ENGLISH IN POLISH ADVERTISING

by

HANNA MARIA BULAWKA

A dissertation submitted to the
School of Humanities
of the University of Birmingham
in part fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Special Applications of Linguistics (SAL)

This dissertation consists of approximately 12, 000 words

Supervisor: Murray Knowles

Centre for English Language Studies Department of English University of Birmingham Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT United Kingdom

September 2006

ABSTRACT

The use of English and English-Polish mix is an increasingly popular advertising strategy adopted by Polish copywriters. This study looks at the linguistic properties of codemixing drawn from Polish magazine advertising, including its socio-psychological functions. A brief outline of the Polish media climate is presented and its socio-political profile constructed in an attempt to identify the context-specific motivations underlying English-based bilingualism. The research demonstrates that 79 percent of the magazine advertisements studied employs English, with Polish monolingual texts comprising only 10 percent of the data. Of all the product domains that mostly favor the use of English, cosmetics, clothes, medicines, but also mobile phones targeted to the national audience take the most prominent place. The presence of English has been noticed in nearly all structural components of the advertisements, with product names and labeling indicating the most usage of the foreign code. The growing popularity of English in the Polish promotional texts can be explained by reference to its pragmatic function as the single most important language of global advertising, as well as social and attitudinal reasons underlying an essentially Polish desire for Westernization and Internationalization.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1		
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Symbolic functions of foreign language use	
1.2	Symbolic functions of foreign language use	2
1.3	Mixing English in advertising: quantitative and	3
1.4	qualitative aspects	
1.5	Universality of language mixing: the systematic view	5
1.6	Local creativity and linguistic accommodation	7
1.7	Homogenization versus hybridization	7
1.8	English and the construction of linguistic identity	8
1.9	Conclusion	9
CHAPTER 2		
2.1	Media climate in Poland	11
CHAPTER 3		
3.1	Methodology	14
3.2	Results	15
CHAPTER 4		
4.1	English and the structure of advertisements: product adaptation advertising	19

The English-Polish mix

21

4.2

4.3	The use of English loanwords in the Polish cosmetics industry	23
4.4	English and the prestige factor: Polish fashion advertisements	25
4.5	The creative use of English	26
4.6	The local identity of English: processes and tendencies of mixing English in Polish advertising	29
4.6.1	Compounding	29
4.6.2	Affixation	31
4.6.3	Morphological adaptations	31
4.7	Discourse domains of English in Polish advertising	33
4.8	Motivational factors	34
CHAPTER 5		
5.1	Conclusion	38
APPENDIX 1		41
APPENDIX 2		49
REFERENCES		101

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Foreign language use in the global media, and in consumer commercial advertising in particular, has attracted considerable linguistic attention very recently, as evidenced by a remarkable surge in the number of publications (e.g., Haarmann, 1989; Bhatia, 2000; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; Martin, 2000a, 2000b; Ustinova, 2006 etc). Several authors attempted an examination of the formal properties of multilingual texts and their symbolic significance, revealing comparative analyses of the current multilingual phenomena with respect to different cultural and linguistic settings. Specific aspects that have been explored, as pointed by Lee (2006: 60), encompass three main areas: *symbolism in use* (e.g., Haarmann, 1989), *identity construction* (e.g., Piller, 2001, 2003; Lee, 2006), or *globalization* (e.g., Bhatia and Richie, 2004; Martin: 2002a, 2002b).

Three contrasting views can also be identified with respect to language contact phenomena, indicating societal attitudes as well as scholarly evaluation of the code mixed behavior in contemporary advertising. Those three approaches, as postulated by Bhatia and Ritchie (2004: 516-18), came to be known in literature as negative, neutral and positive views.

Until the mid- 1980s, most of the research on code-mixing undertaken by researchers interested in the language of advertising was driven mostly by the purist concern and motivated by the principles of linguistic prescriptivism. Those implicit ethical considerations underlying linguistic investigations of those days might be seen as corresponding to the negative approach, according to which language-mixing signals 'linguistic deficiency' (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 517). Consequently, the major emphasis of the earlier studies was to compile lists of borrowings and loanwords that appeared in the global rhetoric of advertising, which altogether brought little advancement in the field of language mixing. As Piller (2002: 171) notices:

'Due to the purist slant of much early work (...) descriptive linguists may have been somewhat reticent to enter a field that was seen as mainly producing-and condemning-lists of foreign terms used in advertising (...) and that did not seem to hold much theoretical interest'.

1.2 Symbolic functions of foreign language use

In the late 1980s, a major shift took place which embraced a considerable change of interests from cataloguing practices towards discourse phenomena. One of the first researchers who set the direction of linguistic research into a more functional domain was Haarmann (1989). In his pioneering study devoted to language contact phenomena in the Japanese setting, with particular focus on impersonal bilingualism in the commercial context, Haarmann (1989: 14) demonstrates that certain languages function as symbolic objects of stereotyping and requisites for the reproduction of fixed images about the speakers of a given language. The strategy of stereotyping based on people's need for social identity as well as self definition, is a common feature of commercial texts in general, and has been identified in monolingual advertising worldwide. Vestergaard and Schroder (1985: 73) refer to this phenomenon as *signification process* (a term coined by Barthes, 1964), which consists of associating a specific article with particular values, lifestyles or images, so that the high level needs are projected into a commodity.

