

Crossing language boundaries. The use of English in advertisements in Polish lifestyle magazines

Marta Dąbrowska

Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland

Abstract

Advertising is an area open to various types of innovation and a creative use of language. Advertisers use a variety of strategies to attract as many customers as possible, employing enticing visuals, clever puns, detailed descriptions, direct appeals, etc. Yet, if the product is to sell, it appears self-evident that the language of the advertisement should not constitute a barrier. Contrary to this assumption, however, there has been an ever growing trend visible in Polish magazines for the last two decades to formulate parts of or even complete advertisements, not infrequently of Polish brands, in English, despite the fact that English remains a foreign language in Poland, although, admittedly, a very popular one.

The present study is conducted within the framework of sociolinguistically informed linguistic landscape analysis. It investigates the visibility of English in the advertising landscape of lifestyle magazines published in Poland, represented by a selection of high quality and mid-range general interest and specialised women's and men's magazines. Its objective is to identify tendencies in the manifestations of this newly developing multilingualism in respect of the frequency of using English, the category of advertised products which particularly often appear in such multilingual advertisements as well as the type of magazines which admit such advertisements rather readily. Regarding the linguistic strategies used in the analysed texts, attempts are made to establish whether English tends to be used in complete texts and sentences or only parts of those, and if the latter, which elements of the genre of advertising are especially marked by such language choices and why.

Keywords: multilingual advertising, English as a global language, linguistic landscape, sociolinguistics

1. Introduction

Blommaert (2013: 44) claims that “[e]very sign tells a story about who produced it, and about who is selected to consume it.” In our daily life we are surrounded by signs of multifarious and complex character. They are placed in a certain environment and their use there, deliberate or subconscious, carries a multitude of information about their past, present and future, about the character of their (functional or symbolic) use. The investigation of the “visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs” (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 23), which initiated a new field of study called linguistic landscape (LL) towards the end of the previous century has grown into a rich and complex area of research. It is currently

more aptly defined as “attempts to understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of ‘languages’ as they are displayed in public spaces” (*The Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* 2015).

The LL framework appears to be a particularly useful tool to investigate how developments of globalisation have been shaping the use of local languages in the face of the influence of the English language, the most important *lingua franca* of the contemporary world. Its growing presence and prestige in countries which were not a natural area of its use a few decades ago add up to the linguistic repertoire of the local users. As a result, English has been affecting their language choices and uses in various domains and genres, especially those not so strictly regulated by official linguistic norms of a given country (cf. Sebba 2012), thereby also influencing orders of indexicality¹ of the respective languages in various fields (cf. Blommaert 2010). As regards Poland, advertising appears to be an area in which, due to the assumed flexibility and linguistic creativity marking the genre (cf. Sebba 2012), introducing other languages, notably English, beside Polish, seems to have been particularly easy and relatively unchallenged, despite the existence of an official language act.² The following analysis aims to present a preliminary investigation of the linguistic landscape of advertisements found in Polish lifestyle magazines. It will include top-shelf and mid-range magazines of general and more specialised interest, addressed to both women and men. The objective of the study is to analyse the content of the advertisements, treated here as examples of multilingual texts (cf. Sebba 2012), in terms of language choices found in various elements of the genre, and investigate the character (i.e. the frequency, form, and function) of English items found in the texts. A sociolinguistic analysis of the above elements will also make it possible to study the distribution of English and Polish in respect of the type of goods and services advertised, and the quality of the magazines in which English appears in the advertisements most often. This, in turn, will indirectly allow us to assess who the addressees of the texts composed partly or fully in English tend to be in terms of their possible social status.

¹ The concept of *indexicality* has been proposed by Silverstein (2003: 195), who argues that “any linguistic, a.k.a. sociolinguistic, fact is necessarily an indexical fact, that is, a way in which linguistic (...) signs-in-use point to contexts of occurrence structured for sign-users in one or another sort of way.” Orders of indexicality are “foci of normativity” in polycentric sociolinguistic systems (Blommaert 2013: 11).

² Article 7 of the Act on the Polish language of 7 October, 1999 stipulates that “[o]n the territory of the Polish Republic, the Polish language shall be used in all legal action between Polish entities as well as in cases when one of the parties is Polish. Specifically, this paragraph refers to names of goods and services, advertisements, instructions for use, information about properties of goods and services and warranty terms and conditions, invoices, bills and receipts.” In 2014 a viewer appealed to the court with a complaint about the fact that the actors in a commercial of Paco Rabanne perfumes spoke English on Polish TV, while, following the Act on the Polish language, advertising should be provided in the language understood by everybody in the country and on this ground he won the case (*Rzeczpospolita*, 6 November, 2014).

