable way, making it less prestigious and pure. English influences are seen as a way of losing the national identity in both Spain and Finland. Therefore many have risen to resist what may seem unstoppable to others. People have spoken for and against the global spread of English. For example Crystal (2003: 2) sees it as a tool with many uses and advantages, whereas Skutnabb-Kangas (2003: 4) describes it as a killer language.

1.1 Material and Method

The material of this study consists of altogether 160 advertisements. 115 (72 percent) of the advertisements are from the Spanish magazines and 45 (28 percent) are from the Finnish

magazines. The magazines are from the years 2009 and 2010. Altogether four issues were studied, two of which were from Spain and two of which were from Finland. The material consisted of a Spanish *Cosmopolitan* and a Spanish *Elle* (from now on indicated as SC and SE) and of a Finnish *Cosmopolitan* and a Finnish *Elle* (from now on indicated as FC and FE).

Cosmopolitan was first published in the United States from where it has spread to other countries around the world. The magazine is published in 34 languages and it reaches 75 million readers. In Spain, the magazine's readership extends to over 834.000 regular readers (Cosmopolitan Spain 2010) while in Finland the corresponding number is 256.000 (Cosmopolitan Finland 2010). The magazine promises interesting topics of discussion for women, with a modern design and a touch of humour. *Cosmopolitan* wants to represent a lifestyle for enthusiastic, independent women. The magazine also offers itself as a point of reference for women in the media. (*Cosmopolitan* Finland 2010)

The *Elle* magazine was founded in the France in 1945 and later bought by an American publishing company. From there it has spread all over the world, with 42 editions in more than 60 countries. Their readership is 23 million readers globally. (HFMUS 2010) *Elle* states that their typical reader is a dynamic and modern woman who is interested in the world around her. *Elle's* issues deal with the world of fashion, aesthetics, the latest trends, cultural vanguards, social tastes or any kind of advance that contribute to the quality of the lives of the readers. (*Elle* Spain 2010) *Elle* was launched in Spain in 1986 but in Finland the magazine is quite new: the first issue was published in the late 2009. The Spanish *Elle* (2010) states its readership to be 654 000. The Finnish readership extends to 121 000 readers (Kansallinen Mediatutkimus 2010).

The types of advertisements found in the magazines can be divided into eight main categories which are beauty and hygiene advertisements, advertisements for artefacts,

advertisements for events, advertisements for nutrition, advertisements for different kinds of services, advertisements for television programmes and movies, and finally advertisements for infomercials.

Beauty and hygiene advertisements promoted such commodities as make-up and hair products. A large majority of the beauty and hygiene advertisements were perfume or scent advertisements and make-up advertisements. Other advertisements in the group marketed skin-care products, especially anti-aging creams, hair products such as shampoos and conditioners but also dying products and hygiene products such as deodorants, tooth pastes, tooth brushes and lip balms. Advertisements for artefacts promoted watches, shoes, clothes, bags, jewellery, computers, other magazines, tampons and sanitary pads; cars and cleaning products. Service advertisements included hairdresser services, insurance company advertisements, advertisements related to leisure time, for example advertisements for hotels; mobile phone services, restaurants and divination services, whereas nutrition related advertisements included both food and drink advertisements. The distribution of the types of advertisements in the material can be seen below.

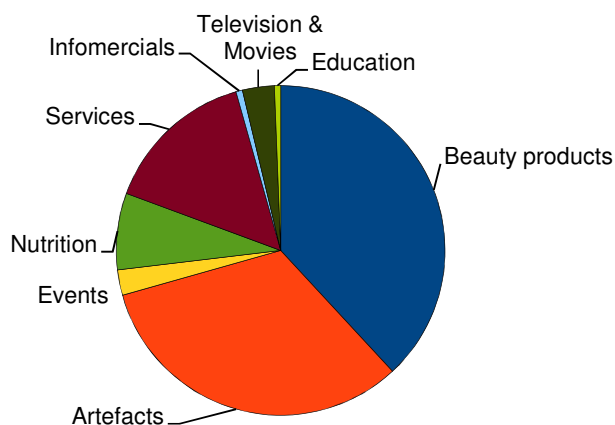


Figure 1. The types of advertisements in the material

All the advertisements in the material were counted and categorized respectively. From there, I continued to count the exact number of the anglicisms in the advertisements for each magazine. After this, I categorized the anglicism accordingly, using the categorization of active anglicisms, reactive anglicism and code shifts. In order to determine the type of each anglicism, I used a selection of dictionaries and grammar books to see if the anglicism was already accepted as a part of the vocabulary or grammar of Finnish or Spanish.

The dictionaries I consulted were *Otavan uusi sivistyssanakirja* (Turtia 2005) and *Kielitoimiston sanakirja 2.0* (2008) for the Finnish material and *El diccionario de Real Academia Española* (R.A.E. 2010) for the Spanish material. In the cases, where the anglicism was not a word but a change in punctuation, spelling or pronunciation, i.e. a reactive anglicism, the following grammar books were consulted: *Iso suomen kielioppi* (SKS 2004) for the Finnish material and *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (R.A.E. 2010) for the Spanish material.

If the anglicism was found in the selected dictionaries, it was counted as an active anglicism or as a reactive anglicism (in the cases where the reactive anglicism was a word). If, however, the anglicism was not found in the selected dictionaries, it was counted as a code shift. In the cases of reactive anglicisms that were not words, if the reactive anglicism was found in the grammar book, the change was considered to be systematic; otherwise it was considered to be isolated.

I also examined the locations of the anglicisms found in the material and this way, I was able to determine the frequencies for each location. The distinction between a brand name and product name was determined by consulting the manufacturer, usually via their website. For example, under the name *L'Oréal* there is a whole range of products, thus making *L'Oréal* a brand name and any other names referring to a product in their advertisements, a

product name. Slogans were often found as separate phrases in the advertisements. To confirm that a phrase was, indeed, a slogan, I also consulted the manufacturer. All other texts that did not fall under the above categories were treated as information. Only pictures that were only of the product itself and had text on them were counted in the category of product pictures.

From the results of examining the type of anglicisms and their location, I formed an overview for each magazine and was able to compare the differences between the Finnish and the Spanish materials. By counting carefully the number of each type of finding, whether the type of an anglicism or its location, I was able to compare all the findings in the material in a quantitative manner.

1.2 Previous Studies

There are many studies that have focused on the spread of anglicisms into national languages. In the following, I will present studies about code-switching, the linguistic phenomenon that forms the basis of how anglicisms are formed and used; as well as previous studies about the influence of English on the Finnish language and the Spanish language, and finally, studies about anglicisms in the specific context of advertising.

Code-switching, as a phenomenon, has been studied widely. Carol Myers-Scotton, with her study called *Duelling languages* (1993), has contributed to the discussion about code-switching by introducing the matrix language – embedded language model. The matrix language is the main language of the discourse and the language is mixed with it in various ways. Myers-Scotton has studied the grammatical structure of code-switching. The matrix

language – embedded language model aims to account for all code-switches in terms of grammars of the participating languages. Her study focuses on spoken language.

Carla Jonsson has discussed written code-switching in her study on the language in Chicano Theater (2005). According to her, there is merit in listing the local functions of code-switching as it provides a basic idea of how and where code-switching takes place. She says that code-switching fulfills creative, artistic, literary and stylistic functions and can be used to give emphasis on certain words. Bilingualism is way of creating an in-group as the nuances of the code-switches are often not understood by non-bilinguals.

Martin Gellerstam's study *Fingerprints in Translation* from 2005 provided the theoretical basis for the categorization of anglicisms for this thesis. He has studied the behaviour of anglicisms in especially Danish but has expanded his models to other languages as well. According to Gellerstam, anglicisms are introduced into a language via either personal contacts and impersonal contacts, of which the latter has become more and more important over the years. Advertising is a kind of impersonal contact that influences the spread of anglicisms into other languages.

The frequency and type of anglicisms have been studied both in Finland and Spain. Moore and Varantola with their study *Anglo-Finnish Contacts: Collisions and Collusions* (2005) have researched the situation of English in Finland. Finns have a habit of localizing English acronyms to make them sound more Finnish. There are many words that have more or less fully assimilated into especially spoken Finnish. Such words include 'brändi' (brand), 'trendi' (trend), 'netti' (internet) and 'surffata' (to surf). For many, a corresponding Finnish word might exist but may sound artificial or odd. (Moore & Varantola 2005: 140) Punctuation and spelling of compound words have also been affected by English. Compound words misspellings have become more and more frequent in Finland and often

English gets the blame. (Kotilainen ja Varteva 2005: 89) In especially advertising, a certain crowd seems to think that the use of English makes a product or an establishment sound sexier, cooler and more attractive, while certain homespun crafts and customs refrain from the use of this trend. Moore & Varantola claim that “the more a particular business hopes to entice people to buy their products, the more likely it is that English is used” (2005: 135). Especially enterprises that associate with beauty enhancement, sex, gambling, alcohol, music and information technology are more inclined to use English in their names. (Moore & Varantola 2005: 135)

Silva-Corvalán (2000) has attempted to categorize the influences of English on Spanish. These include, but are not restricted to, lexical borrowings and technical vocabulary. Furthermore, she has found a phenomenon she calls 'the simplification of grammatical categories' such as the simplification of linguistic forms and mood; and calquing of pragmatic forms such as 'Cuídate' and 'Te veo' which mimic the function of the English 'Take care' and 'See you'. Rollason (2005: 8) has studied anglicisms in Spain and says that the most recent wave of anglicisms in Spain have occurred on the area of IT with words such as 'formatear' (format) and 'el hardware' (hardware). However, many native coinages have also managed to integrate into the language.

The use of English in non-Anglophone advertising has been studied widely. There are two studies that have helped me especially to shape the theory on advertising and English in this study. Firstly, Helen Kelly-Holmes' extensive study on language and advertising *Advertising as Multi-lingual Communication* (2004) has greatly contributed to the present study by giving a theoretical basis for language fetishization in advertising. According to Kelly-Holmes, languages are used in advertising because a language is tool for fetishizing the supposed, stereotyped competence of a country. English has a special situation in advertising, as it is a lingua franca and thus can be used with different nuances in many

countries. Secondly, Ingrid Piller with her study *Identity constructions in multilingual advertising* (2001) has researched the narratives that bilingual advertisements have. She has found that English is used for future and success orientation but also to represent fun and sophistication.

This thesis will begin with a discussion about the importance of language in the development of a national identity and the identity of speech communities. Next, anglicisms as a phenomenon is introduced. The fundamental background of anglicisms, code-switching, is discussed and a classification of anglicisms is presented in Chapter 3. The fourth chapter will focus on these anglicisms in the specific context of this study – the language of advertising. The section on the results will continue to categorize the findings. Then the results of the Finnish and the Spanish materials are compared with each other and, finally, the possible meanings and reasons behind of what was discovered are discussed.

2. LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

When looking into the use of anglicisms, it is important to understand the historical background and the development of languages and speech communities in Spain and in Finland. This can help us to understand why anglicisms cause different attitudes in these countries. Language is a vital part of one's identity. It also plays an important role in building and establishing a common national identity for ethnic groups. In Europe, for example, language has a crucial but at the same time a varied role in the development of nationalism (Barbour 2000: 15–16). Similarly, language can be important for the identity in smaller speech communities, i.e. groups with a shared language inside nation-states.

Because languages are often tightly connected to national identities, they may produce strong attitudes also among non-native speakers. In advertising, for example, anglicisms are regularly connected to certain beliefs and views of the Anglo American culture. Thus, their frequency of occurrence may display how acceptable they are viewed to be. The types of words and the degree of their integration also tell us about the position anglicisms hold in Finland and in Spain. Therefore it is important to study the role of language in the development of national identities and how this relates to the spread of English into the languages of those nations.

2.1 Language and National Identity

The cultural coherence of an ethnic group is often partly expressed by language. It works in two ways: a distinctive language separates the group from other groups, and a common language tightens the bonds inside a group. Language as well as national identity can be

very important for ethnic identity. Many ethnic groups and nations use a distinctive language in a highly conscious and effective fashion as markers of their distinctive identities. (Barbour & Carmichael 2000: 9) Language can be seen as a symbolic marker of identity that can, among other things, help to distinguish a group from another (Appel & Muyske 1987: 11). The symbolism of language is especially powerful in a speech community where the language used is an ancestral language (Edwards 1985: 17). Different languages produce different types of attitudes, beliefs and views. For an individual, they can be related to the knowledge that they have about a language. For a community, they can be related to the relevance of a language, or a language might get a symbolic dimension. A language will point out that the speaker is a part of a nationality or a group and has a certain identity. A language may also gain respect for the speaker or stir emotions. (Johansson & Pyykkö 2005: 13)

Standard languages can be seen as products of modern nations and nations as products of modern communication that allows the effective functioning of states. (Barbour & Carmichael 2000: 13) This shapes up the construction of building a national identity from a standard language, something that has been an aim at some point both in Finland and in Spain. A standard language is a language variety that has undergone the process of standardization during which it is organized for description for grammars and dictionaries. Standard language is often used in public discourse. (Finegan 2007: 14) In Finland this development started from the middle of the nineteenth century when Finland was under the overlordship of Russia (Vikør 2000: 118). In Spain, however, the development started much earlier, at the middle of the 17th century when establishing a national language was part of the political agenda. The reinforcement of Spanish continued upon the nation during Franco's regime. (Mar-Molinero 2000: 87–88) Both of these moments have led to the establishment of standard languages we call Finnish and Spanish.