One of the ways of evoking intended stereotypes and appealing to the viewer's feelings is through the use of different linguistic codes. Thus, in Japanese advertising, yet by no means limited to the commercial discourse of this monolingual locale, the use of foreign languages serves the goal of associating the advertised product with the ethno-cultural clichés about the group who speak the language. The hidden power of ethnosymbolism evoked through the use of different linguistic codes in the discourse of Japanese advertising reflects, according to Haarmann (1989: IX), a wider trend of internationalization underlying commercial texts in general.

Moreover, the ethnocultural stereotypes as specified for the Japanese setting are surprisingly similar in other cultural and linguistic contexts. Thus, French conjures up images of elegance, sophistication, refinement and fashion (Haarmann, 1989: 21-5; Bhatia, 1992: 195), Italian evokes association with tasty cuisine and 'sporty elegance' (Haarmann, 1989: 28; Piller, 2000: 173), while German symbolizes good quality and

prestige (Harmann: 1989: 29). As the above examples demonstrate, the use of linguistic symbolism capitalizes on positive stereotyping and has as its main goal evoking favorable associations in the mind of the reader. In the Japanese case, the emotional appeal of foreign language use is so great, that any concern about intelligibility of such messages simply takes a back seat. As Haarmann (1989: VIII) observes: 'Whereas Japanese is the basic means for the transfer of practical information, foreign languages (...) predominantly serve as 'exotic spices' in order to titillate the visual and auditory senses of the public'.

The use of foreign languages for achieving low-level optical effects reflects the neutral view of language mixing, according to which code switching performs the function of a mere attention-getter. This position, however, does not fully account for the rather broad range of application domains and complex roles assigned to different linguistic codes in international advertising, and can be seen as specific to the Japanese setting (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 518). More importantly, there is one language whose prominence in the global commercial milieu cannot be explained by a mere reference to the power of ethnosymbolism or low-level cosmetic motivations. This high status in the international as well as local advertising has been given to English.

1.3 Mixing English in advertising: quantitative and qualitative aspects

The prominent position of English as the most widely used language in the non-anglophone code-mixed advertising has been documented in a variety of sociolinguistic settings and ascertained through both qualitative and quantitative analyses. For example, in the corpus of multilingual commercials broadcast on German television, the incidence of English accounted for 70% of all spots (Piller, 2001: 157). Similarly, the data obtained by Ustinova (2006: 270) revealed that 76% of TV commercials in Russia employed Russian-English mix. In the case of South Korea, the presence of English in a corpus of 720 advertising spots was shown in 603 ads. (Lee, 2006: 71). Surprisingly, despite tough legislative measures designed to decrease the number of foreignisms in the French media (1994 Toubon Law), over 30% of commercials transmitted on the French television during the summer of 2000 incorporated the English language (Martin, 2002a: 8).

Regarding the incidence of English in the global print, not only is the proportion of English significantly high, but also its use in qualitative terms seems to be on the increase, as indicated by the analyses of advertising from the Outer and Expanding circles (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 532). Although certain structural domains appear to be more receptive to the influence of English than others, there is growing evidence that implies an increasing penetration of English into other components of the advertisement. Of all the structural domains that strongly favor the use of English, product naming, company's name, logo and wrapper seem to dominate (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004; 256-30: Ustinova and Bhatia, 2004: 469).

However, even in the main body of text, seen as the least penetrable component of advertisement and the most difficult barrier for English to conquer, the original vernacular blends with the global language, which depending on the linguistic environment, might be written in a different script. For instance, in the Japanese context, the katakana writing system is used mainly to represent foreign words, including non-Chinese borrowings. Therefore, it appears most frequently in the product or company names (Haarmann, 1989: 96). Similarly, in Indian advertising, the Hindi language is often mixed with an English text composed in the Devanagari script. Multiple mixing of scripts and languages illustrates yet another distinctive feature of code-mixed advertising (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 535).

In addition to transgressing structural domains and mixing freely with non-roman scripts, the presence of English has also been found in discourse domains normally associated with other languages or inconsistent with the prestige values it customarily represented. As Martin (2002b: 382) rightly notices, the primary function of English in the non-anglophone commercial context has been to serve as a symbol of modernity, technological development and/or reliability. However, as revealed by studies conducted by several scholars, English is slowly making its way into those product/discourse domains in which other major languages like French, Russian, or Chinese maintained their local or international supremacy. For instance, until recently French had enjoyed complete dominance in the fashion and beauty industry, boasting exceptional reputation and international status in the global market. Today, it is not unusual for French products

to be advertised in English, as evidenced by English names or phrases employed in French advertising texts. Among examples of foreign words identified by Bhatia (1992, 206; 2004, 534) are expressions such as *advanced cream* or *extra help makeup*, now used even in the main body of the French advertisements.

Other instances of English mixing found by the same scholar in Chinese contexts point to 'non-English' themes or discourse domains such as cooking and domesticity. The presence of English in domestic product categories, as illustrated by the Chinese example, undermines, according to Bhatia and Ritchie (2004: 204), the overtly simplified approach to language mixing based on ethnocultural symbolism. With respect to the Russian milieu and the commercial TV advertising in particular, English was found to occupy a prominent place in the English-Russian mix, with 14 out of 16 categories of products freely admitting the use of the global language (Ustinova, 2006: 274).

To sum up, the incidence of English in non-anglophone advertising appears to be on the increase, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. As findings obtained in different linguistic contexts illustrate, the influence of English goes beyond structural and discourse domains traditionally associated with the global tongue.