2. Studying the use of English in advertising

A tendency to use English in advertising next to local languages is naturally not limited to the Polish context alone. Similar observations have been made both in the context of multilingual countries (e.g. Grin 1994, Ye and Qin 2004) and other non-English speaking countries affected by the processes of globalisation (cf. Cheshire and Moser 1994, Gerritsen et al. 2007, Haarmann 1989, Kelly-Holmes 1998, 2000, Piller 2001, Ustinova and Bhatia 2005, Zhang 2001). When analysing the use of English in Russian advertisements, for instance, Ustinova and Bhatia (2005: 496) observed that some elements which were primarily kept in English were company names, product names, and labelling. In their view, those phenomena were to be seen as manifestations of the processes of globalisation vs. customisation (or standardisation vs. adaptation) when advertising foreign brands (cf. Grant and Short 2002, de Mooij 1994). In the former, brands keep the original form and content of the advertisement when entering foreign markets (cf. Kotler et al. 2002), while the latter shows some local modifications of the text (cf. Baumgardner 2008). The use of English in advertising can also be viewed in terms of two similar parallel processes: homogenisation, which is especially linked with spreading and adopting the American model of brands in the sense of accepting a certain vision of the world, and hybridisation, in which English and the cultural model it indexes are mixed with the local models and languages (Bhatia and Ritchie 2004, Lee 2000). In his overview of the use of languages in advertising Spolsky (2009: 35) argues that it would only be logical to expect that “the normal result of a communicative goal would be a policy to advertise in the language of potential clients and customers,” as a thorough comprehension of the message would naturally boost the sales of the advertised products (cf. Grin 1994). However, a number of studies of the language of advertising or public signs in shops and services show that foreign languages, and notably English are used there not for communicative function, but because of their symbolic or indexical value, as such a choice often connotes modernity, high quality and glamour (cf. Bhatia and Ritchie 2004, Dąbrowska 2020, Haarmann 1989, Kelly-Holmes 2000, 2005). In fact, as Gerritsen et al. (2000) point out, understanding the message of the advertisement is not of primary importance for marketers, since they are more interested in creating brand awareness and positive attitude to the advertised product, rather than in a full comprehension of the text.

Overall, the main focus of studying the use of foreign languages, and primarily English, in advertising has been the symbolic use of the language (Haarmann 1989), but also, more currently, the process of identity construction of the addressees (Piller 2001, 2003) as well as aspects of globalisation (Bhatia and Ritchie 2004, Blommaert 2010). An important observation stemming from the above is that what seems to inform the modern linguistic developments worldwide is a need to search for social identity and self-definition. Studies of advertising also show that various items which are advertised are linked with certain values, a lifestyle that users seek (cf. Vestergaard and Schroder 1985). The use of English marked by its high present-day indexicality associated with such consumer goods (Blommaert 2010) seems to contribute to meeting this need significantly.

A study which highlighted those trends already three decades ago, and which has also inspired the current investigation was one conducted by Cheshire and Moser in Switzerland

(1994). The researchers focused on the analysis of advertisements in two Swiss magazines, one more oriented to politics and the other to sport, lifestyle, etc. What they discovered was the fact that 7% of the advertisements were drafted in English alone, 20% had only the name of the product in English, and 73% demonstrated a mixture of both English and one of the local languages, usually French. In the latter category English was quite prominent, primarily in phrases that expressed slogans of the advertisements. In the researchers' interpretation, the use of English they investigated was different from that in Haarmann's (1989) study of the use of English and other languages in Japan, which he had identified as a cultural symbol. Here it was viewed as a "language display" (cf. Eastman and Stein 1993) "laying claims to the attributes associated symbolically with speakers of English" (cf. Garrett 2010: 145). Their analysis of the study material demonstrated that English was employed more often to advertise transient fashions (ibid.), e.g. clothes or cars, than everyday products, etc., it was also linked with travel and tourism (e.g. credit cards were always advertised in English) as well as with technological developments (communication, computers, hi-fi equipment, etc.). Some advertisements carried clear connotations with English-speaking countries (e.g. Scottish whisky), however, what is especially significant in the context of the present study, some Swiss companies advertised their products in English as well (32% of them did it in English to a French-speaking readership, including advertisements of Swiss watches).

Investigating the visibility of English in Polish advertising has been gradually attracting some research interest in the last twenty years too, although, as Planken et al. (2010) point out, there has been relatively little research on the topic in Eastern European countries overall (cf. Griffin (2001) for Bulgaria, Kelly-Holmes (2005) for the Czech Republic, Ustinova (2006, 2008), Ustinova and Bhatia (2005) for Russia). An early study of the use of English in Polish advertisements was undertaken by Griffin (1997).³ It showed that 88% of the 346 analysed advertisements contained at least one word in English. Similarly, in her MA thesis Bulawka (2006) demonstrated that 90% of 235 advertisements that she analysed contained some element of a foreign language, and in 79% of the advertisements such elements were in English. This only left 10% of the advertisements entirely in Polish, and they were those which mainly advertised food products. As Bulawka (2006: 19) established, the items which were expressed in English, or in a Polonised form of an English word, ranged from single items (mostly names of brands, logos, slogans, elements in the main body of the text, the header, the subheader), through more elaborate phrases to entire texts.