2.2 National Identity Versus Speech Community Identity

Nations and nation-states in the modern sense are a relatively recent phenomenon. They are important because they are considered in the current dominant political and social order to be those units with which individuals identify the strongest after their families. A nation cannot exist without a shared sense of identity and for people to share an identity, a certain minimum level of communication must be guaranteed. (Barbour & Carmichael 2000: 3–4) Nevertheless, nations and nation-states do not have the same face value. Therefore it is important to make a distinction between the terms. A nation-state is a legally defined entity and a nation is a population. (Barbour & Carmichael 2000: 5) Especially when an identity is in question, an ethnic, non-national identity might be stronger than the identity related to the nation-state that in some cases may be virtually unimportant. (Barbour 2000: 6) Populations that share a non-national identity form speech communities.

The definitions of what a speech community is are various as the term itself is complex. For example Gumperz (1972: 114) defines a speech community as “any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage” (Gumperz 1972: 114). Wardhaugh’s definition focuses less on regular interaction and more on the language itself. He says that as language is both an individual and a communal possession, it is expected that certain individuals would behave linguistically like other individuals. Therefore they would employ the same code, i.e. speak the same language, dialect or variety and could be identified as members of the same speech community. (Wardhaug 2010: 118) Brutt-Griffler (2002: 143) defines a speech community as a type of social grouping in which shared subjective knowledge exists and can be linguistically communicated easily and readily among the members of the group. Thus, a speech community, depending by definition, shares a language, knowledge and customs.

It is important to note that an individual can be part of several speech communities at the same time (Wardhaugh 2010: 125). This means for example that a Spanish person, living in Galicia, might be part of the Gallego speech community and the Spanish speech community. In order to be part of several speech communities, each person has also a repertoire of social identities, and each identity will be associated with a number of verbal and non-verbal forms of expression at any given context (Wardhaugh 2010: 128). This means that depending on the communication situation, a person will orientate more towards a certain speech community and the identity related to it. A person's identity, while strongly connected with language, is not fixed but rather evolves throughout life.

2.3 Speech Communities in Spain and in Finland

In Spain the official languages are Castellano, Gallego, Euskadi and Catalan, with the last three mostly spoken in their respective *comunidades autonomas* (autonomous communities). On top of this Aragon, Asturias, Extremeño, Murciano, Andaluz and Canario, all of which have strong speech communities, are prominent regional dialects. Currently around 40 percent of the Spaniards are bilingual in one of the minority languages of Spain. (Carcedo 2005: 147)

During the regime of Franco, the minority languages were repressed and this trend continued even after the regime ended (Stewart 1999: 5). Franco's vision was to have an absolute national unity and this entailed establishing one language that was to be above all others:

La unidad nacional la queremos absoluta, con una sola lengua, el castellano, y una sola personalidad, la española. (Sala qtd. in Stewart 1999: 5)

We want absolute national unity with one language only, the Castellano, an one personality only, the Spanish. (My translation)

The Constitution of 6th of December 1978 aimed to protect the minority languages of Spain, henceforth seen as part of Spain's rich cultural diversity. Nevertheless, the Constitution clearly established Spanish as the official state language despite the many compromises apparent in its drafting. (Stewart 1999: 5) Article 3.1 declares: "El castellano es la lengua oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla"; Castellano is the official language of the State. All Spaniards must know it and have the right to use it. (Siguan 1992: 75, my translation). Turell (2000: 2) claims that after establishing the position of the official languages (Castellano, Catalan, Gallego and Euskadi) in the constitution of Spain in 1978, the new language policy had to confront the monolingual speakers' linguistic intolerance towards speakers of main minority languages and the Spanish society's intolerance towards speakers of regional dialects – those dialects not being only Spanish, (e.g. Andalucian) but also of Catalan, Gallego and Euskadi, with a preference for the standard variety and attempts to make language diversity non-existent. (Turell 2000: 2) The language situation in Spain continues to be sensitive to this day.

In Finland, however, the language situation differs from that of Spain because there are only two official languages, Finnish and Swedish. On top of these, the Sami language, sign language and the Romani language are separately mentioned in the Constitution in order to protect the rights of those who speak them. (Oikeusministeriö 2010) In Finland, nation-state and nation are tightly united (Vikør 2000: 119). Finnish is spoken by 91 percent of the population and Swedish by 5 percent (Tilastokeskus 2010). The language movement in the middle of the nineteenth century contributed greatly to the Finnish nationhood. During the 19th century Finnish was still the language of the common people and Swedish the language

of the élite. After Finnish was accorded an official status in 1863, it was rapidly developed into a language of education and administration. (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005: 125) The linguistic movement fostered a consciousness of Finnish nationhood that was stimulated by the national romanticist idea that a separate language was a fundamental requirement for a separate nation. The movement had not only a national dimension but also a social content. During those times power was held by the minority élite that spoke Swedish, and masses aimed at social emancipation. (Vikør 2000: 118)

A great deal of effort was made in building a national identity, and the Finnish language was an important part of it. Nowadays a large part of the speech community is homogenic. Finnish society is based on a single language for the majority of its inhabitants, in other words, they are able to manage daily life with using only one language. (Leppänen & Nikula 2008: 20) The Finnish speaking part of the population derive much of their national identity from their language. (Vikør 2000: 119–120)

2.4 Reactions to the Spread of English

As English extends all over the world, reaction for and against it are evoked in many countries. According to Rollason (2005: 1), the international role of the English language today is nothing but controversial. McArthur (2001: 61) says that English can at times be a blessing and at times a curse for individuals, for communities, for nations and even for unions of nations. He suggests that the users of the world's lingua franca should seek to benefit it while avoiding the negative aspects that may arise (McArthur 2001: 61).

The worries that the spread of English generates are numerous. Crystal (2003: 114) writes that English may generate antagonism, especially when it is perceived to interfere with the

harmony of the local language. Some scholars (cf. Muhlhauser 1996: 18, Reciento 2000: 18) use the word 'cultural imperialism' to describe their worry for the ever spreading use of English. Anderman and Rogers (2005: 2) feel that the spread of English is related also to other languages becoming extinct. Concerns about the survival of other European languages and their uniqueness disappearing have been expressed. The spread of English has been suggested as a possible explanation for the decline in the interest of students to study modern languages. (Anderman and Rogers 2005: 3) Hiidenmaa (2003: 22) worries that native speakers have the upper hand in communication situations when their component is not able to speak as well as them. Also the change and development of the languages in one's own country is seen as corruption caused by new influences such as the spread of English. "Before" people knew better how to spell correctly, understand the meaning behind each word and the stylistic devices of their language. (Hiidenmaa 2003: 22) All of the above worries have contributed to the arising language purism against English.

Language purism is a phenomenon that dates back to the 17th century when European nations wished to connect a certain language to the state in order to enforce their national identity. Nowadays, it is still viable in many countries and regularly relates to politics. While many seem understand that languages cannot be strictly connected to a certain state because of political, economic, scientific, cultural and private communication needs, language purism seems to be a reaction to the disappearing unity of the language communities and the weakening authority of language institutions. In situations such as disputes about how certain words should be spelled, or how words are borrowed from other languages, the purists fear that undesired cultural influences and attitudes are let in and that they will ruin the national language. (Johansson & Pyykkö 2005: 19)

There are individuals as well as institutions that fight against the spread of anglicisms and English in general. One of the most prominent devotees of keeping Spanish clear from this

so called language corruption is the Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy). Formed already in the 1713, it states as its mission “to watch over [Spain] so that the adaptation and experimentative changes to the needs of its speakers do not break the essential unity that preserves the whole Hispanic environment”. Their main guideline is to “clean, fix and give magnificence” to the Spanish language. (Real Academia Española, 2008, my translation).

In Finland a similar institution is called Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen kieltenhuolto-osasto (Research Institute for the Languages of Finland). More commonly the institute is known as ‘Kielitoimisto’ or KOTUS, and it was founded in 1945. KOTUS gives instructions and recommendations for the use of Finnish, follows the development of the language and participates by making statements on different types of Finnish language-related questions. (KOTUS 2001)

Rodriguez suggests that the reason for anglicisms meeting resistance in many countries is that they are not considered only from a linguistic perspective but from a social angle:

They are bound to introduce special connotations related to the idiosyncrasy of their speakers and the political position of the donor country. Thus anglicisms evoke hegemony of Anglo-Saxon countries, especially the United States, in the international community, and this may trigger markedly purist (nationalist) attitudes. (Rodriguez 1999: 108)

Hannele Dufva (2005: 111) feels that the problem with anglicisms simply lies in the fact that there are too many to fight against. She further states that because for example Finnish is in many ways an artificially constructed language formed when national identities and their admiration grew stronger in Europe, the dislike of foreign influences is still strong in nations like Finland. (Dufva 2005: 115-116)

However, not all are worried that English will displace national languages. Brutt-Griffler (2002: 122) says that English is not a threat as it is spread by its establishment in multilingual conditions and is spoken by bilinguals. She also claims that English as a second language context fulfills only certain intellectual and cultural needs where many people study it simply because it is an important language culturally. (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 122) Moore and Vartola also feel that the influence of English can be handled:

As long as a language can assimilate the linguistic loan, play with it and mold it to fit its own patterns, there is no danger. On the contrary, the changes are normal developments in language contact. What would be worrying, however, is if [...] speakers began to underestimate the status of the language spoken in their own country and instead began to overestimate their skills in English. (Moore & Vartola 2005: 150)

Gellerstam (2005: 171) claims that resistance against anglicisms may be futile as in contemporary Western societies purist arguments tend not to work. He continues to say that the spread of foreign words depends on the people who use them instead of legislation and recommendations (Gellerstam 2005: 171). Taking a look into the future, Crystal (2003: 114) feels that if in 500 years' time, all newborns will be automatically introduced to English and this way become a part of rich multilingual experience, it can only be a good thing. However, he further states that if, by then, English is the only language left to be learned, it will be the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known. (Crystal 2003: 114)

3. ANGLICISMS

Anglicisms not only reflect how the world looks, tastes, or sounds (cf. website, burger or hiphop), they also dictate how it is viewed, what 'good taste' is, and what 'sounds right' in other languages. (Gottlieb 2005: 162)

Anglicisms have been defined in many different ways and no fixed, unambiguous definition exists. For example, the *Merriam Webster* dictionary defines an anglicism to be a characteristic feature of English occurring in another language or an adherence to English customs or ideas (Merriam Webster 2010). This definition, however, is too simplistic and does not consider the contexts in which anglicisms occur. Eva Sicherl (1999: 12) defines an anglicism as "a word borrowed from the English language which is adapted with respect to the linguistic system of the receptor language and integrated into it". Nevertheless, in this study, I will use the definition by Martin Gellerstam (2005: 175) whose definition is wider, namely "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English".

3.1 Borrowing and Code-Switching

Wherever there is bi- or multilingualism, there tends to be borrowing and code-switching. While borrowing, broadly speaking, involves incorporating and frequently assimilating individual words from one language into another, code-switching involves the use of two or more languages, or codes, by the same speaker within a single turn or interaction or between turns. (Stewart 1999: 193) Borrowing (also called loans) usually involves the usage of phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated items (Poplack qtd. in

Halmari 1997: 17). Code-switching, or code-shifting, refers to a situation in which two or more languages are used in the same conversation or utterance. Code-switching can be either intersentential or intrasentential. Intersentential code-switching refers to a switch taking place between the sentences or at a sentence boundary. This means that one sentence or a part of a sentence can occur in one language and the following part in another. Intrasentential code-switching refers to a switch within a sentence, or more precisely, it can either occur within a clause boundary or even within a word boundary. (Ngyuen 2008: 19)

Different language contact situations can be defined by the usage of the matrix language and the embedded language. The language that receives the foreign influence is called the matrix language and the contributing language is called the embedded language. The matrix language, i.e. the main language, determines the fundamental form of a code or a switched utterance, and the embedded language contributes specific elements. (Myers-Scotton 1993: 20) Whatever language the matrix language is, in code-switching between a given language pair, that language has a different sociolinguistic status from the embedded language in that pair. If the status of the embedded language is not different in the community as a whole, it is different, at least, in the interaction type where the code-switching occurs. Furthermore, the matrix language is contributing relatively more morphemes to the conversation, if frequency is considered at a discourse level. (Myers-Scotton 1993: 20) Halmari (1997: 20) also claims that the fact that one of the languages in code-switching ends up looking like the matrix language, is dictated by structural and hierarchical relations under government. She further states that the reason why code-switching looks as if it were taking place within a matrix language frame, is because of the hierarchical relations between sentence elements. Both sociolinguistic considerations and psycholinguistic necessity determine the extent of mixing in a sentence, but syntax helps to contribute to the impression of one of the languages is the matrix language. (Halmari 1997: 20–21)

The distinction between borrowing and code-switching has been debated a great deal. Poplack, Sankoff and Vanniarajan (1990: 74) say that borrowing is a very different process from code-switching since it is subject to different constraints and conditions. Myers-Scotton (1993: 206) presents the idea that both are just different parts of a continuum with borrowing falling apparently more under the direction of the matrix language procedures than code-switching. She states that borrowing and code-switching differ in their status in relation to the matrix language lexicon in that the borrowed forms are entered in the lexicon while code-switch forms are not (1993: 207). However, as Halmari (1997: 18) concludes, the many terms used in the discussion about code-switching are known to be ambiguous and their use as a basis for important generalizations is questionable. In this study, borrowing and code-switching are seen as two ends of the continuum within which the shifts between the matrix language and the embedded language take place.