1.4 Universality of language mixing: the systematic view

The global power of English has been attested in a variety of sociolinguistic contexts. As pointed out by Kachru (1994: 135): 'It is for the first time in linguistic history that a language has established contact with practically every language family, both formally and functionally'. Following a cross-cultural analysis of both formal and discourse features of mixing English in advertising, Bhatia (1992: 195) confirmed this view, revealing that linguistic versatility is by no means limited to the languages of the developing countries. The preference for code switching has been noticed in commercial texts of languages of both 'open and closed types', that is those that favor the assimilation of foreign words into their local discourses, as well as those which appear to be less receptive to the global influences like China or Japan.

The identification of the universal patterns underlying the discourse of advertising in the countries of the Outer and Expanding circles led him to develop the positive/systematic view to language mixing, which has been seen by some linguists as the most adequate description of language contact phenomena in the present day advertising (Friedrich, 2002: 22). The positive approach assumes that linguistic versatility should be viewed as a 'systematic and rule-governed phenomenon' which aims mainly to address 'the deeper innovative and creative needs of advertisement writers to create the desired effects of persuasion, naturalness, and other socio-psychological effects in their language' (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 518). In other words, the exploitation of two or more linguistic systems in the media texts and in brand naming in particular, fulfills important literary and psycholinguistic functions that are likely to enhance the attractiveness of the advertising message, making it more appealing to the customers.

The use of English as a vehicle for linguistic innovations and creativity is a common strategy employed by advertisers and marketers in the re-emerging advertising in Russia. As Ustinova and Bhatia (2005: 499) observe, English serves an important role as a source of rhyming, puns, humor or allusion, often appearing in the figurative language alongside Russian. Apart from rendering creative effects and exploiting multiple meanings, a commercial text marked by multilingual content often leads to a better product recall, which underlines its psycholinguistic ability (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 539).

However, in order to fully understand the impact of Englishization on the Outer and Expanding Circle communities, one should reach beyond the levels of phonology, grammar, or lexis and examine the influence of English on discourse, registers and styles of those languages (Kachru: 1994: 138). Regarding Russian advertising as a new type of genre, Ustinova and Bhatia (2005: 497) notice that Russian advertisers use persuasive devices such as imperative clauses, elliptical comparatives, juxtapositions, or modal constructions characteristic of global discourse of advertising. As a possible explanation for the employment of structures similar to those typical of American or British promotional texts, the researcher point to the dynamics of the advertising genre, but also to the direct influence of English.

1.5 Local creativity and linguistic accommodation

Mixing English with other languages raises a whole range of important issues. One of such questions is how to address the problem of intelligibility. Given that in many Expanding Circle countries a large portion of population does not speak English, linguistic choices made by the advertisers may have severe economic consequences. One of the ways of dealing with the issue of intelligibility is through the strategies of linguistic adaptation. The interaction of English with languages from the Outer and Expanding Circles often results in linguistic innovations for which both parties are the source of inspiration. Thus, it is not uncommon for English to adapt to the phonological, syntactic or morphological patterns of the local languages, which according to Bhatia (1992: 210) greatly facilitates general intelligibility. For instance, in the Spanish advertisement for Coca-Cola, the original expression diet coke has been changed for the phrase Coca-Cola light, which reflects the head-initial properties of Spanish. The replacement of the word diet with a similar term light may be seen as motivated by local considerations.

Apart from examples of linguistic adaptation, multiple mixing of languages often leads to grammatical violations, as shown in the Japanese advertisement featuring a slogan 'we grow quality' where selectional restrictions between the noun and its modifier have been recklessly disregarded. In both cases linguistic innovations, as manifested through syntactic adaptation and violation of grammatical conventions, served a common goal of creating psycholinguistic effects and enhancing the memorability of the promotional texts (Bhatia, 1992: 210)

1.6 Homogenization versus hybridization

The role of English as the most frequent pair-language in contemporary global media is far more complex to be seen merely as a linguistic tool for dual creativity. As the single most important language for internationalization it functions by embracing two distinct tendencies inscribed in the logics of today's global discourse. Those binary oppositions are *homogenization* and *hybridization* (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 541-43).

Regarding the first opposition, English is the most important vehicle for the transmission of the global culture as expressed in the American media. Discussing the impact of English on French TV advertising, Martin (2002a: 19) notices that American English imagery transgresses national boundaries and ''tends to be associated with a certain 'vision of the world', rather than representing life in a particular country or a particular set of cultural values''. On the linguistic level, Bhatia and Ritchie (2004: 530-31) compile a list of words drawn from the Inner Circle countries that characterize the discourse of international advertising.

This unifying function of English leading to the homogenization of the global discourse runs parallel to the process of localization achieved through linguistic adaptation. It is the local customization of English and its presence among other languages that enabled English to occupy a dual role of globalization and localization at the same time, a phenomenon which Bathia and Ritchie (2004: 543) refer to as *glocalization*. The undisputable preference for English in international advertising pertains to its power to solve the problem of standardization and adaptation, perceived as one of the greatest dilemmas of the present-day advertising.

1.7 English and the construction of linguistic identity

Approaching the globalized rhetoric of advertising from a critical perspective, one should recognize the constitutive force of English in the creation of contemporary social identities. Those post-modern identities, as Piller (2001) rightly observes, are no longer marked by strong national ties or unvarying political affiliations. Through the unifying practices of global discourse, the present-day identities have become more transnational and homogenized. In the researcher's words: 'A shift from political identities (..) to economic ones (..) can be observed, together with a concomitant shift from monolingual practices to multilingual and English-dominant ones '(Piller, 2001: 153). Consequently, the implicit reader of commercial bilingual texts, as inferred from Piller's studies carried out in the German setting, is a successful businessperson, proficient in English, appreciative of values such as tradition, quality, and authenticity, and characterized by

the following orientations: International, Future, Success, Sophistication, and Fun (Piller, 2001:163).