On the other hand, in her MA thesis Tobolova (2012) undertook to analyse the use of English in Polish TV commercials, and in particular, in commercials of cosmetics, food, electronic equipment, cars, and pharmaceuticals of both foreign and Polish origin. The investigation demonstrated that the highest ratio of the use of English (detected in 100% of the commercials) was found in advertisements of cosmetics. Further, English was utilised in 94%

³ *Angielski w polskiej reklamie*, a well-known book by Chłopicki and Świątek (2000), will not be included in the overview, since, as the authors themselves explain (2000: 16), it is not a book directed to linguists or those interested in a linguistic analysis of advertisements. The main goal of their publication is to identify and rectify typical grammatical, lexical, semantic and other mistakes found in the English elements used in the Polish advertisements analysed in the book. The prescriptive and pedagogical angle employed in the publication does not match the descriptive sociolinguistic approach followed here.

of advertisements of electronics, 78% advertisements of cars, in 54% of food advertisements, and only in 10% of pharmaceuticals. The commercials were mainly of foreign products, and, apart from a minor informative function they carried, they were found to predominantly enhance the attractiveness of the product. In the case of cars and electronics there was a high frequency of English slogans observed, while in food commercials English was used mainly in accompanying songs. There were few Anglicisms used in the case of pharmaceuticals, because, as the author concluded, those commercials were directed to senior viewers, who seldom speak English.

Planken, van Meurs and Radlińska (2010), in turn, analysed the effect which the use of English in Polish advertisements had on the readers. The authors wished to investigate whether claims that the use of English in advertising would enhance the selling value of the product would be corroborated by their study results. In order to achieve their aim they researched attitudes to a given product/brand image and to the advertisement itself; they also evaluated the respondents' purchasing intentions, as well as the degree of their text comprehension. The analysis was conducted with regard to six sets of advertisements drafted in English, found in glossy magazines, and their parallel versions translated into Polish. The data were collected by means of a questionnaire distributed among 62 Polish female students of Polish studies. The results obtained did not, in fact, demonstrate any significant differences with regard to the investigated variables in respect of the language of the advertisements. The initial assumption that the use of English in advertisements had positive effects on non-English speaking target groups as opposed to their native language was, therefore, not upheld. The researchers point out, however, that such results may have been an outcome of the high homogeneity of the investigated group (young highly educated women), and the effect may have been different, had the investigation been conducted on a more diverse population.

The present study recognises the contribution of the investigation of the use of English in Polish product advertisements conducted so far. A justification to take it forward is to be seen in the fact that the frequency of the use of English in Polish public space has been growing, leaving its mark in various elements of linguistic landscape (cf. Dąbrowska 2020), and a duty of a sociolinguist is to observe the changing tendencies in the linguistic environment as they happen. With the widespread use of English it is now possible to investigate its visibility also in respect of who the recipients of such texts are in terms of their social status. The current study will attempt to establish it as well, beside identifying and discussing the frequency and character of English items found in the analysed texts. This will be achieved through an overview of which type of magazines tend to admit multilingual advertisements more readily than others.

At this stage it is necessary to clarify the analytical approach which this study will follow. So far, as Androutsopoulos (2012) points out, most studies of the use of Anglicisms⁴ have

⁴ The concept of *Anglicism* is understood here as an English word incorporated into another language and used as a part of its lexicon. This understanding is supported by Gottlieb (2005: 163), who postulates that Anglicism is "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." In this sense it is to be viewed as a synonym of an English borrowing (of either the morphological, semantic or syntactic type).

been focused on lexical aspects, and English phrases or clauses have not been a part of research. He considers this development regrettable in view of the fact that an adequate interpretation of multilingual texts, especially the genre of advertisements of various kind, also involves multimodal aspects, for instance the location of various items used in the analysed data, their function there, their size, colour and other aspects that vary in respect of the languages utilised there. Therefore, the focus of such studies should not be on borrowings, but on strategic language choices found in respective elements of the analysed texts. This is also an approach employed in the analysis presented here. Consequently, the study does not investigate the material from the point of view of the theory of borrowings, and hence no literature concerning borrowings is quoted in support. A view which informs this study is that borrowings are treated as elements belonging to the borrowing language, they are used in keeping with the norms of the borrowing language grammar and understood by monolingual speakers (cf. Hudson 1996, Poplack 1988, Sankoff 2001). Texts including borrowings are, therefore, treated as monolingual too, whereas the advertisements studied here are treated as multilingual⁵ (cf. Sebba 2012), that is why comments will be made about languages utilised in the texts in their various parts and functions, not about borrowings. A focus on borrowings might be entailed by an investigation of the phenomenon of code-switching, though the character of the relationship between the two has not been agreed on (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009). However, while references made to the phenomenon of code-switching⁶ might appear applicable in the present context, they will be adduced only briefly in the investigation of examples whose internal structure might be analysed in respect of intra-sentential code-switching (cf. Myers-Scotton 2009, Poplack 1980), or code-mixing (cf. Muysken 2000). According to Sebba (2012), a study of written multilingual texts is not to be viewed as an analysis of code-switching, either (its investigation may only constitute an element of the overall complex structure analysis), because of the additional multimodal aspects underlying a

Borrowing, in turn, according to the classical definition offered by Haugen (1950: 212), is to be understood as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another.”

⁵ Naturally, the texts analysed here are only bilingual, in Polish and English. The use of the terms *bilingual* and *multilingual* varies depending on the author, with some using the former as a general reference to the use of more than one language, and others the latter (cf. Mesthrie 2000, Trudgill 2003). In the present study it is the term *multilingual* that is used as an umbrella term for any linguistic situation which involves the use of two or more languages. Such an approach is found to be inclusive of texts of advertisements which are composed in more than two languages. A use of more than two languages in an advertisement is a frequent situation, especially in multilingual countries (cf. Sebba 2012), but is also gradually becoming the case in Poland, where, beside Polish and (frequently) English, also Ukrainian starts to be incorporated in the same advertisement, especially in outdoor advertising.