Choosing one code rather than another may fulfil a rhetorical function and redefine a situation, for example marking a transition from seriousness to humour, formal to informal or equanimity to anger. As discussed in Chapter 2, national identity is closely knit with language. Therefore code-switching may also play a role in resolving questions of identity in societies like Spain and Finland, where monolingual and bilingual communities coexist. For example in Spain, monolingual Spanish speakers may use code-switching in a symbolic way. This means that they may use greetings like 'Agur' (Hello) when in the Basque country or 'Bon dia' (Good day) when in Catalonia. In this way they express their desire to accommodate the preferred language of the other speaker. Conversely, the bilingual speaker often wishes to use their minority language in situations where it is required to use Spanish in order to signal their own identity. (Stewart 1999: 195) Code-switching highlights aspects of language ideologies, power, identity construction and belonging in an in-group. A language cannot be understood without taking into account its socio-cultural context. (Jonsson 2005: 21–22)

3.2 The Charm of Anglicisms

Nowadays only a few – if any – European languages do not to use English words or patterns in modern communication. Studies have tried to show what the possible motivations behind the incorporation of anglicisms into a language are. The reasons behind introducing new words are to verbalize, i.e. to name or identify new objects or phenomena, to generalize or specialize, to express attitudes, emotions and values, to be creative and playful with a language, to signal group membership and establish and maintain interpersonal contacts. (Jarvad qtd. in Gottlieb 2005: 169)

A particular study of anglicisms in Spanish, done by Chris Pratt (qtd. in Gottlieb 2005: 169), has listed some motivations behind incorporating anglicisms into languages. First, there are the linguistic reasons for borrowing:

1. Extrinsic causes (new phenomena are introduced) leading to

- a) adopting the foreign sign meaning the English word
- b) using pre-existing native signs
- c) inventing a new sign of its own.

2. Intrinsic reasons where new tools are invented, for example through affixation, as in adding -izar or anti- to an existing word.

Secondly, there are also extralinguistic causes for borrowing which Pratt names as prestige:

1. Linguistic snobbery “out of desire by the user to appear modern, up-to-date, well-off, well-traveled, well-read, sophisticated etc.” as when using the spelling ‘cocktail’ in Spanish

instead of 'coctel'.

2. Argotic function, meaning for example political and business jargon.
3. Material benefit, meaning for example advertisements and technical texts with expensive-sounding English buzzwords.

However, Gottlieb (2005: 182) claims that the charm that anglicisms have is similar to the charms of idioms and other colorful linguistic devices available to the language user:

Just imagine children in front of a fireplace enjoying a fairy tale full of old and mysteriously sounding expressions, a Nordic woman relishing sweet nothings from her Latin lover, or a medieval sermon in Latin, almost incomprehensible to the congregation, but not without an effect on their souls. (Gottlieb 2005: 182)

Loan words have always acted as treasured additions in communication. He says that the only limit of using such devices is the threshold of cliché where the intended effect is lost and the innovative features become trite.

3.3 The Introduction of Anglicisms into a Language

Anglicisms may be introduced into a language through either personal or impersonal contacts between an anglophone 'source' and a non-anglophone 'target' (Gellerstam 2005: 175). Personal contacts in most of the world's non-anglophone speech communities constitute a major channel through which English-language features, such as anglicisms, are introduced. Nevertheless, since the 1940s, most anglicisms have spread largely through impersonal contacts. They are introduced in target languages through literature and mass

media. At times the introduction takes place directly from English to the target language, but other times it occurs through a mediating language. (Gellerstam 2005: 175) For example, in the case of Spanish, the mediating language has often been French (e.g. *vagón* from *wagon*) (Rodríguez 1999: 112). Advertising, as a part mass media, spreads anglicisms around the world. Advertisements are indirect contacts that are mediated by cultural artifacts (Gottlieb 2005: 161). The media, such as magazine advertising, plays a decisive role in impersonal contacts (Gellerstam 2005: 175).

Impersonal contacts can be further divided into two major cultural export subdivisions: the non-translated – or the original – entities and the translated entities. Most of the original products are non-verbal. They function as symbols of the Anglo-American lifestyle and have a major impact on the language in the target cultures. Original non-verbal products include clothes, food and media technology, whereas the non-translated verbal products presently consumed in non-anglophone speech communities, not least by the youth, include pop songs, video games and Internet communication in English. Translated entities include books, films and television programmes. (Gellerstam 2005: 176) The majority of anglicisms have from the very beginning been verbal and occurred in technical fields. Anglicisms are found in science as well as in the popular jargons of sports (e.g. Spanish *fútbol* from football, *gol* from goal) and leisure activity. There are also borrowings with a more colloquial and unconventional flavor from many more fields, most often found in *journalese*, like political columns and the underground press. (Rodríguez qtd. in Rodríguez 1999)

The material of this study includes both original and translated entities. Original entities in the material include mostly words i.e. verbal entities, such as *glam*, *kiss*, *lips* and *blush* (FC: 32). Original non-verbal products include for example *Levi's Shoes* (SC: 27), *Levi's* being a symbol of the Anglo-American lifestyle. Good examples of translated entities are the

L'Oréal advertisements present in both the Finnish and Spanish materials. The original, non-translated, slogan of *L'Oréal* campaigns is: "Because you're worth it". However, in the material the slogan is found only in translation. The Finnish version (FC: 6–7) goes "Koska olet sen arvoinen". The same version in Spanish *Cosmopolitan* (2–3) goes "Porque tú lo vales". Both slogans are direct translations of the original.

In contemporary non-anglophone Western societies, the influence of English on the general population through people's daily contacts with translated products is enhanced by the mainstream intellectual and business elite, all of who are used to communicating in English. At the same time American-inspired subcultures bring their own influences from a different standpoint. Young computer nerds, skaters, role-playing clubs and hip-hop cultures are often inspired by their American counterparts. The effects of these groups on the average language user are reflected in the campaigns of the influential advertisement industry. (Gellerstam 2005: 176)

For instance in the material of this study, examples of both sophisticated and fashionable English were found. At times, the advertisers focused on sounding professional, like in the advertisement for *Estée Lauder's* facial cream slogan "Advanced Night Repair. Synchronized Recovery Complex" (SC: 4–5). The rest of the advertisement is in Spanish and very science focused. The meaning of "Synchronized Recovery Complex" is left obscure. However, the tone of these words is sophisticated and they are likely to be used for creating a scientific image of the product. Examples of the American subculture influenced advertisements were also found in the material. For example an advertisement for *Reebok* running shoes goes as follows:

Nice booty. Great Sole. Your Move. Easytone. Shoes work your butt with every step. Hey, if the shoe fits (and helps tone at the same time) wear it. Take the gym with you at reebok.com/easytone. (FC: 4–5)

The tone of the advertisement is very casual and the word “booty” is a reference to American youth culture. Advertisements like these bring anglicisms closer to the average language user and influence their further integration to languages such as Finnish and Spanish by introducing new vocabulary or reinforcing the use of existing anglicisms.

However, not all anglicisms are integrated into the languages that borrow them. Anglicisms can be found at different levels depending on factors such as the type of anglicism, the particular item’s lack of prestige and its usage history (Gottlieb 2005: 167). The following list demonstrates the acceptability of anglicisms in a decreasing order.

- a) Integrated items (not intuitively identified as English loans): Danish *hive* from English ‘heave’.
 - b) Naturalized items (identified as English loans and commonly accepted): Danish *weekend* from ‘weekend’
 - c) Implants (English-sounding, accepted by certain user groups only): Danish *hoenge ud* from ‘hang out’
 - d) Interfering items (often slipshod solutions, including mistranslations): Danish *militoere barakker* ‘(military) barracks’; correct term: *kaserner*.
- (Gottlieb 2005: 168)

These four categories represent not only a cline in terms of acceptability, but also a Darwinist race for survival, with many anglicisms beginning their life as interfering items, which – as in the above example – may mislead the unsuspecting reader (‘barakker’ are poorly built one-storey houses). Some new, interfering anglicisms in written sources that are often marked by quotation marks or italics and reach the more advanced ‘implant’ stage, and out of these only a few become naturalized, or end up as fully integrated items. The

dividing line runs between the types b) and c). To many, only the items in c) and d) are anglicisms. (Gottlieb 2005: 168)

3.4 The Functions of Anglicisms

There is no fixed set of rules for the use of anglicisms and native terms. The varying ways of using anglicisms depend on many sociolinguistic factors. Such factors include the status of the user, means or channel of communication, the subject matter etc. Two major types of factors can be distinguished though: those linked to the language “use”, or register, and those linked to the language “user” who belongs to a specific group of speakers reflected in his or her age, education and socioeconomic status. (Rodriguez 1999: 130)

In order to determine the functions of anglicisms, it is important to look at what the motivators behind a language user for choosing a certain code are. Janet Holmes (1995: 12) has listed four factors which determine the choice of linguistic variety or code. These four factors may contribute to the use of anglicisms and can be determined by answering the following questions:

1. The participants: who is speaking and who are they speaking to?
2. The setting or social context of the interaction: where are they speaking?
3. The topic: what is being talked about?
4. The function: why are they speaking?

According to Holmes & Stubbe (2004: 135), the situations where code-switching occurs can also be divided into two main categories: transactional and social/affective. These can be further divided into sub-categories which the table below demonstrates:

Table 1. Transactional and social/affective functions of code-switching (House & Rehbein 2004: 135)

1. Transactional	
a) Referential/informative	e.g. conveying information accurately
b) Discourse management	e.g. clarification/repair strategy
c) Heuristic	e.g. scaffolding to assist language learning or problem solving
2. Social/affective	
a) Personal	e.g. constructing social identity or status
b) Interpersonal/relational	e.g. establishing solidarity
c) Intergroup	e.g. highlighting or downplaying ethnolinguistic boundaries

The first group, transactional code-switching, relates to the referential functions of language, and is used as a strategy to ensure information is conveyed clearly and unambiguously. This category includes switches that are intended to assist the addressee to acquire the primary code used in the situation or to manage interactional processes such as turn taking or providing feedback. (Holmes & Stubbe 2004: 135) Transactional code-switching aims to accomplish certain practical outcomes, thus the emphasis lies on conveying information or instructions punctually. The second group, social or affective code-switching, is primarily related to the relational or interpersonal functions of language. The switches in this category are the ones that contribute to the individual's construction of their social, ethnic, professional or gender identity in a particular context. The category also includes switches that are other-oriented and emphasise what the participants have in common, for example such dimensions as work relationships and ethnic group membership

(e.g. Cheshire & Gardner-Chloros 1998; Myers-Scotton 1983, 1993; Stubbe 1998). The distinction between these two categories is not absolute. It is not always easy to draw the line between the two categories, because code-switches often serve both transactional and social functions at the same. (Holmes & Stubbe 2004: 136)

The research concerning code-switching has mostly focused on spoken language. However, McClure (1998: 134) has studied English code-switches in written Spanish, Mexican and Bulgarian data. She has compiled a list of possible functions that code-switches, such as anglicisms, have:

- lack of a good translation in the matrix language
- lack of a set word or a phrase in the matrix language
- greater explicitness of the English form
- desire to play with well-known English phrases
- emphasis through repetition
- simple quotation
- quotation to reproduce a style of speech
- creation of sarcastic, satirical or ironic tone
- creation of sophisticated tone
- creation of an erudite tone

While, as Jonsson (2005: 132) notes, it is worth to bear in mind that code-switching is regarded as fluid, dynamic and creative, the list gives a basic idea about the possible motivations behind code-switching. Many of these motivations appear to influence the use of anglicisms in the material of this study. For example, in beauty advertisements such as the advertisement for *Estée Lauder's* mascara the information section declares “Su cepillo BrushComber aporta [...]” (The BrushComber brush brings [...]) (SC: 9), the advertiser

seems to aim to create a sophisticated tone by using an anglicism. The desire to play with well-known English phrases is apparent in a *Libresse* advertisement that starts with “In Libresse we trust” (FC: 23). The advertisement has a picture that is similar to church iconography, and the viewer is able to associate the slogan to the original saying “In God we trust” (see Appendix 1). An example of using an anglicism when there is a lack of a good translation in the matrix language, can be found from an *Evax* advertisement for party liners (SC: 179): “Hoy me siento pop” (Today I’m feeling pop). There is no good translation in Spanish for the word ‘pop’ which derives from ‘popular’ but entails much more, such as a reference to popular culture and how things related to it are viewed to be in style.

Gellerstam (2005: 172) has researched exclusively the functions of anglicisms. In order to become established in languages, young anglicisms first need to gain ground. This often happens with the help of media personalities and other linguistic role models. Then these young anglicisms serve purpose as *additions*, *replacements* or *differentiators*. Additions are anglicisms that refer to new phenomena in the world outside of the speech community that adopts them (Gellerstam 2005: 172). In the material of this study, for instance words that are additions include ‘airbag’ (SC: 33) and ‘internet’ (SE: 62). In many cases, anglicisms appear in situations where their non-verbal referents already exist in the speech community in question. (Gellerstam 2005: 172–173) For example the word ‘running’, referring to jogging, was found in the material in a *Nike* advertisement (SC: 23). The actual word used in Spanish for jogging is ‘footing’ which has also been borrowed from English and mediated by French (Diccionario R.A.E 2010). Now, however, the word “running” has replaced this old anglicism. The last category, differentiators are words that cover only a sub-sense of certain domestic word. (Gellerstam 2005: 173) An example of this is the word ‘deittalu’ (dating) in the Finnish material. ‘Deitti’ (a date) has become a differentiator for the word ‘treffit’ (a date), a word derived from Swedish that covers both meeting somebody in a romantic sense and in a platonic sense. However, the word ‘deitti’ refers only to

meeting somebody in a romantic sense. Sometimes differentiators may take over the entire semantic field of that word. In these cases the anglicism converts into a replacement instead (Gellerstam 2005: 173).