Similar findings to those obtained in the German context emerged from the study of language-mixed advertising in contemporary South Korea, where English was found to play a crucial role in the formation of modern identity. Through the acquisition of English, as revealed by Lee (2006: 70-73), the younger generation of South Koreans express their distinctiveness and social affinity with modern values. In the case of South Korea, however, age appeared to be a crucial factor in that English mixing was used in the commercials addressed mainly to the younger generation.

1.8 Conclusion

The impact of Englishization on the discourse of advertising is evident in both Outer and Expanding Circle countries. Several papers gave evidence of the pervasiveness of English, indicating universality of language mixing in a variety of sociolinguistic contexts. A whole set of functions associated with English was proposed by linguists in an attempt to unravel the main motivations behind language mixing.

Following the core findings, the popularity of English in the commercial setting can be explained by its aesthetic appeal and positive image it generates in the mind of the audience. Contrary to other languages whose function in the promotional texts is based on evoking ethnocultural stereotypes about a given speech community, English works by associating a product with a social stereotype, and thus indicating more general features characteristic of modern societies such as social advance or economic development (Haarmann, 1989: 16). Moreover, it is often used as a source of linguistic creativity and innovation, playing an important role in the figurative speech and literary devices employed by the advertisement writers (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005: 499). Finally, it has been found to function as a vehicle for glocalization, reflecting complexity and hybridity of contemporary societies (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 543).

It has to be mentioned, however, that the degree of Englishization and the range of functions associated with English vary from one country to another, and is directly related to their socio-political profiles. The first big difference can be noticed with respect to the countries from Western and Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Media climate in Poland

Over the last decade Poland has undergone a rapid transition from a state-controlled communist economy to a predominately privately-owned market. The economic and political transformations instigated by the independent trade union *Solidarity* in 1989, marked an important stage in Poland's reunion with the world of Western values, lifestyles and philosophies. After fifty years of living under totalitarian rule, the Polish nation was suddenly exposed to a tremendous influx of foreign influences, becoming a profit target for Western companies and international businesses.

The ensuing changes within the politics and economics of Poland, following a rapid process of privatization (July 13th 1990) and abolition of state-imposed censorship (April 11th 1990), have had a great impact on the Polish media sphere. Until 1989, over eighty percent of Polish publications were under strict supervision of the Workers Cooperative Publishing House (RSW) (Robertson, 2006: 17). The primary function of the communist press was to control and mobilize the masses, acting in accordance with the political interests of the ruling *nomenklatura*.

With regard to audiovisual media, during the communist era Poland had only one broadcaster called 'Polish Radio and Television', which was used as a propaganda tool for the transmission of socialist and communist ideology (Pieklo, 2002: 7). Consequently, due to its purely capitalistic origins, commercial advertising vanished from the Polish media market for nearly forty four years and was no longer taught as a university subject. Most of the research on advertising undertaken by sociologists in those days was driven by institutional insecurity and ideological precaution. As Rabikowska (2006: 2) observes: '(...) such a warning was directed not only against advertising but the influence of the West in general, and the complete rejection of its capitalistic politics'. As a property of the government, advertisement, albeit limited in form and content, existed only for one purpose, that of reinforcing the socialist rhetoric of the former dictatorship by promoting images of a blissful life in Polish communist society.

However, despite the efforts of the communist party who attempted to use media as a vehicle for 'didactic enlightenment', the majority of Polish population was impervious to the political will of the regime (Sparks, 1998: 44). More importantly, many journalists and scholars fought fierce intellectual battles with the censors, running underground newspapers and discussing sensitive topics in the public forum. This helped generate discontent among the Polish population, which in effect weakened the position of the communist regime (Johnson, 1998: 108-111).

The major changes in Polish society, including democratization of the media output, occurred in the 1990s, after the Polish government introduced an anti-censorship law, issuing polices encouraging foreign investment. In consequence, only in the first year of Polish independence, the number of journals and newspapers raised by 600 over a five month-period (Robertson, 2006: 17). Today the number is much higher. According to the report released by the Press Research Center at Jagiellonian University in Krakow, there are about 5,500 periodicals published in Poland (Pieklo, 2002: 1). The paper with the highest circulation is *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which was first launched by the underground Solidarity movement under the name *Tygodnik Mazowsze* (Johnson, 1998: 114).

The rapid expansion of the Polish local press can be seen as reflecting three different phases of the country's political, economic and sociological transformations. The first stage, called heroic, is characterized by complete and mass support for the Solidarity movement. The second phase indicates fraction and dissolution of the anti-communist party. Finally, the third period illustrates a shift from political interests into profit-making motivations (Pieklo, 2002: 2).

Paramount among media voices, due to its prominent role in instigating the process of Poland's socioeconomic transition, was the discourse of advertising. Imported in its original version, with no concern for its 'linguistic or sociological suitability', the early advertisements served as the major transmitter of Western values and culture. The new discourse not only disturbed the existing view of life, but most importantly, brought about a sociological revolution, revealing new ways of classifying the reality. For

instance, in the communist era there was no history of beer drinking in Poland. Beer denoted societal degradation and was consumed in obscure pubs by the poor working class males. A significant change occurred after several advertisement campaigns for different beer brands made their way in the Polish media market. Those commercial texts showed young people drinking beer in a variety of leisure venues, promoting the image of beer as a social drink that could be consumed in public places without causing damage to family relations (Rabikowska, 2006: 4-5).