⁶ The phenomenon of *code-switching* and its structural and functional categories are a challenging issue to analyse, which is reflected in a complex terminology describing it, postulated by various linguists representing different theoretical backgrounds (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009). As the phenomenon will not be a primary analytical focus of this study, a simple definition which describes it as an “alternation between the different varieties which people speak” should suffice (ibid.: 11). A distinction between *code-switching* and *code-mixing*, which is observed by some authors, and the latter is also used in this study, may be broadly described as a distinction between the use of two languages in speech when the two codes maintain their monolingual characteristics, and a situation in which the two systems show some convergence within an utterance (cf. Muysken 2000).

proper understanding of such texts, already highlighted above (cf. Androutsopoulos 2012). It should rather constitute an analysis of language choices and their distribution in a multilingual and multimodal linguistic landscape in which they were located.

3. Methodology and data

The present analysis is based on an overview of 21 issues of altogether 14 Polish high quality and mid-range⁷ general interest and more specialised lifestyle magazines: *Twój Styl* (2 issues), *Vogue*, *Wysokie Obcasy*, *Viva* (4 issues), *Świat Kobiety*, *Pani*, *Przyjaciółka*, *Tina*, *Rewia* (2 issues), *Men's Health* (3 issues), *KiF*, *Motocykl*, *Dobre Wnętrze*, *Moje Mieszkanie*, (all of the issues were collected between June and October 2021).⁸ The principle behind the above selection was not to provide a thorough and exhaustive overview of all the titles and issues available on the market. For the purpose of this preliminary type of study they were rather to represent a cross-section of the potential readership they are addressed to in terms of their gender (women, men), economic aspects (top quality vs. mid-range) as well as a variety of topics the readers are interested in (lifestyle, cosmetics, fashion, health, sport, entertainment, interior decoration, etc.). Such a selection, in turn, was to allow for an overview of the language choice tendencies depending on the target audience and topic of the respective magazines, as already pointed above. This is an aspect of investigation not considered in respect of studying language choice in advertising before (the category of the addressees and the more specialised topics of the magazines discussed here were not variables in the previous studies of English found in Polish advertisements).⁹ The selected magazines also represent a

⁷ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* online defines quality magazine as “a periodical containing material designed to appeal especially to readers of superior education or culture,” while, according to *Collins English Dictionary* online mid-range products are those which are “neither the most expensive nor the cheapest of their type.” In the present study the main defining element distinguishing between the two categories of journals selected for analysis was their price, ranging from magazines like *Vogue* (19.99 PLN), *Wysokie Obcasy* (9.96 PLN), *Twój Styl* (9.49 PLN), and *Men's Health* (7.99 PLN), to *Viva* (4.99 PLN), *Świat Kobiety* (3.49 PLN), *Tina* (2.69 PLN) or *Rewia* (2.19 PLN). Consequently, the break-off point between a high quality vs. a mid-range magazine was, respectively, its price above or below ca. 8.00 PLN. Additionally, the classification of the respective magazines to one of the two categories was based on their number of pages as well as the content of the analysed periodicals. Beside texts about fashion and cosmetics, quality magazines also feature editorials, specialised columns, essays on culture, and interviews with inspiring people, while mid-range periodicals contain, primarily, cooking recipes, fashion ideas, household maintenance advice, health topics, crosswords, and gossip about celebrities.

⁸ The selection of the magazines was random, provided they fitted in the broad category of lifestyle magazines, and were available for sale during the period of the study. The more bulky magazines were primarily represented by one issue (except for *Twój Styl*, which came in two different sizes), smaller ones needed a greater representation because of the low number of pages, similarly as the magazines addressed to men, due to a much more limited number of men-oriented titles available on the market.

⁹ Previous studies of English elements in Polish advertisements to date primarily investigated only the texts which were known to contain English elements. The starting point for the present analysis is an overview of all the advertisements in the magazines selected for analysis, first irrespective of their language, but focusing on the quality of the magazines and topics tackled (general vs. specialised) first. This, in turn, will allow us not

variety of options in terms of their quality, size, frequency of publication as well as foreign vs. local ownership (viz. *Vogue* vs. *Wysokie Obcasy*, *Men's Health* vs. *Moje Mieszkanie*, or *Twój Styl* vs. *Rewia*). In this way the study material also takes into consideration potential differences in the social standing of the target readership of the magazines. This, in turn, influences the selection of the advertised products in terms of their necessity and price, as well as the possible choice of the language used to advertise the products too. The following analysis will first focus on the visibility of English in the collected samples of the advertisements in terms of its statistics in respective magazines. Subsequently, the types of products in advertisements of which English was employed will be identified. Finally, the analysis will take into consideration the share of the use of English (from one item to a full text) as well as the form and function of the English items found in the texts.