3.5 The Classification of Anglicisms Used in This Study

In the discussion of anglicisms, and code-switching in general, many different kinds of categorizations have been proposed in order to differentiate between the many types of anglicisms. The most common division is simply borrowing and code-switching. This categorization, however, is not without problems, as it has been proven to be difficult to make descriptions that sufficiently explain the similarity of certain anglicisms while excluding others. As a great deal of the research on code-switching has focused on spoken language, the categorization of those studies do not serve a purpose in the present study where the focus is strictly on written language. For example, Myers-Scotton (1993: 206) focuses on the frequency of occurrence in order to establish whether an anglicism is a borrowed word or a code-switch. While in speech, frequency of occurrence might be significant, written text is more deliberate. Thus the frequency of anglicisms is planned beforehand and therefore lacks immediacy.

Bugarski, Tomić and Radovanović (1999: 207) divide anglicisms into two groups. They base their theory on the four different levels of assimilation of anglicisms: orthographic, phonological, morphological and semantic. The first group is called direct anglicisms since they are a result of direct development from the source language into the borrowing language. The second group consists of all the other anglicisms that do not fit the first group and are called indirect anglicisms. They are formed from elements of anglicisms or constituent parts of English but are not English expressions themselves. However, merely

two categories do not suffice in order to explain the complex frame of different types of anglicisms. Martin Gellerstam (2005) has focused on anglicisms in many different contexts. His categorization of anglicisms was chosen for this study, because it takes into account code-switches in which English is widely used in a non-anglophone context and thus applies to written code-switches as well.

In this study, anglicisms are divided into *active anglicisms*, *reactive anglicisms* and *codeshifts*. *Active anglicisms* include overt and covert lexical borrowings, loan translations, hybrids, pseudo-anglicisms and morphosyntactic calques. *Reactive anglicisms* include semantic loans, isolated or systemic changes in the spelling of existing words, isolated or systemic changes in punctuation, changes in the pronunciation of existing words and preference for English lookalikes. Finally, *codeshifts* include bilingual wordplay, repeated shifts, quotes, stand-alones and total shifts. The following list presents the categorization of anglicisms used in this study:

I. Active Anglicisms

(A) Overt lexical borrowings (sometimes with naturalized spelling), constituting:

- (i) a new word: Danish 'jeep', Icelandic 'jeppi,' Croatian 'džip'; 'kompjuter' in Slovene; 'doping' in French
- (ii) a new morpheme: 'antiin' German; 'megain' Danish
- (iii) a new multi-word unit: 'grand old man' in Swedish; 'on the rocks' in Norwegian

(B) Covert lexical borrowings, the English origin not obvious to the native speaker:

- (i) Spanish 'elepé' (English: LP); Swedish 'teve' (TV)
- (ii) Danish 'strejke' (pronounced in two syllables, from strike)

(C) Loan translations:

- (i) Compound substitutes: Dutch 'luidspreker' (from English loudspeaker)
- (ii) Multi-word substitutes: Danish 'vaere oppe imod' (= be up against)

(D) Hybrids:

- (i) Partial borrowings: Danish 'speedbåd' (from English speedboat); Danish 'hårspray' (from English hairspray)
- (ii) Expanded borrowings: German 'Cockpitmitte'; 'Schaltjoystick'

(E) Pseudo-Anglicisms, including:

- (i) Archaisms derived from English expressions now obsolete: Russian 'смокцннс' ('smoking', via German, from smoking jacket, now dinner jacket or tuxedo)
- (ii) Semantic slides where an English word is used 'wrongly': Swedish 'babysitter' (for English 'baby bouncer', as 'barnvakt' already covers the notion of English babysitter)
- (iii) Conversions of existing English words, for example adjective into noun: German 'Handy' (for mobile phone or cellular phone)
- (iv) Recombinations, reshuffling existing English lexical units: 'slowfood' (as opposed to American fast food); Danish 'cottoncoat' (= trenchcoat), Swedish 'fit for fight' (for fighting fit)

(F) Morphosyntactic calques:

Danish plural -s in for example interviews (correct plural: interview or interviewer); Spanish 'Es un maestro de escuela' instead of 'Es maestro de escuela' (from English 'He is a teacher'); German 'Mein Leben war in

Gefahr' instead of 'Ich war in Lebensgefahr' (from English 'My life was in danger')

II. Reactive Anglicisms

(G) Semantic loans (existing words acquiring new meanings or new homonyms):

- (i) Extensions: Danish 'massiv' (traditional meaning: 'solid') (metaphorical meaning added via massive)
- (ii) Reversions: Danish 'overhøre' (traditional meaning: 'fail to hear') (opposite meaning introduced via overhear)
- (iii) Doubles: Danish 'misse' (from English to miss) (puts pressure on existing homonym: = to blink)

(H) Isolated or systemic changes in the spelling of existing words:

Danish 'resource' (correct spelling ressource or resurse); Danish 'Lena's købmands kiosk' (Lena's grocery store) (correct spelling: Lenas købmandskiosk)

(I) Isolated or systemic changes in punctuation:

For example inserted 'English' commas in 'determiner + NP + name', as in Danish 'Den svenske sangerinde, Monica Zetterlund, . . .' (the Swedish singer, Monica Zetterlund, . . .), which, according to Danish punctuation rules, means that M.Z. is the only singer in Sweden

(J) Changes in the pronunciation of existing words:

Danish 'unik' (from French), pronounced with an initial (English) 'you' sound; Danish 'backfisch' (from German), pronounced with a 'flat' initial

English vowel Danish ‘respit’ (from Latin), last syllable pronounced as English ‘speed’

- (K) Preference for English lookalikes (existing linguistic entities whose frequencies are boosted by their similarity to English counterparts), usually lexical items: Danish ‘kamera’ (from English camera) ousting fotografiapparat; Danish ‘invitere’ (supported by English invite) instead of indbyde; Swedish ‘definitivt’, konversation, desperat, perfekt, speciell, etc.

III. Code Shifts (use of English among non-anglophones)

- (L) Bilingual wordplay, where keywords must be interpreted in both languages: Danish “There is something rotten in Nyhavn” (on a campaign poster displaying a giant rat, protesting working conditions and hygiene in restaurants in Copenhagen; ‘rotten’ means ‘the rat’ in Danish)

- (M) Repeated shifts in ongoing discourse:

“Det lyder ikke så sundt! Nej, men det var the only way. Kan du godt lide at holde hof? I hate it! Hvorfor har du så gjort det? Det var the only way to get the job done.” [That doesn’t sound healthy] [No, but it was the only way] [Do you enjoy being admired?] [I hate it] [Then why did you do it?] [It was the only way etc.] (Danish author interviewed in Danish newspaper, February 1999; my translation)

- (N) Quotes, embedded in non-English discourse:

“The answer is maybe, and that’s final” (uttered by a Danish politician being questioned in Danish)

(O) Stand-alones, lacking non-English discourse elements:

“Say no to hard drugs” (on cigarette lighters handed out in a Copenhagen music club)

(P) Total shifts (entire texts in English):

Letters from Norwegian oil companies to Norwegian authorities; Danish hi-fi manufacturer Bang and Olufsen’s Internet pages available in English only (Gellerstam 2005: 164–166)

In studying the material of this thesis, anglicisms that were found in the information section of the advertisements and then repeated in the product pictures were not included. Abbreviations, such as ‘CD’ and ‘GB’, in the Spanish magazines, were counted as covert lexical borrowings, as they do not indicate any language contact directly. Unlike in Finnish where B, C, D and G are only common in newer loan words, in Spanish they do not have foreign connotations. Many words that can be traced to modern Latin or modern Greek were also discounted from the material, as they do not spread only via English but many other languages. As Hiidenmaa (2003: 97) states, many of the foreign-sounding words in Finnish are what could be called internationalisms and the same applies to the Spanish material. Such words include ‘stimuloida’ (stimulate), ‘vitamiini’ (vitamin) and ‘antioxidante’ (antioxidant). Internationalisms are not derived from one language only like anglicisms. Hence, they serve no interest in the present study.

Each of the advertisements in the material is a discourse taking place in their own language environment. Hence, an advertisement in a Spanish magazine would be a discourse taking place in a Spanish language environment and thus advertisement becomes a Spanish discourse. Any English in the advertisement would interrupt this Spanish discourse and

therefore is counted as an anglicism. In analysing the material, all the words that were found in the selected dictionaries were counted as borrowings as they had already been accepted as “valid” words into the target language, therefore making them either an active anglicism or a reactive anglicism. If the word, however, was not found in the dictionaries, it was treated as a code shift. If the same advertisement had an active anglicism and a code shift in it, depending on the type of the active anglicism, the code shift was counted either as a repeated shift, a stand-alone or bilingual wordplay.

4. THE LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISING

The true significance of advertising texts has to be ‘decoded’ (McFall 2004: 2).

The language of advertising has been described as a “functional dialect” by Smith (1982: 190). The term describes a process whereby language is chosen and used for a particular purpose (functional), and subsequently becomes a variety (dialect) of its own because it becomes associated with this particular function. The definition implies that the language of advertising is somehow different from normal everyday language. The distinction between the language of advertising and what we could call ordinary language is vague because advertisers try to speak to consumers in their own language and advertisements, particularly slogans, come into everyday conversations. What sets advertising language apart from the other types of discourses is the degree to which it is planned in advance. Words cost money, in terms of space, and so the text that has been printed, recorded, uploaded and used in an advertisement is there for a certain purpose. One must bear in mind that other words have been deemed unsuitable for that particular purpose. The choice of the kind of language used in commercially driven discourses is rarely, if ever, random. The higher the expenses in producing the advertisement are, the more likely the words are chosen with extreme carefulness. (Kelly-Holmes 2000: 8) This means that there is a valid reason in examining the reasoning behind the choice of certain words in advertisements. The words represent the image of the product and using anglicisms in particular is no coincidence.

4.1 The Functions of the Language of Advertising

The language of advertising can have several different functions, just like language in general has. It is often thought that the informational function of language is the most important one, and the same assumption could be applied to the language of advertising. Nevertheless, language – and the language of advertising – can occupy other functions. The basic functions of language according to Leech (1990: 40–41) are as follows: *informational, expressive, directive, social and aesthetic*. These five classifications are often interconnected but they serve a purpose of neatly correlating with the five essential features in any communicative situation:

1. subject-matter which orientates towards the informational function of language
2. originator (i.e. speaker or writer), orientating towards the expressive function of language
3. receiver, orientating towards the directive function of language
4. the channel of communication between the previous two, orientating towards the social function of language
5. the linguistic message itself, orientating towards the aesthetic function of language
6. (Geoffrey Leech 1990: 42)

Using a language for the *informational function* aims to convey information accurately. It orientates towards the subject-matter. The motivations behind this function are as follows: filling lexical needs, taking advantage of anglicism's greater accuracy and shortness, clarifying a message, drawing attention and quoting somebody authentically. (Leech 1990: 40–41)

The *expressive function* means that language can be used to express its originator's feelings and attitudes. Swear words and exclamations are examples of when language has an expressive function. It is orientated towards the writer who wants to express his or her feelings or attitudes. It is motivated by the need to give expression, demonstrate professional expertise, raise status and add authority. (Leech 1990: 40–41)

The third function is the *directive function* whereby the originator aims to influence the behavior or attitudes of others. Most obvious instances of its usage are commands and requests. This function of social control places emphasis on the receiver's end, rather than the originator's end of the message, but it does resemble the expressive function in that it gives less importance to the conceptual meaning than to other types of meaning, particularly affective and connotative meaning. It helps the instructor to believe that the writers master their subject area and its discourse conventions. It also evokes connotations of certain status values. (Leech 1990: 40–41)

The fourth function is the *aesthetic function*. It should not be confused with the poetic use of language. It can have at least as much to do with conceptual as affective meaning. The aesthetic function orientates towards the message itself. It creates a special stylistic effect and a sophisticated or an erudite tone while playing with fixed expressions or words. (Leech 1990: 40–41)

The final function introduced here is the *social function*, i.e. the function of keeping communication lines open, and keeping social relationships in good repair. It is the furthest remove from the aesthetic function, in that the communicative work done by language is at its lightest. It is not so much about what is being said but that it is being said at all. The social function is often used to construct and maintain academic group memberships and

orientating towards groups. It marks the joined professional group membership and constructs status within the group. At the same time, by doing this, it excludes outsiders from the discourse. (Leech 1990: 40–41)

While the informational and the directive functions might be expected from advertising discourses, they are frequently multitype, hybrid discourses, where examples of all of the above functions can be found in individual advertisements. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 8) As mentioned previously, advertisers aim to stir emotion on the advertisee. In order to do this, it is not sufficient to simply give information or try to convince the viewer.