During the last fifteen years, the Polish advertising industry has made a huge progress. According to the forecast for 2005-2008 released by the Zenith Optimedia (2006: 1), Poland's re-emerging market will be among ten largest contributors to advertising expenditure growth, and is expected to account for, together with 5 other countries, 27% of the total world growth. A rapid growth in the Polish local media can be observed in particular in the magazine sector, whose share of the advertising market is second largest (14.1%), with TV accounting for 57.7% of the money spent on advertising. It is worth mentioning that many of the successful commercial magazines currently available on the Polish market are owned by the foreign companies such as Jurg Marquard Group, Axel Springer, Heinreci- Bauer, Gruner & Jahr/Bertelsman or Hachette Filipacchi. The most popular magazines published by the international media giants include *Twoj Styl, Film, Glamour, Cosmopolitan, Elle* and many others (FIPP World Magazine, 2004: 2).

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Methodology

The data for this study include 235 product advertisements that were published in 13 top Polish magazines in two month-periods in April and May 2006. All of the samples were taken directly from the magazines and were not subject to preliminary selection. If the advertisement occurred two times or more, the occurrence was noted only once. Due to a significantly higher number of women's magazines being published as compared to publications addressed exclusively to a male readership, the majority of data presented in this paper features products specific for the female audience. These include advertisements for cosmetics, perfumes, clothes, magazines, medicines and other fashion items.

For the purpose of the study the samples were organized into several separate groups (Diagram 1) and analysed accordingly. Two main categories that emerged from the corpus include advertisements featuring international/global brands, as opposed to commercial texts promoting specifically local products. Regarding the first classification, two major advertising strategies have been identified reflecting contrasting concepts of the global marketing. Those opposing trends have been referred to in the international marketing parlance as *standardization* versus *adaptation* (Mooij, 1994: 80)

In its ultimate form, standardization means selling the same product in the new market without any change. This involves standardizing the marketing mix by adopting similar brand names, prices, distribution channels and advertising for different markets (Evans and Moutinho, 1999: 189) In this case the company follows a *straight-extension* strategy, unifying marketing activities across all the countries (Kotler et al, 2002: 832) Examples of advertisements utilizing the extension strategy represent the first category of the data. Such advertisements (see Appendix 1) are informationally poor and tend to communicate their message mainly via pictures. For instance, a recent advertisement for Puma sport shoes (Figure 1) uses a non-verbal metaphor of a bird to represent speed. The slogan contained within the picture of the advertisement points to unique characteristics of the

shoes, which are light and make one run faster than any ordinary footwear items. At the same time the text defines the qualities of a bird whose lightweight body enables it to leap into the air and fly long distances. Visual clues, like the use of the same colour, additionally reinforce similarity between those seemingly unrelated concepts.

A clear preference for the globalized approach can be observed with respect to certain product categories, including hi-tech or hi-touch goods such as computers, perfumes, jewellery, and in particular in the fashion industry (Mooij, 1994: 86). The vast majority of advertisements employing the straight-extension strategy use English to express their propositional message. International ads featuring languages other than English were not included in the same category.

A relatively small number of companies opt for a fully standardized approach. Instead, varying degrees of globalization can be noticed with respect to different elements of the marketing mix. For instance, among the easiest components to homogenize are brand names, packaging and labelling. The most difficult marketing mix variables include price and retail outlets (Evans and Moutinho, 1999: 189). In order to demonstrate the continuum of standardization, the advertisements were further subdivided into three separate categories, here referred to as straight extension A, B, and C respectively. Group A (Figure 1) contains advertisements imported into foreign markets in their original form. Group B (Figure 2) consists of promotional texts where information about the availability of the products is given in Polish. Except for this structural component, the general design of the advertisement is identical across the globe. Finally, category C (Figure 3) includes commercial texts containing only one sentential substitution from English into Polish. For example, in the advertisements promoting a new C-THRU fragrance, all the information about the product expressed in the slogan, subheading, as well as packaging is given in English. However, there is one Polish sentence that appears at the bottom of the page which indicates a differentiation approach. The sentence, which translates as 'new fragrance for women', was deemed insufficient to classify the advertisement into the next category utilizing the localized strategy.

The second global policy followed by the international marketers, known as the *product* adaptation strategy, is based on the view that marketing is an essentially local problem and requires changes in the product characteristics. Consequently, advertisements are modified in order to meet local tastes, including preferences for a native language (Kotler et al, 2002: 829). Code-mixed texts, which make the second category of my data, comprise global advertisements with one word, phrase(s), and/or sentence(s) in English in an otherwise Polish text (Figure 4) Advertisements employing a localized approach will be referred to in this study as product-adaptation ads (Baumgardner, 2006: 255).

Regarding the corpus featuring Polish products, two main categories will be contrasted here. These are: Polish- monolingual ads (Figure 5) which promote domestic products entirely in Polish, as opposed to bilingual texts utilizing an English-Polish mix (Figure 6). Advertisements including foreign elements other than English belong to the final, fifth category of my data. This category employs code-mixing of Polish and other languages (Figure 7) such as French, German or Italian, but also monolingual texts imported directly from the foreign markets (Figure 8).