4. Analysis of data

The overall number of advertisements found in all the magazines is 348. When broken down into particular magazines, the distribution of the advertisements is as follows (from the highest number to the lowest in total, with a calculation per issue where applicable): *Twój Styl* – 83 (ca. 42 per issue), *Świat Kobiety* – 32, *Vogue* – 31, *Pani* – 25, *Wysokie Obcasy* – 23, *Przyjaciółka* – 13, *Men's Health* – 39 (ca. 13 per issue), *Viva* – 49 (ca. 12 per issue), *Tina* – 10, *Motocykl* – 10, *KiF* – 9, *Dobre Wnętrze* – 9, *Rewia* – 10 (5 per issue), *Moje Mieszkanie* – 5. The above distribution shows immediately that brands typically choose magazines of higher quality in order to advertise their products, including those of a more luxurious character; the more specialist magazines tend to have fewer and more thematically related product advertisements. While *Rewia* and *Moje Mieszkanie* have the lowest number of products advertised, including mainly medication supplements and food products or else elements of interior design (floors, curtains, etc.), respectively, the other ones mainly specialise in luxury items, like cosmetics, clothes, watches, jewellery, cars, hotels and spas (see below).

The overview of the language used in the analysed texts demonstrates a frequent use of English, with 194 out of 348 (55.74%) advertisements containing at least one English element. The list presented below shows how many of all the advertisements found in the respective magazines were marked by the use of two languages or of English alone, with English ranging from one item to the whole text composed in it. The ranking presents itself as follows: *Dobre Wnętrze* – 8/9 (88.88%), *Vogue* – 26/31 (83.87%; fully in English – 7/31 – 22.58%), *KiF* – 7/9 (77.77%), *Men's Health* – 29/39 (74.35%), *Pani* – 18/25 (72%), *Motocykl* – 7/10 (70%), *Twój Styl* – 57/83 (68.67%; fully in English 6/83 – 7.22%); *Moje Mieszkanie* – 3/5 (60%), *Viva* – 26/49 (53.06%); *Wysokie Obcasy* – 11/23 (47.82%); *Tina* – 1/10 (10%); *Przyjaciółka* – 1/13 (7%), *Świat Kobiety* – 0/32 (0%); *Rewia* – 0/10 (0%). It is thus interesting to observe that the magazines at the top of the list, with the highest share of English, are predominantly those more focused on specialized fields. They contain a low number of advertisements, yet their specialized character, and possibly a higher share of technical details they contain, clearly

only to confirm that English is used in Polish magazines, but also establish in what types of periodicals it appears most, what products it tends to be associated with, and what type of readers it typically targets.

entail the use of certain concrete ingredients or possession of certain features known globally under their English names; alternately, they may be just names of brands. Examples in this category typically constituted individual words or short phrases (e.g. *Rillington/Wembley/Caramel* (types of oak); *plug-in hybrid*; *ice protein shake*; *www.balticus-watches.com*;¹⁰ *Melitta Barista TS Smart*), although occasional longer chunks of English texts were found too. A more interesting situation was to be observed in advertisements placed in quality magazines, notably in *Vogue*, *Twój Styl* and *Pani*, in which English appeared in clearly more than 50% of the texts, and a significant use of all-English advertisements could be found there as well (though, admittedly, short ones, as will be elaborated on below). At this point it is worth pointing out the difference in the share of advertisements in, e.g. *Wysokie Obcasy* (viz. 47.82%), which is owned by a Polish publisher, and e.g. in *Pani*, owned by a foreign capital, with 72% of such advertisements. The visibility of English in about 50% of the advertisements placed in mid-range magazines, like *Viva* is notable too. On the other hand, the fact that the inexpensive magazines showed close to none or no visibility of English whatsoever is also very telling. It demonstrates that luxury brand owners make conscious decisions as to what kind of readership they want to target and what strategies they need to use when trying to sell their products. It may be surmised that it is not only that they advertise their products in magazines bought by more well-off customers, but they also aim for more educated buyers, since such persons are more likely to understand foreign texts or those with some foreign colouring added to them.

An overview of the advertisements which show some visibility of English, either partly, or fully, has demonstrated the following distribution of the products in the case of which marketers have considered it justified to advertise them with the help of English. The list, in terms of the number of advertisements promoting respective products identified in the researched magazines, presents itself as follows: cosmetics – 53, clothes – 25, motorcycles – 10, shoes – 9, perfumes – 9, watches – 9, cars – 7, events – 7, furniture – 4, water – 4, accessories – 3. The remaining categories: jewellery, coffee, lingerie, aesthetic medicine, bathrooms, kitchen, hotels, films, radio stations, and food were advertised with the use of English once or twice each. Certainly, the above distribution confirms to a large extent that English is used to advertise products which are luxurious in character and do not just meet people's basic needs (cf. Cheshire and Moser 1994). Interestingly, though, the selection of goods advertised in the Polish magazines as opposed to those that Cheshire and Moser (ibid.) studied is overall quite different (e.g. no credit cards, alcohol, cigarettes, etc., have been found in the current study, which no doubt also shows that the fashions and needs are changing with times).

Table 1 below summarises the results of the analysis of the collected advertisements in respect of the visibility of English and Polish in their content:

¹⁰ Although this item is a website address, it contains the name of a (Polish) brand *Balticus Watches*, which is naturally an English phrase. Due to the fact that it constitutes an element of the advertisement body copy, is highly visible due to the size of the font, and may potentially take the reader to the company website, it has been included among the English items analysed here as well.