Choosing to use anglicisms in advertising fills a certain function in an advertisement. It can be informational in the cases where a corresponding word has not yet been developed in the source language or that the anglicism has greater accuracy. For example the advertisement in the Spanish *Elle* (147) for *Salsa Jeans* states that their jeans have an effect that will lift up the stomach:

... el efecto *Push-Up*

... the *Push-Up* effect

There is no corresponding word for term ‘push-up’ in the dictionary of the Real Academia (Diccionario R.A.E.) and to explain it in Spanish would require several more words, simultaneously ending up with taking more space and costing more money than the anglicism.

The function of an anglicism in advertisements can also be expressive, when the originator of the advertisement wants to express his or her feelings about the topic, and rise up their status by displaying knowledge. In the Mustang commercial (SC: 120), the word to ‘top’ has been written separately from the rest of the text with an exclamation mark and tick next

to it. These two signs signify both excitement and approval of the originator and in this way express opinions and feelings.

Anglicisms often have an aesthetic function, as they are used for stylistic effects and may sound sophisticated to the reader. This is the case in many of the beauty product advertisements in the material of this study. For example in the advertisement for *Dermo Purifyer* face products in the Finnish *Cosmopolitan* (38), the advertiser has chosen to express the method that the product uses in English to show that they are forth runners in developing new methods in their area of beauty science.

... ainutlaatuisen *follicle targeting*-menetelmän ...
 ... the unique *follicle targeting* method ...

What also points to the originator's desire to appear knowledgeable is that the words 'follicle' and 'targeting' are probably not everyday words for a casual language speaker and require more advanced knowledge of English. Yet, the originator seems to feel that the only accurate term for the new method is the English term and in this way he expresses the prestige of the method and his own sophistication.

The social function is also important as it constructs the status of the product as being something that a person belonging to a particular social group should buy. Often when the target group of the advertisement is young, educated and cosmopolitan women, the advertisers aim to appear to be part of the very same group and therefore understand the needs of that group. Not only this, but using youth speak keeps the communication lines open between the advertiser and the advertisee. For example in the advertisement (FC: 105) for the movie called *The Ugly Truth*, the slogan has been translated as follows:

Totuuksia *deittailusta*.

Some truths about *dating*.

'Deittailu' (dating) is youth speak, and by using it the advertisers display their knowledge of this particular type of language. The advertisers maintain themselves at the same communication level with the advertisee.

The directive function of language was less present in this study than the other functions but nonetheless a few examples were found. For example slogans that enjoy the same legal protection as brand names and trademarks also often contain English, as is demonstrated in this study. The reason behind the use of English is that it becomes the "master's voice", the voice that expresses authority and expertise (Piller 2001: 160). This is demonstrated for example in the advertisement for *Libresse* in the Finnish *Cosmopolitan*. An advertisement that is for the most part Finnish, has a slogan: "Feel secure. Wear Libresse." (23) The company wants to express their authority over the issue that they are positive that the user will have a comfortable experience by using *Libresse*. They also command the viewer to 'Wear Libresse', thus making the slogan a direct order.

4.2 The Intertextuality of Anglicisms in Advertising

No text exists in a vacuum. An advertisement must be viewed as an entity in order to understand the choices behind the words used in it. Advertising is not only about commercial promoting of products but it encompasses the idea of texts which are intended to enhance the image of an individual, group of people or organization. Advertising texts can contain complex notions of audience, where the readers have to decode the messages and understand different address relationships. The aim of advertisers is to get the

audiences' attention either for immediate purposes or to make them more favourably disposed to the advertised product. (Coddard 1998: 11) Figure 2 demonstrates the discourse elements in a single advertisement.

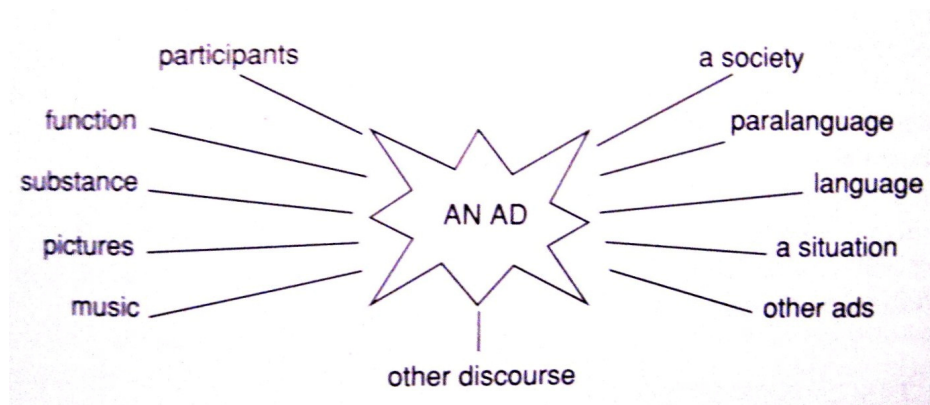


Figure 2. The discourse elements of an advertisement (Cook 1992: 3)

A discourse is comprised of text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as being meaningful and unified by the participants who are both part of the context, and the observers. The study of language has to take the context into account because language is always in context, and there are no acts of communication without participants, intertexts, situations, paralinguage and substance. (Cook 1992: 2) The anglicisms used in advertisements connect to other discourses and intertexts. The term *intertextuality* means that one text is connected with another. Therefore anglicisms in advertisements as well are always interconnected with other texts and have significant meanings outside the context of one single advertisement.

Intertextuality means that in every advertisement an individual comes across, there are other texts present. (Barthes 1981 qtd. in Kelly-Holmes 2005: 6) Nevertheless, the notion of intertextuality intends to summon up more than simply cross- and self-referentiality. It also

involves recognizing the transposition of signifying practices across a realm of different systems. This alludes that the regime of signification in advertising shapes, and is shaped by, other regimes like film and television, popular music and literature. Advertising texts are often treated as complete and self-contained systems of meaning, yet in no way are they independent from the other systems. (McFall 2004: 25)

For example, in the advertisement for *Salsa Jeans* (SE: 147), the jeans that the models are wearing, have the words “el efecto Tummy Tuck” (the Tummy Tuck effect) written next to it. This connects to other texts by first using English to describe the product. In the modern western culture, plastic surgery, like a tummy tuck, is strongly connected to the Anglo-American culture. It also connects to beauty standards that are presented to us by the media and advertisers. The models in the pictures represent these beauty standards. Using the word “el efecto” also suggests that while it is often generally agreed that the beauty standards of today may be unattainable, one can reach results by wearing the right clothes. In just one single advertisement, there are many intertexts that relate to the world around us.

Although advertisements are ephemeral in that each one is short-lived, their effects may be longstanding and cumulative. Advertisements leave traces of themselves behind and those traces form a body of messages in the culture that produced them. Such messages can function as a reflection of the culture as well as construct it. (Goddard 1998: 3) Whether an advertisement has a big production team behind or it is a local homespun advertisement, the text requires us to interact with it. This is often a complex process. In terms of visual codes, the reader works to make meaning from the visual items but not all meanings are fixed for all readers. For example a winking face or a handshake will have to have a meaning to a cultural group who do not have these signs. (Goddard 1998: 2) Anglicisms function in the same way: when an advertiser decides to embed an anglicism into the text, he is likely to be confident that the advertisee will understand it and therefore it becomes meaningful to the

target group. Anglicisms as an intertext are interconnected with other advertisements that are interconnected to the whole society. Advertising reflects on the society they occur in because the different views, beliefs and attitudes that a society has, are present in advertising texts as much they are present in other text, such as news texts, novels and cartoons. The way that anglicisms are used in advertising reflects their acceptability in society in general.

In the Finnish *Elle* (22–23) *L'Oréal* is advertising their new *Renewal Lash Serum* which promises an “Intensive Boost For A Renewed Lash Look”. The text of the advertisement is as follows:

Todista RIPSISEERUMIN mullistava vaikutus. Näkyvästi runsaammat ripset!

Witness the amazing effect of the LASH SEERUM. Visibly more volume for your lashes!

The advertisement appears in a magazine for young women and it manifests intertextuality. Not only does it look like other make-up advertisements, it looks like an advertisement that is frequently published in this kind of publications. It uses the familiar setting of a *L'Oréal* advertisement, with their name written on the top part of the advertisement and a model testifying the effectiveness of the product. The intertextuality links it to other *L'Oréal* advertisements as well as other beauty advertisements. This builds the knowledge of the advertisee.

There are more intertexts present in the advertisement, although they might not be as explicit. Intertextuality does not only link to other advertisements in the magazine and in other media. It also links to texts defining and prescribing legal, constitutional and religious texts, which deal with gender role in society, works of literature, journalistic texts, television programmes, films and so on which all provide the intertextual sphere within

which all advertisements operate. (Kelly Holmes 2000: 6) Young women are viewed in a certain way in our society. For example they are expected to take care of their beauty, to have a critical approach on advertisements and have high self-esteem (hence the *L'Oréal* slogan 'Because you're worth it'). There also exists an assumption that the advertisee will understand the English part of the text used in the advertisement because young women are expected to be cosmopolitans and have knowledge of foreign languages, especially English. This assumption reflects on the expectations on young women in the society and on how English is considered to acceptable in this kind of discourses. The other advertisements in the present study also reflect on the same kind acceptability in both the Finnish and the Spain materials. The intertexts connect to other aspects of society, displaying the status of English in both countries.

4.3 The Social Impacts of English in Advertisements

The use of foreign words in an advertisement can mystify a culture, making it more different and more exotic which can lead to the reinforcement of prejudices. Advertising strategies involving foreign words that are taken out of their original contexts and domesticated for commercial purposes contribute to an ethnocentric view of foreign languages. The use of foreign words in commercial contexts appeals to a lowest-common-denominator type of language knowledge and ability. The intent is to glorify the communal ignorance of foreign languages: the joke is shared, initially between advertiser and advertisee, ultimately among the public at large thus reinforcing a sense of language as part of identity. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 19)

Foreign words in advertisements highlight the individual's own linguistic competence, and more importantly, their feelings about their own competence. (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 19)The

sense of value of one's own linguistic skills is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social world. (Bourdieu 1991: 82) This means that understanding an English word in an otherwise Spanish commercial will make the advertisee feel content about his or her knowledge of a foreign language. Piller (qtd. in Kelly-Holmes 2005: 20) has pointed out that in such cases these advertisements make the young, educated elite targeted by such strategies feel good, whereas it can alienate other groups, such as the elderly, to whom the meanings of the English decorations are not immediately apparent. This employment of foreign words in advertising has the potential to create in-groups and out-groups, which can contribute both directly and indirectly to societal attitudes to languages, otherness and multilingualism (Piller qtd. in Kelly-Holmes 2005: 20).

4.4 Why English?

Finnish researches have come to the conclusion that one of the main reasons for using English in Finnish advertising is the desire to appear trendy and international (Hujala 1997; Tolvanen 2004; Hietanen 2004; Kankkunen 2005). What displays especially well the advertisers' desire to appear international, are the advertisements that are only in English. An advertisement solely on English shows that it is directed to an international public and everyone who understands the advertisement is part of that group. (Paakkinen 2008: 321) In the material of this thesis, examples of advertisements only in English were found both in the Finnish and the Spanish magazines. Of the Finnish advertisements 9 percent were solely on English and of the Spanish material the percentage rose up to 15.

Kelly-Holmes (2000: 76) has studied which function – communicational or symbolic – using a foreign language in advertising has. She stresses that English has a special position

in intercultural communication because it is a world language which makes it possible to be used with different nuances in countries that it is not spoken in. English is seen as symbol of identity, globalism, youth, development and modernity. According to Piller (2003: 175) the usage of English is not connected to any certain ethno-cultural stereotype, but it is connect to a social stereotype. Like Kelly-Holmes, Piller (2003: 175) concludes that it is a symbol of internationality, modernity and development. Piller also says that using English as a contact language differs from using other foreign languages in quality and quantity. English is the most used language after the local language in advertising. (Piller 2003: 175)

English has also other symbolic functions in advertisements that give value to the message sent because it can create associations that would otherwise be difficult to convey (Paakkinen 2008: 320). The following table displays which symbolic meanings of English are repeatedly present in Finnish advertising:

Table 2. Symbolic meanings of English found in Finnish advertising. (Paakkinen 2008: 320)

Symbolic meaning	Trendiness	Internationality	Symbol of culture	Modernity, technology, fashion
Characteristics that are expressed by symbolic meanings	- Vocabulary - Expressions	- Adverts solely in English - Adverts that have mixed language with English slogans - English product names	- Referrals in the artwork to American culture - Strong expressions (translating of which takes away from the meaning)	- Vocabulary - Product names - Terms - Phrases

Piller (2001: 163) writes that the general advantage of the use of English in advertisements is that it impedes automatic processing and therefore keeps the attention of the recipient for a longer timespan than a monolingual native language advertisement does. She has divided advertisements that are bilingual, with the other language being English, into five different narrative categories. These categories are 1) international orientation, 2) future orientation, 3) success orientation, 4) sophistication and 5) fun orientation. (Piller 2001: 163)

1) In international orientation, the mere fact that implied readers of an advertisement are bilingual suggests that the advertisement addresses the target group as an international community with common lifestyle choices, common consumptions, values and elitism instead of a monolingual national community. In addition to language choices, sometimes the advertiser directly spells out internationalism for the implied reader. In a clear majority of advertisements in English, national British or American values are not represented. However, if those values are to be found, they tend to be symbols of the American culture. (Piller 2001: 163-164) For example the advertisement for *Springfield* clothes (SC: 19) is decorated with the colours and the stars of the United States' flag to symbolize the American culture, making the connection clear to the audience.