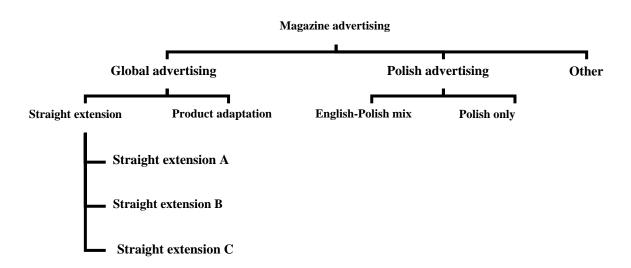


Figure 1: Classification of Polish magazine advertising

The present study examines the use of English in Polish magazine advertising, focusing on the linguistic properties of code- mixing, including its sociological functions. For the purpose of the analysis, two categories of data will be subject to qualitative investigation. These are: product adaptation advertisements as well as bilingual texts employing an English-Polish mix. Each of the categories will be analysed in terms of their linguistic and structural components. This will be followed by a discussion on the English usage and its socio-psychological significance. The final section of the paper explores context-specific motivations behind English-based bilingualism. However, before carrying out the examination of the code-mixed texts, I will conduct a quantitative analysis of the advertisements in an attempt to measure what proportion of the commercial texts used in this study utilize English for promotional purposes.

3.2 Results

Out of the 235 samples of advertisements collected for the study, 90 % incorporate two or more linguistic codes. The vast majority of the multilingual texts employ English (79%), followed by other languages such as French (6%), Italian (4%) and German (1%). Polish monolingual advertisements constitute only 10 % of all data. These include advertisements for national food such as instant soups (Goracy Kubek), yogurts (Smakija), seasonings (Kucharek), chocolates (Wedel), mineral water (Cisowianka), but also other products targeted at the Polish audience such as shoes (CCC) or electrical appliances (Miele).

Surprisingly, hardly any advertisements for automobiles, as may be inferred from the data, employ languages other than Polish. Promotional campaigns for cars produced by international giants such as Audi (Figure 1) or BMW (Figure 2) (see Appendix 2), make very little or no use of English when addressing Polish magazine readers. Of all the categories of products aimed exclusively at the national audience, cars remain the most consistent group, indicating a unified approach with respect to the language preferences.

Regarding advertisements promoting international brands, the overall majority of companies customize their messages to meet foreign language needs (26%). In contrast,

examples utilizing a full extension strategy, here referred to as type A, constitute only a small fraction of the data (8%).

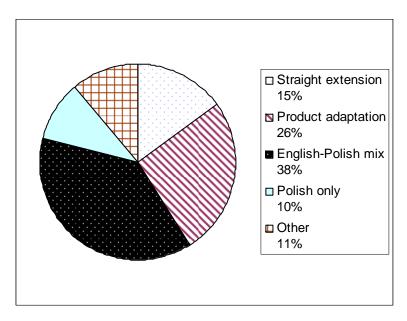


Diagram 1: Classification of Polish advertising: quantitative data

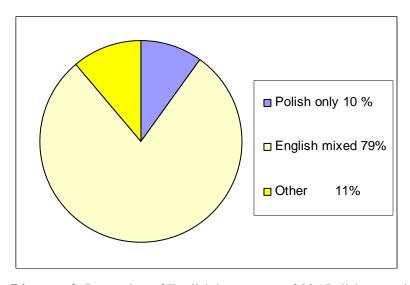


Diagram 2: Proportion of English in a corpus of 235 Polish magazine advertisements

CHAPTER 4

4.1 English and the structure of advertisement: product adaptation advertising

Considering advertising as a single discourse entity, it is possible to distinguish the following structural components: product name, company name/logo, labelling, pricing, slogan, main body, header/subheader (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985; 50; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 522-30). As the previous studies have already demonstrated, the presence of English can be noticed in nearly all structural domains of the advertisement. There are, however, certain components where the influence of the global tongue is particularly strong. These include company name, product name and labelling (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005: 496).

The analysis of the product adaptation advertisements drawn from my data support the previous findings, showing a clear preference for English in the product names as well as labelling. Table 1 lists some of the examples of the English usage found in product naming in the Polish press advertising. As the following samples indicate, the majority of instances involved appear as nominal phrases or one—word utterances.

Company	Product name	Comment
Vichy	Thermal fix	Moisture cream
Hugo Boss	Skin	Cosmetics for men
Oriflame	Tone Tummy Firming gel	Gel
Maybelline	Hydra extreme	Lipstick
Estee Lauder	Resilience Lift Extreme	Firming Cream
Nivea	Nivea visage young:	Cleansing milk, skin tone, gel, scrub
	Milk away, Freshen up, Wash	mask
	off, Control it, Scrub away	
Shiseido	Shiseido Gentle Cleansing	Cleansing Cream
	Cream	
Dove	Fresh Touch	Deodorant, cream wash, body lotion
Nestle	After Eight	Chocolate mints
Thalgo	Thalgo Slim/Sculpt	Sliming/Firming Concentrate
Loreal	Infallible	Make-up
Garnier	Ultra lift	Anti-wrinkle cream
Adidas	Active skin care	After shave
Max factor	Masterpiece	Mascara
Biotherm	Aquasource non stop	Cream
Creative	Zen Vision: M	MP3 Player
Philips	Performer, Jewel, Marathon	Vacuum cleaner

Table 1: English in product names: product adaptation advertising

Closely associated with the product, in that it expresses the identity of a brand and has a similar legal status, is the slogan of the advertisement (Piller, 2001: 160). A considerable portion of Polish product adaptation advertisements uses English to communicate the authoritative voice of the company. The English-only slogans occur mostly in the phrasal or sentential structures and are hardly ever accompanied by the Polish translation. One notable exception is the advertisement for Reebok sport shoes (Figure 3), where the company's well known motto *I am what I am* has been followed by the Polish equivalent *jestem kim jestem* (All data referred to in this chapter can be found in the Appendix 2 in figures 3-58).