Table 1: *Distribution of English items in the analysed advertisements*

Degree of English visibility	Number of advertisements
A total number of advertisements with at least one English item:	194 (55.74%)
1. <i>English only advertisements:</i>	37 (10.63%)
A. Only the brand/product name and an accompanying an image	23 (6.60%)
B. A complete text in English	14 (4.02%)
2. <i>Mixed-language advertisements:</i>	157 (45.11%)
C. One English item in a Polish text	96 (27.58%)
D. Several items in a Polish text	61 (17.52%)

Thus, as regards the degree of visibility of English in the studied texts, the above overview has demonstrated the following share of the use of the two languages: there were 156 advertisements fully in Polish and they constituted only 44.82% of the advertisements scanned. On the other hand, as indicated above, 194 advertisements, i.e. 55.74% of the investigated material, contained at least one English item. The latter group can, in turn, be subdivided into two main categories: (1) English only advertisements and (2) mixed-language advertisements, each of which is further broken down into two subcategories. The first subcategory of English only advertisements is a group of texts in which the image is accompanied by only the name of the brand or its product, and the name is an English word (there were 23 such items, which constituted 6.60% of all the texts). The other subcategory of English only advertisements contains those in which the whole text was written in English (14 items – 4.02%). As far as the mixed-language advertisements are concerned (which, in fact, constitute the majority of the analysed texts), as said above, they also consist of two subcategories. The first one, with 96 advertisements (27.58%), contains one English word in otherwise a Polish text, and the other one, consisting of 61 advertisements (17.52%), makes use of a few items/phrases embedded in a Polish text.

Expectedly, the number of advertisements only in English is fairly low – 37 in all (10.63%), with the above-indicated division between the advertisements which consist of (A) only the name of the product/brand and (B) longer texts written only in English. Examples of the first category, repeated in various magazines, include: *Guess*, *Marccain*, *Solar*, *Pinko*, *Blauer*, *MaxMara*, etc., though indeed, sometimes it is hard to decide what language a given name can be derived from. The fact that some brands (e.g. *Solar* in the analysed sample) are Polish companies is also indicative of the popularity of English in Polish fashion industry and may lead to a conclusion that such companies attempt to get recognition on the global market without indicating their actual origin straight away. The latter category (i.e., longer texts written in English) may be illustrated by advertisements of such brands as, e.g., *Gerry Weber*, *Jenny Fairy*, *Blauer USA*, *New Balance*, *Longines*, *Ecco* or *CCC*. An example (from *Ecco*) reads as follows:

Ecco Modtray (in a bubble)
Slow fashion. Just in,
ecco.#MovesLikeYou
ecco.com.

Another illustration comes from Gerry Weber:

Gerry Weber. *I live my style.*
 (partly on the image): *We are Gerry*
gerryweber.com

Indeed, the number of English-only advertisements is not overwhelming, and must have been motivated by the globalisation trend to be found in the foreign brands which have used the same advertisements in various countries. It needs to be remembered, however, that the advertisements are presented in a foreign language to Polish recipients in a country which is officially monolingual, and whose law stipulates the use of Polish in public contexts. Such a choice on the part of advertisers is, then, indicative of an implicit assumption that English is globally understood. It is also a significant fact that such advertisements were predominantly found in luxury magazines: *Vogue* and *Twój Styl*. This observation, in turn, indirectly shows that English tends to be used only with a fraction of Polish society, i.e. with the educated and well-off social group.

As indicated above, the most prominent category which the analysed advertisements fall into is a mixed-language group, i.e. one which contains texts in Polish with elements of English. Altogether, such texts were very evenly distributed among all the magazines, and comprised 157 such advertisements, i.e. 45.11% of all the collected material. These, as already mentioned above, need to be further subcategorised into (C) mixed texts in which the English elements are only the names of the advertised product(s) or the company that produces/offers them, i.e. 96 texts (27.58%), and (D) those which, beside names of brands/products, contain another item in English, e.g. the slogan, the signature, or some additional product information (61 items, i.e. 17.52% of all the collected advertisements). The latter is not a very high ratio either, yet, when one realises that such details may not be fully understood by the readers, i.e. potential buyers/users of the products, the figure is to be viewed as significant. Examples of the category where only the name of the product is foreign include: *RedBlocker*, *ArtiShoq*, *GoodValley*, *Sport Camp*, *UltraBlanc*, *Be Bio*, *Natural Nation*, *Focus*, *Endurance*, etc. Examples of brands which, in turn, apply English in the names of their products are illustrated by the following list, along with the respective product names provided in brackets: AA (*Enjoy Nature*), Ava (*Botanical HiTech*), Bielenda (*Good Skin*), Dr Irena Eris (*Institute Solutions*), Balticus (*Balticus Watches*), Dermika (*Insomnia*), Paradyż (*My Way*), Ziaja (*Ziaja Baltic Home Spa. Wellness*). Moreover, as regards the mixed-language category, it is important to observe that most of the companies/products listed here are Polish, which demonstrates that their choice of the company or the product name in English undoubtedly aims to heighten the prestige of the brand through associations with its international status, and a better quality of their product implicated by it. It possibly also gives them a greater chance of recognition and circulation of their products abroad. It is important to note that, altogether, 17 Polish brands have chosen to use English either in their names or in the advertisements of their products. Some examples of such texts include:

- Natural Nation:
Natural Nation.
Focus.
Poprawia pamięć roboczą
(szałwia lawendolistna)
Poprawia koncentrację umysłu
(bakopa drobnolistna)
Wspiera równowagę psychiczną
(miłorząb dwuklapowy)
20% rabatu
Lepsza pamięć i koncentracja
Wejdź na naturalnation.pl, wpisz kod MHprint8 I odbierz 205 rabatu. Ważny do 15 sierpnia.
- Ava:
Ava Laboratorium,¹¹ Since 1961.
(an image of the product with the name in English below, followed by further details): Botanical HiTech.
Technologie przyszłości,
Fuzja natury i nauki. Skuteczna redukcja zmarszczek. Innowacyjne rozwiązania kosmetyczne.
Dostępne w wybranych drogeriach na terenie całego kraju i w HEBE.
We współpracy z jednostkami naukowo-badawczymi.