2) Future orientation is apparent in many advertisements that suggest that the implied reader wants to shape the future. The advertisers present the future as knowable. Also, the word choices such as using the word 'tomorrow', are future orientated. Especially technology-related commercials that are future-oriented tend to use English. (Piller 2001: 165) The advertisement for *John Frieda* hair products (FE: 18) is bilingual and future orientated with the slogan reading "Inside every blonde is a blonder blond waiting to get out". The slogan implies that the intended recipient has not completely fulfilled their potential but is able to do so in the future.

3) Success orientation appears in especially business-related advertisements. These advertisements aim to conjure up an image of a successful person who is well endowed with wealth and has a desirable lifestyle. The implied reader is not part of the élite group, instead, the practices and opinions are set up for the reader to emulate. (Piller 2001: 167–168) While there were no business-related advertisements in the material of this study, success orientation manifested itself in the portrayal of successful lifestyles in other types of advertisements. For example the advertisement for *Estee Lauder*'s facial cream (SE: 2–3) pictures a young lady in what appears to be an expensive setting, wearing an evening dress and jewellery. She embodies a desirable lifestyle for the recipient to follow.

4) Sophistication in advertisements is often expressed by the word 'style' and by implying an appreciation for arts. It is also expressed by the assumption that the implied readers are sophisticated enough to understand the foreign language in the advertisement. (Piller 2001: 168) For example, in the advertisement for *Clinique* makeup foundation (SC: 13), the product is placed in an artistic formation, with the cork at the bottom, a makeup brush in the middle and the bottle at the top. The implied cultivation is displayed by the assumption that the recipient is expected to understand the relation between the picture and name of the product *Superbalanced Makeup* further orientating to sophistication.

5) Fun orientation in advertisements is often characterized by youth, either as an implication of the advertised product, or by pictured or “embodied” narratees (Piller 2001: 171). In the *Geox* advertisement (SC: 30-31) for shoes, the narratee, a young lady, is jumping in the air with her hair blowing in the wind. The advertisement implies fun, youth and freedom that may be achieved by using of the product.

In multi-lingualness, advertising embraces postnational discourses of unsettled and hybrid identities. Those identities are often expressed by linguistic codes. Advertising has become the late modern discourse par excellence with regard to the conflict between national identities and transnational (i.e. beyond national boundaries) identities. (Piller 2001: 182) National identity is not static but continuously renegotiated and advertising is one of the discourses people can draw on (Piller 2001: 181). English in advertisements is often the language of people who are characterized as having one of the most desirable model identities. Reinforcing bilingualism in English also reinforces the status of English as a highly valued form of linguistic capital. (Piller 2001: 182)

5. ANALYSIS

In the material, a total of 276 anglicisms were found in 160 advertisements. Of those anglicisms, 164 (59%) were found in the Spanish material and 112 (41%) in the Finnish material. The Spanish *Elle* contained 113 anglicisms and the Spanish *Cosmopolitan* 51 anglicisms. The Finnish *Elle* advertisements contained altogether 52 anglicisms whereas in the *Cosmopolitan* advertisements the corresponding number was 60.

Table 3. Number and percentage of anglicisms in each magazine

Spanish material				Finnish material			
Elle		Cosmopolitan		Elle		Cosmopolitan	
113	69 %	51	31 %	52	46 %	60	54 %

Of the 115 Spanish advertisements in the material, 65 percent contained anglicisms and of the 45 advertisements in the Finnish magazines, an overwhelming 85 percent contained anglicisms. The results for the number of advertisements with anglicisms, as well as the number of advertisements without any anglicisms for each magazine, are presented in the figure on the next page.

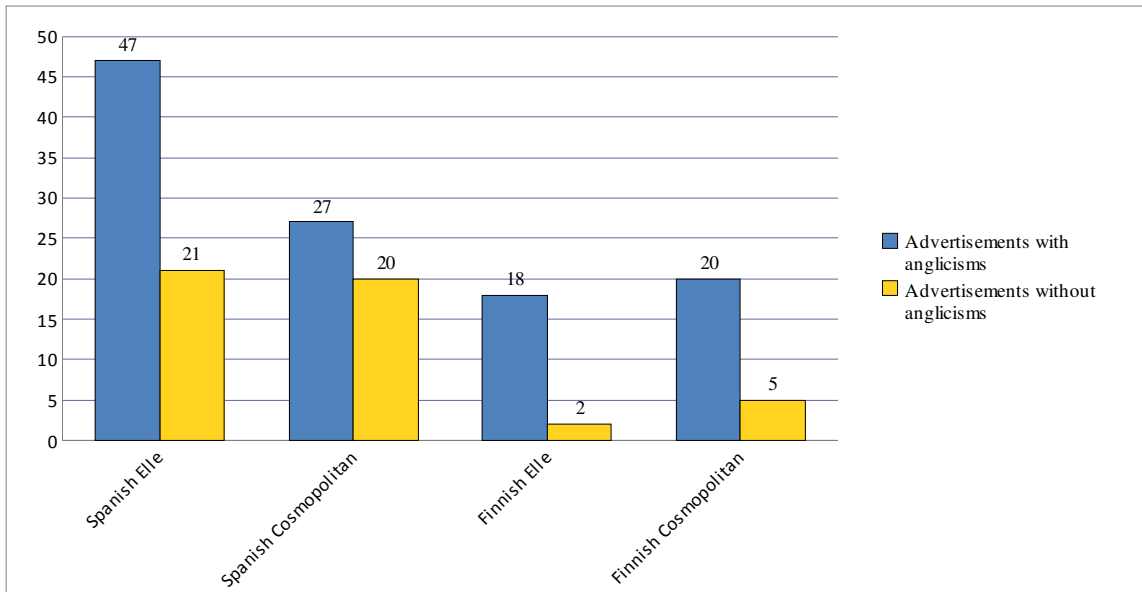


Figure 3. The number of advertisements with and without English

As can be noted from the figure above, the majority of the advertisements in all of the magazines contained anglicisms. However, the Finnish material had more advertisements with anglicisms than the Spanish material. 17 (89 percent) of the advertisements in the Finnish *Elle* contained anglicisms while only 47 (70 percent) of the advertisements in the Spanish *Elle* had anglicisms in them. The difference was even greater between the Finnish and Spanish *Cosmopolitans*, with 21 (81 percent) of the Finnish advertisements containing anglicisms and 28 (58 percent) of the Spanish advertisements containing them. A total of 114 anglicisms were found in product names (40%), making it the largest group of locations. The location group of product photos, consisting of 15 anglicisms, contained them the least (5%). The information section of the advertisements contained 108 anglicisms (38%), slogans 25 (9%) of them, and brand names contained 20 (7%) of all anglicisms.

The largest group of anglicisms in terms of classification was repeated shifts in an ongoing discourse. This implies that most of the advertisements had more than one anglicism in them. After repeated shifts the largest group was total shifts i.e. advertisements solely in English. Overt-lexical borrowings, meaning words that are borrowed from English with sometimes naturalized spelling, were third largest group. Stand-alones, meaning singular words or sentences in English in an otherwise a non-English discourse, constituted for the fourth largest group. The below figure displays the general findings on the types of anglicisms found in the material:

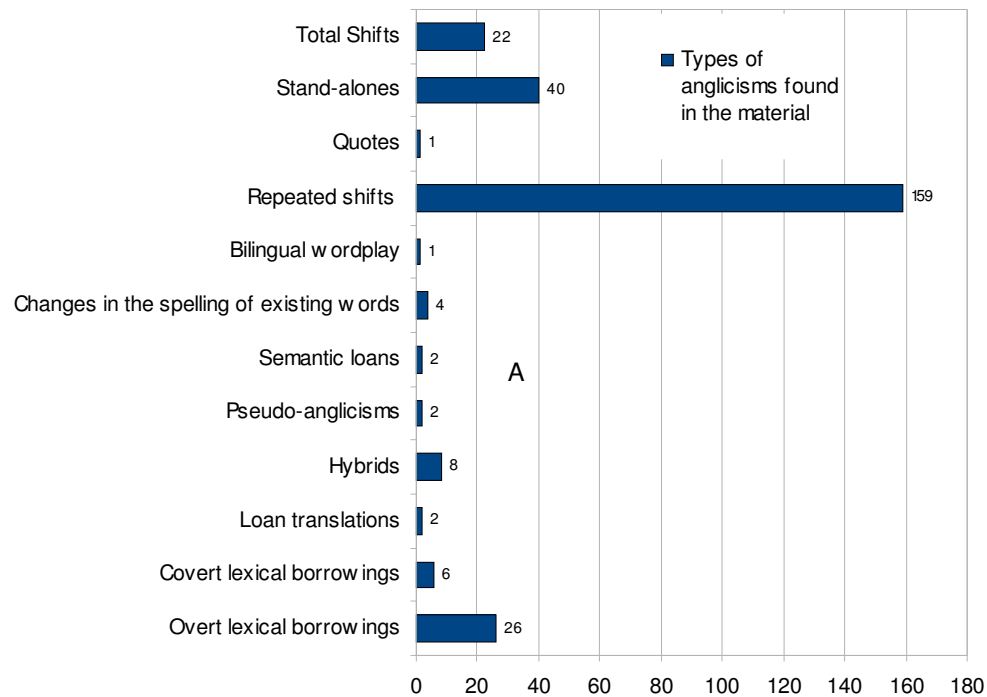


Figure 4. Types of anglicisms found in the material

5.1 Active Anglicisms

Active anglicisms include overt lexical borrowings, covert lexical borrowings, loan translations, hybrid expressions, pseudo-anglicisms and morphosyntactic calques. These types of anglicisms were the second largest group in the whole study.

Overt lexical borrowings in both materials consisted of words that were related to computers, technology, fashion and make-up, hence overt lexical borrowings were mostly found in beauty and hygiene advertisements and advertisements for artefacts. An overt lexical borrowing is a word which is obviously of English origin (Gellerstam 2005: 164). The Finnish material had more overt lexical borrowings compared with the Spanish material. Examples of these include such words as ‘blogit’ (blogs), ‘ruokatrendit’ (food trends), ‘treeniohjeet’ (training directions) (FE: 116), ‘deittailu’ (dating) (FC: 105), ‘bokserimalli’ (boxer model) (FC: 27) and ‘juustosnacksit’ (cheese snacks) (FC: 100). As these examples demonstrate, most of the overt lexical borrowings had a somewhat naturalized spelling.

Overt lexical borrowings in the Spanish material included words such as ‘internet’ (SE: 62), ‘top’ (SE: 217), ‘link’ (SE: 219), ‘airbag’ (SC: 33), ‘marketing’ (SC: 103) and ‘pop’ (SC: 179). Curiously enough, all these words, while not present in the Finnish material of this study, are in common use in the Finnish language, some with naturalized spelling and pronunciation. By comparison, the Finnish overt lexical borrowings had a more naturalized spelling than their Spanish counterparts. Some of the words were found in both of the materials, like for example the word ‘shampoo (FE: 18) that according to Finnish spelling recommendations should be written as *sampoo*’, and similarly ‘*champú*’ (SC: 63) where the spelling is partly naturalized. ‘Look’ (FC: 2-3, SE: 95) in the context of style and fashion was another word found in both materials.

Covert lexical borrowings were present only in the Spanish material. Covert lexical borrowings are words that are of an English origin without the origin being obvious to a native-speaker (Gellerstam 2005:164). Almost all the covert lexical borrowings found in this study were common technology-related shortenings. They include words such as ‘memoria RAM’ (Random Access Memory), ‘GPS’ (Global Positioning System) and ‘sms’ (Short Message Service). The origin of these words is even further covered in Spanish because of their pronunciation. Nevertheless, an exception to this kind of covert lexical borrowings was the word ‘estrés’ (stress). The standard writing of this word in Spanish has become completely naturalized as it has abided to the Spanish grammar rules, with an added “e” at the beginning of the word and a marked stress in the middle (Real Academia Español 2010). Therefore the English origin is not apparent to a native-speaker of Spanish.

Loan translations are words translated word-by-word into the target language (Gellerstam 2005: 164). Two loan translations were found in the whole material, both of them in the Spanish *Elle* magazine. ‘Salvapantallas’ (SE: 219), meaning ‘screensaver’, was found in an advertisement for a company called *Jamster* that sells ring tones and other products for mobile phones. The other loan translation was in an advertisement by *Acer*; and it promotes computers. ‘Disco duro’ (SE: 62) is a loan translation of ‘hard disc’. Both anglicisms are compound substitutes, just like many of the other computer-related jargon words in Spanish.

Hybrid expression such as ‘hipstermalli’ (hipster model) and ‘spa-kokemus’ (spa experience) comprised 7 percent of all the found anglicisms in the Finnish material. More than half of the hybrids found in the material were marked with a hyphen which on its part highlights the foreign word in the compound. Compound words are typical of Finnish, and in this light, it is perhaps not surprising that hybrids were more present in the Finnish material than in Spanish one. For example Hiidenmaa (2003: 95) has studied the tendency

of the Finnish language has for forming hybrids where the first word is English and the second word is Finnish. She says that the function of the second word in this kind of compounds is to define clearly what kind of phenomenon is at hand. (Hiidenmaa 2003: 95) No hybrids were found in the Spanish material.