The use of English in the slogan of the advertisement has important strategic benefits in that it reinforces the global image of the company. In this respect, the English language performs a pivotal role in the promotional campaign by acting as the 'master voice' of the company, indexing authority, expertise and international recognition. Paramount to maintaining the linguistic supremacy of English is the employment of paralinguistic devices such as font shapes and colours, or the size of the print. In nearly all of the advertisements utilizing a product adaptation strategy, the foreign elements are visually enhanced, constituting the most salient component in their structural layout. This tendency can be observed in all domains of the advertisement, and in particular in the product and company naming (Figure 4) (Piller, 2001: 160).

English has been found to appear least often in the main body of the advertisement (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 528). However, as the data used in this study demonstrate, even the main text proves susceptible to foreign influences, revealing numerous examples of English loanwords and phrases incorporated in the grammar of the Polish language. The most common categories of words occurring in the body copy are product names, but also other lexical items employed to describe their distinctive characteristics. For instance, in the advertisement for cosmetics released by the American company Avon (Figure 5), as many as 13 words are of English origin. These include established borrowings such as *liposuction* or *lifting*, indicative of the phonological and flectional patterns of Polish (*liposukcji*, *liftingujaca*). The presence of such words in the Polish text

cannot be explained by reference to the *deficit hypothesis* which presupposes the existence of the lexical gap (Kachru, 1994: 138). The English terms, although widely known in cosmetic parlance, can be easily replaced by the Polish equivalents such as *odsysanie tluszszu* or *wygladzanie skory*. One of the plausible explanations for the use of the English word *liposuction* was an attempt to mitigate the unpleasant experience of treatment evoked by the highly descriptive and overtly direct Polish equivalent *odsysanie tluszczu*. In this particular case, English performs the function of *euphemism*, rendering the text as less shocking and hence socially acceptable (Chlopicki and Swiatek, 2000: 162).

Another instance of English borrowing, which illustrates the scale of its penetration, can be noticed in the information section of the advertisement. Here, an unusually long English product name: *A new Clinical Lift And Tuck Professional Body Shaper*, occurs as a subject of the Polish sentence. The blending of two languages in the same utterance creates a highly comical effect, drawing attention to the unnaturalness of the message. The advertisement can also evoke alienation if it is read by a person who does not speak English, or even generate strongly negative reactions such as anxiety or aggression (Chlopicki and Swiatek, 2000: 451- 504).

Finally, the last section of the main text starts with the compound *vacue shape*, preceded by the Polish word *technologia* (technology). The phrase illustrates a common strategy employed in the Polish code-mixed texts where the foreign (English) code serves to emphasize the innovative characteristics of the product. The English term is usually incorporated in the Polish grammar and preceded by the local equivalents of the hi-tech terms like *complex*, *formula*, *technology* or *system*. (kompleks, fomula, technologia, system).

4.2 The English-Polish mix

The largest segment of the advertisements notable for linguistic diversity includes products manufactured by domestic companies. Polish advertisers and marketers employ English mixing as a linguistic strategy to attract the attention of the potential customers

and increase their appetite for buying their product. The presence of English has been noticed in all structural domains of the advertisement. The overall majority of code-mixed texts exploit the emotional appeal of the global tongue by using it in the names of their products. A close examination of the product names in the domestically constructed messages contained within my data indicates that 84 % of the Polish products carry English or English-sounding names. These include advertisements for cosmetics, medicines, vitamins, diet supplements, clothes, cellular phones, food or washing detergents.

Most commonly the products bear original English names, retaining its phonological and orthographic properties. For instance, the Polish cosmetics company Joanna launched a new product line for body depilation called *sensual* (Figure 6). The English name, additionally enhanced by visual clues, appears to serve as an attention getter, imparting an aura of prestige and elegance to a nationally produced product.

However, a growing number of Polish companies adopt their English names or even promotional campaigns in order to attract a wider range of customers, including those whose level of proficiency in English is not sufficiently high. This has given rise to original and often idiosyncratic modes of code-mixing representative of the Polish commercial milieu, such as the assignment of the suffix - *ex* to Polish common nouns or proper names (Figure 7). Thus, *Damex* from *dama*, a Polish word for lady, which identifies the products of the local clothing company.

In general, two categories of Polish advertisements can be distinguished here which manifest different levels of linguistic sophistication. The first group employs English in its original form or exploits its meaning potential through creative word plays or deliberate rule violations. Such advertisements can only be fully understood by a small portion of society. As will be shown in later sections, the most common product categories favouring refined and elaborate language usage include cosmetics and fashion items.

In contrast, the second type of Polish advertisements uses simple English or English-inspired words or morphemes to enhance the visual appeal of the product, giving the least educated segments of society the impression that the product is being produced by international companies. Very often the name assigned to such products does not correspond to the type of business run by the company and may even evoke unfortunate associations. An example of such linguistic mishap can be seen in Figure 8 featuring fashion advertisement for the recent spring/summer clothing collection. The company, which targets specifically female audience, uses a trademark *Leeloo* to advertise its apparel products. Interestingly, for a person who speaks very little or no English, the advertisement may connote positive images and emotions, pointing to the product's selectiveness, exclusiveness and international quality standards. Similar to the first group of advertisements representative of linguistic refinery and sophistication, the simple ads feature products mainly in the fashion and cosmetics industries, but also medicines produced by Polish pharmaceutical companies.