As regards the texts with a mixed-language message, it is hard to identify one pattern according to which the advertisement tends to be composed, based on an overview of the sample texts. Occasionally (viz. in 6.89% of the advertisements), beside the name there tends to be a slogan either following the name or added in a different font and format in the background; it may also be written in a smaller font below the body copy, often with a hashtag. The following examples illustrate the category:

- BlackRedWhite:
(in the right upper corner the logo of BlackRedWhite)
(on top of the page): Fashion Trends
(below the image): *Mój styl. Moje wnętrze. Poznaj limitowaną kolekcję mebli wypoczynkowych. Zainspiruj się.*
- Miss Dior:
Miss Dior. Nowy zapach.
#WakeUpForLove (then the logo of Dior below the image of the perfume).
- Esprit:
Esprit.
Wherever you go.
(the price and the logo of Deichman and at the very bottom another slogan in Polish): *Bo kochamy buty.*
- Sephora:
Odkryj nowości sezonu.
Sephora. The Unlimited Power of Beauty
sephora.pl

¹¹ In this phrase the order of the items used in the name reflects the word order of nominal adjuncts typical of English. Moreover, the name is followed by the information about the date of the company's establishment, which is also provided in English.

It is in this subcategory of mixed-language advertisements that instances of code-mixing¹² can be found. They involve not only the name of the product in English, but also references to some of its features/ingredients in otherwise a Polish matrix sentence. The following examples come from Giorgio Armani, Neonail, Bielenda, and Hero:

- Giorgio Armani:
Giorgio Armani.
 (below the image of the product): *Luminous silk. Mistrzowski podkład rozświetlający. Największy sekret Makeup Artystów. Legendarny efekt Armani glow.*

- Neonail:
Neonail.
Nowość. Naturalnie wegańskie! Lakiery klasyczne.
77% składników pochodzenia naturalnego na bazie pszenicy, manioku, trzciny cukrowej oraz kukurydzy.
Kissed by nature
Dowiedz się więcej na neonail.pl. Lakiery plant based wonder od NEONAIL znajdziesz w centrach handlowych, perfumeriach Douglas oraz w najlepszych drogeriach w całej Polsce i na neonail.pl.
 (Additionally, in the top right area there are certain symbols in bubbles with the following texts):
cruelty free.
Vegan.
77% składników pochodzenia naturalnego.
30 kolorów prosto z natury.

- Bielenda (a Polish brand):
Bielenda.
Good skin
Wypróbuj nasz 7 day miracle skin program i poznaj efekty – WOW! Już po tygodniu stosowania zauważysz: poprawę nawilżenia skóry o 24%; poprawę jędrności skóry o 14%; poprawę elastyczności skóry o 12%; wyrównanie kolorytu skóry o 3%.
Szukaj w drogeriach Hebe.
Skuteczność potwierdzona w programie badań aparaturowych. Efekty widoczne przy stosowaniu kremu, toniku i serum linii Hydra Boost przez 7 dni.

- Hero (a Polish brand):
Hero.
www.cannabishero.pl.
Be a hero. Join team Hero.
Hero to pasja i doświadczenie, wsparcie tych, którzy stawiają sobie wyzwania.
Zobacz nasze supermoce.
533339694. sklep@dobrekonopie.pl.

¹² As highlighted earlier, a proper investigation of multilingual texts, especially of advertisements, involves not only an analysis of textual aspects, but also multimodal ones (cf. Sebba 2012). In view of this a reference to code-mixing is made only in the case of examples in whose text both Polish and English are used within a sentence and/or in the complete body copy. Items like #WakeUpForLove or *The Unlimited Power of Beauty*, on the other hand, are instances of slogans, which not only constitute separate, self-contained sentences, but are also marked off from the remaining part of the text by a different font, its different size or colour, and often a different spatial arrangement in the advertisement, characteristic of the genre. For this reason, they are not treated as examples of code-switching or code-mixing in this study.

Occasionally, the text in the advertisement may be divided rather clearly into an English and a Polish part (cf. Sebba's (2012) category of disjoint advertisements), as in the advertisements of Certina and New Balance.

- Certina:
When taking responsibility: Count on me.
Supporting partner Sea Turtle Conservancy.
 Certina wykorzystuje wizerunek żółwia – symbolu wytrzymałości – od 1959 roku, od czasu wprowadzenia słynnego system zabezpieczeń DS Concept. Jako partner STC – wspiera organizację zajmującą się badaniem i ochroną żółwi morskich. CERTINA.PL.
DS. Action Diver – Special edition, automatic movement, anti-magnetic nivachron technology, diver's watch 300 m, ISO6425, Swiss made.
Certina. Swiss watches since 1888.
- New Balance:
Never run out of comfort.
Fresh foam. 1080.
New Balance (plus a logo).
 Dostępne na www.nbsklep.pl oraz w wybranych salonach New Balance.