Pseudo-anglicisms can be either archaisms, semantic slides where the word is used “wrongly”, conversions of English words or recombinations (Gellerstam 2005: 164). The only Pseudo-anglicisms found in the material were in the Spanish advertisements, one in each magazine. In the Spanish *Elle* (95) an archaism ‘traje de esmoquin’ (tuxedo) was found in an advertisement for Philips hair technology products. The origin of the word is English and the current-day word for it is a ‘dinner jacket’ or a ‘tuxedo’. Before, however, the word used in English was ‘smoking jacket’ of which ‘traje de esmoquin’ is a direct translation. Another pseudo-anglicism was found in the Spanish *Cosmopolitan* on page 179 in an advertisement the company *Evax*. ‘Protegeslip’ (a sanitary pad) is a semantic slide where the English word ‘slip’ is used “wrongly” in Spanish to refer to panties. Literally translated ‘protegeslip’ means protecting panties but actual meaning of the word is ‘sanitary pad’.

In morphosyntactic calques, the original word or words have had changes in both morphology and syntax (Gellerstam 2005: 164). No morphosyntactic calques were found in the material of this study.

5.2 Reactive Anglicisms

Reactive anglicisms include semantic loans, isolated changes in spelling, isolated or systemic changes in punctuation, changes in the pronunciation of existing words and a preference for English look-alikes (Gellerstam 2005: 165). This types of anglicisms were found the least in the material which indicates that reactive anglicisms are more scarce than active anglicisms and code shifts.

Semantic loans, i.e. existing words acquiring new meanings (Gellerstam 2005: 165), were present in the Finnish material. The advertisement, in which some semantic loans were found, is for *Plan Jäägaala* (Plan Ice gala):

Suomen *kuumimmat tähdet* ja valovoimaisimmat luistelijat hyvällä asialla ainutlaatuisessa Plan Jäägaalassa. (FE: 14)

The *hottest stars* and the most brilliant skaters of Finland in for a good cause in a unique Plan Ice gala event. (My translation)

The semantic loans here are the words ‘kuumimmat’ (the hottest) and ‘tähdet’ (stars). The words that these words derive from have first gone through a semantic change in English, from which they have been translated into Finnish causing the Finnish words ‘kuuma’ and ‘tähti’ to have changed their semantic meanings as well. Thus, in Finnish, ‘kuuma’ can refer to something hip and popular and ‘tähti’ can refer to a famous person (Kielitoimiston sanakirja 2.0 2008).

Isolated changes in spelling were found in the Spanish material. Interestingly, in each case the change was the same. ‘Anti’ is a prefix that originates from Latin and Greek (Dictionary.com 2010). According to both Spanish and English grammar rules, when using the prefix ‘anti’, it is to be written as a compound word without a hyphen before the second

word. (Real Academia Español 2010 & Oxford English Grammar 1996) However, some compound words may be written in English with a hyphen if it is a common custom. This includes words such as anti-aging and co-op. (Oxford English Grammar 1996)

‘Anti-edad’ (anti-age) and ‘anti-envejecimiento’ (anti-aging) should not be spelled with hyphens according to the Spanish grammar rules. Another grammar rule that Spanish has about using the ‘anti’ prefix is that it must be followed by an adjective (Real Academia Español 2010), whereas in English it is followed by a noun. In all of the above examples, the prefix is therefore used incorrectly. It seems that the words have been translated directly from English without any consideration for the grammar rules of Spanish. However, this change in spelling was not considered to be systematic as it was not found in the grammar book consulted.

In the examples of isolated changes in spelling found in the material, the anglicisms were in beauty advertisements for products that promise to hide the aging of user’s skin. In the context of preventing aging, ‘edad’ (age), ‘arrugas’ (wrinkles) and ‘envejecimiento’ (aging) are not positive words. Perhaps by putting stress on the ‘anti’ prefix by using a hyphen, the advertisers aim to create a negative connotation for the words. It is possible that this change in spelling is not motivated by English only but also by the desire to put emphasis on the prefix to create a certain illusion. To conclude, the boundary of what is an anglicisms and what is not is not always easy to determine.

Isolated or systemic changes in punctuation, changes in the pronunciation of existing words and a preference for English look-alikes were not found in the material of this study.

5.3 Code Shifts

Bilingual wordplay, repeated shifts in an ongoing discourse, quotes, stand-alones and total shifts are all code shifts (Gellerstam 2005: 166). The largest group of anglicisms found in this study comprised of code shifts. Within this group, repeated shifts were the largest category of all types of anglicisms in both the Finnish and the Spanish material.

Bilingual wordplay refers to words and phrases where the keyword(s) must be interpreted in both languages in order to understand the wordplay (Gellerstam 2005: 166). An example of bilingual wordplay was found in an advertisement for mobile phones. The name of the company that is advertising is called *Movistar*. The first part of the compound, ‘movi-’, is a shortening of ‘un móvil’ (a mobile phone) and therefore refers to the products that the company sells. However, a native Spanish speaker would pronounce ‘movistar’ similarly as the English word ‘moviestar’ is pronounced. The additional ‘e’ that is not present in the name of the company is added in front of the ‘s’ due to the Spanish grammar rules (Real Academia Español 2010). Therefore the keywords of the anglicism must be interpreted in both languages in order to understand the pun.

A repeated shift in an ongoing discourse refers to an anglicism that is found in a target language discourse which also contains other anglicisms (Gellerstam 2005: 166). The repeated shifts in both materials included both singular words and whole phrases. The Spanish material seemed to mix Spanish and anglicisms more than the Finnish material, where the anglicisms were often in separate units, such as product names or slogans apart from the rest of the text. The repeated shifts in the Finnish material consisted mostly of product names and a few word phrases, such as “professional performance” (FC: 34), “The make-up of the make-up artists” (FC: 13) and “Your beauty destination” (FC: 2-3). For example in the advertisement for crisps by *Taffel* (FC: 102), in an otherwise Finnish

discourse, the slogan, the product name, the information of the product and the product picture all contain anglicisms. The slogan “Taffel – the original snacks” is a repeated shift, as there are other language contact elements in the same advertisement. “Uudet rpeat juustosnacksit” (New crunchy cheese snacks) has an overt lexical borrowing ‘snacksit’ with a somewhat naturalised spelling that makes it possible for the anglicism to be used according to the Finnish grammatical rules. Finally, the product name itself in an English wordplay ‘Crunchiez’. (See Appendix 2)

Like in the Finnish material, in the Spanish material repeated shifts were mostly product names and short sentences. Below are some examples of Spanish code shifts that mix Spanish and anglicisms. These code shifts were found in the Spanish *Elle* on pages 95 and 117.

El *fragrance combining* [...]

The *fragrance combing* [...]

[...] a lo *Gossip Girl*

[...] in the style of *Gossip Girl*

The Spanish material had also some interesting repeated shifts that may well be on their way of becoming overt lexical borrowings. Words such as ‘print floral’ (floral print, SE: 95), ‘las chaquetas tweed’ (the tweed jackets, SE: 95), ‘un camisa demin’ (a denim shirt, SC: 43) and ‘musica dance’ (dance music, SE: 221) are in the implant stage of integration to Spanish. They are still English-sounding and accepted only by certain user groups. It is possible that they will continue to become naturalised items over time, as they already comply with the grammar rules of Spanish with the adjective coming after the noun. At the

moment, however, they are not found in the consulted dictionary and therefore they are still counted as repeated shifts.

A quote is a phrase or a statement in English that takes place in an otherwise target language discourse (Gellerstam 2005: 166). In the material of this study, one quote was found. In the advertisement for *Longines* watches in the Spanish *Elle* (49), there is a quote by the famous Indian actress Aishwarya Rai that goes “Elegance is an attitude”. The quote has a central position in the advertisement that appears in an otherwise Spanish discourse. What points to the phrase as being a quote instead of for example a total shift, is the use of inverted commas. The advertiser has wanted to put an emphasis on implying that the quote is directly uttered by the famous actress.

Stand-alones are anglicisms in an advertisement that otherwise lack non-English discourse elements, i.e. an English word or words appear only once in the whole advertisement (Gellerstam 2005: 166). Most of the stand-alones in both the Finnish and the Spanish material were product names. This means that the advertisers had opted for an otherwise Finnish or Spanish advertisement but had decided to either leave the product name in its original form, like in advertisements by international companies, or give their product an English name, like in the case of local companies.

The Finnish material included stand-alones such as ‘Pepsodent white now’ (FC: 92), *Garnier HerbaShine* (FC: 42) and ‘Moisture mix’ (FE: 2–3). All these products are by international companies. The only stand-alone that was not a product name in the Finnish material, was “In selected stores February 20” (FE: 8–9). The Spanish stand-alones included anglicisms such as ‘Rexona women’ (SC: 163), *American Playboy* (SC: 161) and “Be delicious” (SE: 26). All of the above were found in advertisements by international companies.

Total shifts are advertisements that are solely in English thus making the whole advertisement an anglicism (Gellerstam 2005: 166). Most of the total shifts appeared in advertisements for artefacts and perfumes. While the Finnish material had less total shifts, they were longer in terms of text than those in the Spanish material. For example, the *Reebok* advertisement in the Finnish *Cosmopolitan* (4-5) was considerably longer than the *Nike* advertisement in Spanish *Cosmopolitan* (23). Both contained anglicisms but whereas in the Spanish advertisement (see Appendix 3) the anglicisms consisted of some words that had been added to the text, the Finnish advertisement contained a long text solely in English (see Appendix 4).

Almost all of the total shifts in the Spanish material, with the exception of one advertisement, contained not much more than one phrase. The phrase could be part of the information section of the advertisement, like for example a webpage address “shop.replay.it” in a commercial for Replay (SC: 21) or a slogan like “Calvin Klein. Swiss made” in the *Calvin Klein* advertisement for watches (SE: 59).

Interestingly enough, most of the total shifts, however, were found in perfume advertisements. The sentences were almost identical in each commercial: “The new fragrances by D&G” (SE: 14–15), “Flora by Gucci. The new fragrance” (SE: 18), “Inspired by the sensuality of a woman. The new fragrance” (SE: 41), “The new fragrance for women.” (SE: 57) Of all the total shifts in the Spanish advertisements, 57 % contained the words ‘new’, ‘fragrance’, ‘woman’ or ‘women’.

Only one advertisement that had a total shift with more text than the perfume advertisements mentioned above was found in the Spanish material. The advertisement is for an event called *The Brandery* which is a professional trade show (SE: 93). While the

advertisement is more complicated than fragrance advertisements, from the way the advertisement addresses the reader, it would seem that it is not targeted at the average Spanish reader but at a person who works in the international fashion industry:

The most effective way to reach the Southern European fashion Market. The Brandery – a professional trade show.

To conclude, although the number of total shifts in the Spanish advertisements was greater than in the Finnish magazines, most of the advertisements contained very little text and the text they did contain shared the same words with other advertisements of the same type. The advertisements that were total shifts did not have much variety in the Spanish material.

5.4 The Location of the Anglicisms

The locations of the anglicisms in the material were divided into product names, product pictures, information, slogans and brand names. While there were some differences in the Finnish and the Spanish materials, the two most common locations for the anglicisms were product names and the information section of the advertisements.

In the Finnish material, most of the anglicisms (38%) were found in the information sections. The information sections were not usually the most eye-catching parts of the advertisements in terms of size and colour, but they did often have clear and prominent positions. Anglicisms in the information section were both singular words such as in the advertisement in the Finnish *Elle* (6–7) for a new hair dye range by *L’Oreal*:

Kiiltävämpi ja *trendikkäämpi* [...]

Shinier and *more trendy* [...]

or whole sentences like for example the follow advertisement in the Finnish *Cosmopolitan* for a beauty shop called *Boots*. (2-3):

Your beauty news.

The second largest number of anglicisms was found in product names (37%). The products themselves were made both in Finland and abroad. Nevertheless, many Finnish product names mixed English and Finnish, as in the cases of such names as *Karl Fazer exclusive* (FE: 12–13) and *Atria Fresh* (FC: 100).

All the slogans that contained English in the Finnish material were completely in English. Thus, they were all either repeated shifts in an on-going discourse or stand-alones depending on the type of advertisement. There were slogans that were only in Finnish and none of the slogans mixed both English and Finnish. This was also the case with anglicisms found in brand names as well as product pictures. None of them mixed Finnish and English. Examples of anglicisms in brand names include *John Frieda Collection, London, Paris, New York* (FE: 18) and *Aco Face* (FC: 27). Product pictures included anglicisms such as ‘Second skin foundation’ (FC: 13) and ‘Intensive Boost For A Renewed Lash Look’ (FE: 22–23).

The majority of the anglicisms in the Spanish material were in product names (42%). The product names mixed not only English and Spanish like in *Free Damn* (SC: 173) and *Skin vivo* (SE: 1). The second largest group of anglicisms were found in the information sections of the advertisements (38%). These anglicisms could be of any type, ranging from loan

translations, such as ‘salvapantallas’ (screen savers) (SE: 219), to covert lexical borrowings, such as ‘GB’ (SE: 91) and isolated changes in spelling, like ‘anti-edad’ (anti-aging) (SC: 2–3). Unlike in the Finnish material, anglicisms were more frequent in product pictures and brand names than in slogans. Yet, like in the Finnish material, product pictures that had an anglicism in them, for the most part contained no other language than English. For example the advertisement for the *Clinique* skin treatment series (SE: 10-11), there were no anglicisms in the information section, the slogan or the product names, yet the product pictures were solely in English (see Appendix 5). Slogans that contained anglicisms in the Spanish material, were also solely in English while brand names would mix languages.