Based on the analysed advertisements of the mixed-language category it may be concluded that the elements in English tend to be, in the first place, names of the company and/or of the product, slogans, and often the more technical or specialist specification details. They sometimes appear as elements of the image placed in the advertisement which shows the product itself, so the boundary between the actual image of the product and the text describing it is often hard to draw (e.g. Trec Nutrition products like *Ice Protein Shake* or *Boogieman Shot*, Dermika's *Insomnia* or Ava's *Botanical HiTech*). The texts analysis demonstrates that the embedded English elements typically retained their grammatically correct structures, and so did their Polish co-text, too. The only rather unusual grammatical form found was the one in Giorgio Armani's perfume description, in the phrase *Największy sekret Makeup Artystów*. In the analysed phrase the word *makeup*, although used as a modifier of a Polish head noun, does not appear in an adjectival form, which it should have in the given position (otherwise it should follow the head noun and obtain an inflectional ending, viz. *artystów makeupu*), but it retains its nominal adjunct function which it would have in English. This makes the structure stand out as rather odd and unique.

5. Discussion

There is a considerable visibility of English in the advertisements placed in Polish life style magazines. 55.74% of the analysed sample of the 348 advertisements demonstrated the use of at least a single word in it. The decision to publish advertisements with English elements seems to depend, however, on the prestige of the magazines. Inexpensive how-to and gossip magazines addressed to readers with a lower income, as e.g. *Rewia* or *Tina* hardly feature texts with elements in English. This, in turn, is linked with the category of products advertised there, and possibly, indirectly, with the social standing of potential readers. The quality

magazines, on the other hand, notably those addressed to women (112 samples, 32.18%), less typically to men (43 samples, 12.35%), are marked by a high share of such advertisements.

The use of English ranges from individual names of brands/products, either found in advertisements once or repeated throughout otherwise a Polish text, through longer phrases, particularly slogans (24 items, 6.89%) or, much less frequently, endorsements (3 items, 0.68%), to almost full sections of the text composed in English side by side with Polish ones. As indicated above, in a limited number of cases the whole text of the advertisement is written in English (14 texts, i.e. 14.02%).

An important observation to be made is that numerous Polish companies (viz. 17 in the collected material) advertise their products with the use of English. It may either be reflected in the name the company has chosen for itself or, more frequently, for the products (their images added to the text, bearing names and information in English, enhance the brand's visibility and its impact on the potentially international market). It is also common for the advertisers to make use of words or phrases (names, slogans, names of ingredients, etc.) in English. In such cases the English items typically retain their original form and do not get inflected or Polonised. They tend to take a form of nominal adjuncts, and at times of very brief and syntactically simple sentences, most often in the imperative form (e.g. *The unlimited power of beauty; kissed by nature; good skin; cruelty free; be a Hero. Join team Hero; Never run out of comfort*, etc.). Occasionally (viz. in 4.59% of the samples), longer chunks of texts (a sequence of clauses or sentences) are written in English too. The number of relevant examples with such features in the analysed sample was not high enough to allow us to draw any reliable observations as to which elements tend to be used in English in such cases. However, a possible conclusion might be that the description of technical details in the body copy and typically the slogan may appear in English, much as in the original advertisements of foreign brands, while practical information concerning the form of distribution of the given product is predominantly phrased in Polish to allow potential buyers to locate the items easily.

What is also significant is that the messages conveyed by the two languages in the analysed advertisements on the whole differ, rather than repeat the same information, thereby complementing each other (cf. Sebba's (2012) disjoint texts). It may, therefore, be concluded that advertisers assume that their potential buyers/consumers will understand the overall message provided in the two languages without much difficulty. Since it is luxury products that tend to be advertised by means of multilingual texts, it may be reiterated that this policy indirectly indicates that advertisements of such products are first aimed at educated, and thereby also possibly better-off consumers. This policy, consequently, draws invisible divides within society both in terms of the distribution and accessibility of such products.

6. Conclusion

The frequent use of English in advertisements, notably of Polish brands, indexes a high prestige of the English language in Poland. Its use as well as understanding undoubtedly enhance the status of English-speaking consumers too. The analysed material shows that the two languages, Polish and English, appear side by side in the investigated texts, often marked

off by different fonts and performing certain functions (e.g. expressing slogans) in the genre. However, at times no special multimodal devices are used to separate the two languages, which blend in the same sentence in natural way without any effort to separate the two. As a result, in such cases it is hard to draw clear boundaries between what is native and what is foreign, as both languages appear to be treated as unmarked choices, and the distinction between them is often additionally blurred by an interaction between the text of the advertisement and the information about the product provided on the accompanying image. A prediction may, therefore, be risked that this hybridization of a kind visible in advertising texts may develop into an unspoken norm in Poland. It will then remain to be observed whether the commonality of the phenomenon will, in time, lead to an overall acceptance of the use of English in the analysed genre. This, however, may, paradoxically, contribute to a gradual loss of the prestige that English is enjoying at the moment.

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