5.5 Comparing the Results

There were notable differences between the Finnish and the Spanish advertisements. While a great majority of the Finnish advertisements contained anglicisms, the Spanish material had a larger number of them in general, i.e. the advertisements in the Spanish material contained more anglicisms per advertisement than the Finnish material. The locations of the anglicisms in the two materials quite similar, with the largest number of anglicisms found in product names and the information parts of the advertisements.

In both the Finnish magazines and the Spanish magazines, the largest group of anglicisms was repeated shifts in an ongoing discourse. In the Finnish magazines they covered 65 percent of all material and in the Spanish magazines they amounted up to 53 percent. Stand-alones were also common in both countries with 11 percent of the Finnish material and 18 percent of the Spanish material comprising of them. However, the differences were more obvious in the other groups of anglicisms. In Finland, overt-lexical borrowings were as common as stand-alones, with 11 percent of the anglicisms consisting of them. The

largest group after overt lexical borrowings were hybrids (7%), with total shifts (4%) coming after. In the Spanish material, however, total shifts were a much more prominent group, with 11 percent of the anglicisms belonging to it. Overt lexical borrowings amounted up to 8 percent of the material and covert lexical borrowing up to 4 percent. After these groups came changes in spelling of existing words (2%), loan translations (1%), bilingual wordplay (1%), quotes (1%) and pseudo-anglicisms (1%). Four types of anglicisms were shared by the Finnish and Spanish material: repeated shifts, stand-alones, total shifts and overt lexical borrowings.

Advertisements with only one anglicism, i.e. stand-alones were scarce in the Finnish material and repeated shifts in an ongoing discourse was the largest group. However, in the Spanish material, where the repeated shifts covered a little over half of the material, stand-alones were more common. Stand-alones were mostly located in product names in both materials. Considering that the Finnish advertisements had more anglicisms in them compared with the Spanish advertisements, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that total shifts were so few. The Finnish advertisers have not opted for using only English in the advertisements, instead, the material indicates that they rather favour using English words here and there.

All in all, there are noticeable differences between the Finnish and the Spanish material, yet they do not radically differ from one another. In comparison, the Spanish material was more varied, and the anglicisms had a less naturalized spelling than the Finnish ones. Both the Finnish and the Spanish materials mostly consisted of code shifts, however, active anglicisms and reactive anglicisms were also present.

The figures on the following page display the findings on both the Finnish and the Spanish material:

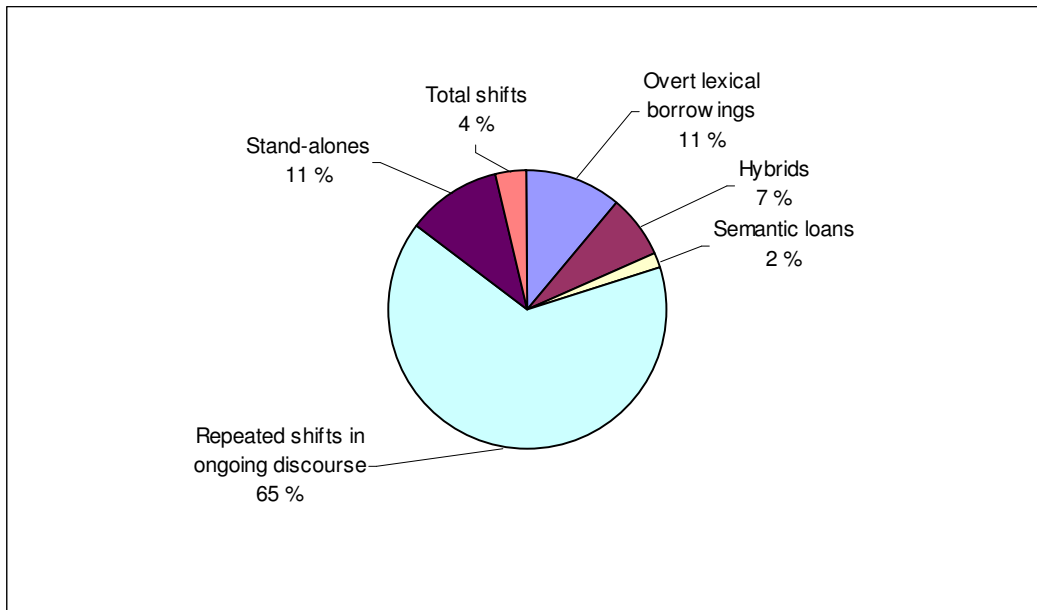


Figure 5. Findings in the Finnish material

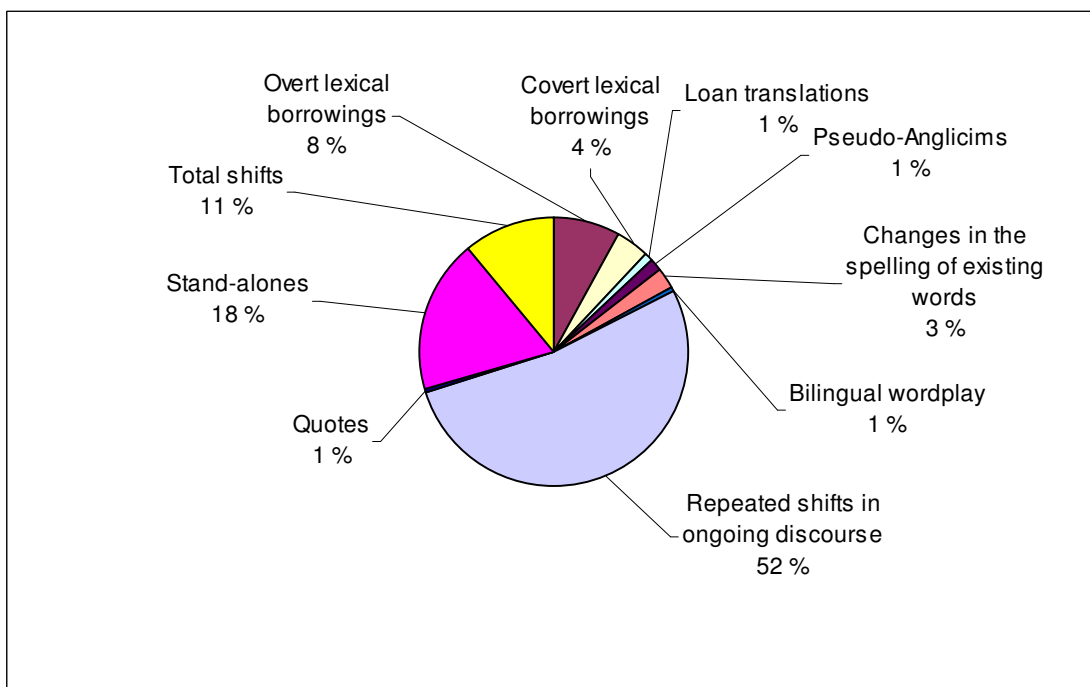


Figure 6. Findings in the Spanish material

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to unravel if there are differences in the way in which anglicisms are used in women's magazine advertising between Finland and Spain. The number of anglicisms found in advertising is one of the indicators that show how acceptable anglicisms are considered to be in the country. Their acceptability is related to national identity which is tightly knit with language. Therefore the reaction to the spread of anglicisms is different in Finland and in Spain. The research questions studied in this thesis were: which type of anglicisms were present in the material of this study, what the locations of those anglicisms were and how did the results from the Finnish magazines differ from those of the Spanish? My hypothesis was that in Finland, the influence of anglicisms is more openly accepted than in Spain. The reasons for this are the differences in culture, history and language identity in the two countries.

My first research question aimed to find out what type of anglicisms the advertisers used in the advertisements. In both the Finnish and Spanish material, code shifts were the largest category. This indicates that while most of the anglicisms have not yet made their way to a dictionary, the advertisers use them a great deal. The second largest category in the findings was active anglicisms and this shows that integration takes place more often than changes in meaning, spelling, punctuation or pronunciation. Reactive anglicisms were relatively rare, though some were found both in the Finnish and the Spanish material.

My second research question aimed to find out what the location of the anglicisms was in the material. In both materials, the Finnish and the Spanish, product names and the information section of the advertisements contained the most anglicisms. Slogans, just like product pictures, in both materials never mixed English with the national language. This is

possibly due to the fact that slogans aim to be memorable and therefore mixing languages might make them harder to remember. Product names, however, often had both English and Finnish or Spanish in them. Judging by this, it would seem that the advertisers are not at all afraid of mixing languages in their advertisements but prefer to do it in only certain parts.

My third research question focused on whether there is a difference in the results between the Finnish and the Spanish materials. From the results, it is clear that Finnish advertisers favour anglicisms more, proving my hypothesis to be correct. A possible reason for such an inclination for anglicisms by the Finnish advertisers might be explained by the differences in the speech communities of Finland and Spain. While the many speech communities of Spain are still struggling to maintain relevance in their own country, the Finnish speech community, although young, is quite well-established and possibly therefore more open to influences. Another reason that could explain the difference in the number of anglicisms is that Spain has only in the last few years really woken up to the seemingly unstoppable spread of English and reacted for example by focusing more resources into teaching English at schools, while Finland has taken the same steps already at the end of the 20th century. Hence, the level of the knowledge of English appears to be higher in Finland than in Spain.

As mentioned in the material section (Chapter 1.1) of this thesis, the target groups of the chosen magazines were similar in both countries: young, internationally oriented women between the ages of 18 to 30 interested in fashion and current issues. With this in mind, it would seem that the Finnish advertisers are also more confident in their audience's capability to understand English and therefore dare to use it so extensively. This might also explain why the Finnish advertisers were more prone to use anglicisms. However, it is worth to note that some of the anglicisms found in the Finnish material had become naturalized, therefore all the advertisees should understand them. Using anglicisms in advertising does not automatically mean that the advertiser is excluding a certain target

audience, instead, it indicates that an anglicism is chosen because of the image it will create for the advertised product. Many advertisers trust the selling power anglicisms for the simply because of the connotations they carry.

The lack of certain types of anglicisms in the material could be explained by their scarcity in general or by the limitations of the material. Further studies of this topic could examine a larger material, or perhaps look at the articles as well as the advertisements in the magazines. However, this analysis has successfully shown which type of anglicisms can be found in women's magazine advertising as well as what their most common locations in the advertisements are. Anglicisms have established their position in advertising both in Spain and in Finland with over fifty percent of all the advertisements containing at least one anglicism. Differences in numbers and types are clear, yet the results indicate the success that anglicisms enjoy in both countries.

English continues to permeate into national languages. English is a tool that many can use to their advantage and the knowledge of English has become more important, not only in business and work, but at leisure time as well. The world is becoming more and more global and English can be used to manage one's own position in it. In a world where national identities become ambiguous and transnational identities become more dominant, anglicisms connect us with something familiar outside of our nationality, culture and language. While many fear the negative influences English may have on national languages, this lingua franca may also bring unity and connect us with something steady in this unstable, tremulous world.

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Appendix 1.



In Libresse we trust

USKOMME
PIKKUHOUSUNSUOJIIN...

...joita on erilaisille
pikkuhousuille.

...jotka eivät näy.

...joissa on
kauniita kuvioita.

...jotka eivät
koskaan petä.



Libresse Thin Liners –suojat ovat erityisen ohuita pikkuhousunsuojia erilaisiin pikkuhousumalleihin. Nyt valikoimaan kuuluu myös Libresse Hipster, joka on ensimmäinen pikkuhousunsuoja hipster- ja bokserimallisiin pikkuhousuihin. Feel secure. Wear Libresse.

Appendix 2.



Appendix 3.

**PUES SÍ,
SON DE OTRO MUNDO.**

NIKERUNNING.COM

NIKE LUNARGLIDE+

LAS NECESIDADES DE CADA PIE FEMENINO SON DIFERENTES. Pueden variar del pie derecho al izquierdo o del talón al pie IG. Por eso, hemos aplicado nuestros conocimientos sobre el pie femenino, tres meses antes de correr, para conseguir un innovador soporte diseñado que se adapta a cualquier pie. Amortiguación, estabilidad y Nike, un concepto.

Appendix 4.



Appendix 5.

Una piel joven. Al instante y para siempre.
Refina los poros, suaviza las líneas. Su piel parecerá más joven durante más tiempo.

Solo el agua Clarificante de Clinique consigue estos resultados. Revela una piel más luminosa y más suave. Su agua clarificante refina las células muertas que dificultan la hidratación y el efecto por los poros de su piel. Resultado: los poros están más limpios, menos visibles y su crema hidratante penetra mejor consiguiendo que las líneas de expresión se suavicen.

Es un producto único, porque nuestros dermatólogos desarrollaron cinco fórmulas diferentes para que se adaptaran a cada tipo de piel. Una de ellas será perfecta para ti. Una vez que la pruebes y veas los resultados, ya no podrás dejar de usarla. Su precio, además, te ayudará a tomar esta decisión. Úsela a diario y durante toda la vida. Todo lo que los dermatólogos nos han enseñado lo encontrarás en cinco años.

Sometido a pruebas de alergia. 100% Sin perfume.

CLINIQUE

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