4. 3 The use of English loanwords in the Polish cosmetics industry

English mixing is the most favoured linguistic strategy adopted by Polish cosmetic giants. It is used in naming of a variety of beauty products. For instance, the company Soraya (Figure 9) employs an English phrase *Beauty Creator* to advertise its new line of cosmetics to the Polish audience. The use of Anglicisms can be seen also in the name of the product (*Morpho Krem*), which provides an interesting example of hybridization through compounding. (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004). The two foreign elements appearing in the headline and the wrapper of the advertisement are the English word *morph*, pointing to the unique characteristics of the newly launched cream, followed by the long-established borrowing *krem*. Both terms illustrate varying degrees of linguistic adaptation, which can be inferred from two different styles of orthographic representation. While the first word retains original English spelling, playing a key role as an attention catcher, the second one shows evidence of orthographic assimilation, conforming to the rules of the Polish language.

Important from the linguistic point of view, but also as an illustration of the promotional strategies commonly employed by the advertisement writers, is the headline of the text which reads: Nowa generacja inteligentnych Morho Kremow ('A new generation of intelligent morho-creams'). The line, which sounds like a semantic calque from the English phrase a new generation, contains hyperbole and personification as its main selling incentives. The exaggerated claim involves the use of the word new, which implies unique product's characteristics, highlighting its superiority compared to other competitive brands. The 'Unique Selling Proposition' is achieved also through the product endorsement strategy. This is done be using a famous celebrity, here a wellknown Polish model, to make a product recommendation (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 58-67). In addition, the advertisement makes use of personification by ascribing typically human attributes, such as intelligence, to an inanimate object, here an antiwrinkle cream (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 109-112). The cream is not only presented as intelligent, acquiring agency typical of the human beings, but is also seen as geometric, which violates 'selectional restrictions' between the noun and its modifier (Bhatia, 1992: 210).

Another feature of code mixing observed in Polish magazine advertising is the use of highly technical or pseudo-scientific terms that originate from English. The tendency to rely on foreign codes, mostly English, to describe a product's characteristics, has already been attested with regard to the product adaptation ads. The most common loans employed in the original Polish advertisements include the already mentioned *system*, as shown in the promotional campaign of the cosmetics company Dermika (*Anti-Aging Aqua-Capillary System*) (Figure 10). But also many others like the highly scientific *serum* used in the advertisement for Dr Irena's products (*Tricellux Serum*) (Figure 11), as well as other English or English-inspired words indicating medical properties of the products (*Kompleks Proslimigen, Collagenage, Capilaril*) (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 112). In nearly all of the advertisements examined in this study, the highly technical English terms are accompanied by a Polish paraphrase, which indicates doubt and concern about the audience's proficiency in English (Piller, 2001: 163). What follows from the analysis is the implication that the use of English fulfils mainly socio-

psychological effects, and is thus commonly employed to evoke connotations of professionalism and medical expertise. The Polish company Dax Cosmetics utilizes English borrowings also for cosmetic reasons by placing it in the picture of the advertisement (Figure 12). The foreign elements that appear in the informational as well as visual part of the promotional message are cosmetic surgery terms such as *liposuction*, *biodermabrasion*, *lift-bum up*, *pump-bust-up* etc.

4.4 English and the prestige factor: Polish fashion advertisements

Equally rich in bilingual manifestations is the fashion discourse where English is often employed as the dominant voice of the advertisement. A growing number of national clothing companies choose to communicate with their public partially or entirely through English in a deliberate attempt to improve their commercial status or boost international recognition. For instance, the recent advertisement by the Polish company *Simple* (Figure 13), aimed exclusively at the Polish audience, utilizes English in the most salient parts of its promotional text. The English terms include the name of the company (*Simple*), but also other elements providing description of the type of the business (*clothing company*), as well as product's characteristics (*creative*). Similarly, in the promotional campaign for the fashion items made by the company from Lodz (Figure 14), the English language appears in the central message of the text as a single word term (*spring/summer*), nominal phrase (*young collection*), but more interestingly, in the form of acronyms, symbols and abbreviations (*V & BIS*). The presence of the letter *V* or the symbol &, both of which remain in breach of the Polish writing conventions, adds distinctly global flavour to the essentially indigenous business.

In contrast, the function of Polish in both code-mixed texts has been relegated to a mere transmission of factual information such as details of contact or availability. By appearing in the salient parts of the advertisements, the English vernacular has been made the central voice of the company, imbuing the commercial texts with desired qualities such as authority and competence (Piller, 2006: 159-63).

The prominent position of English in Polish fashion discourse can be explained by reference to its symbolic function as well as global appeal and international recognition. As previous studies have already demonstrated, English serves as an index of modernization, prestige and technological superiority (Martin, 2002: 382). It is used in promotional texts as a strategic device to evoke associations with glamour, novelty and innovative design, markedly increasing the selling value of the advertised commodity. The appeal of English appears to be even greater in the less affluent countries such as Poland, and can be seen as corresponding to the country's desire for Westernization and Internationalization. Similar view is expressed by Masavisut et al (1986: 2004) who examined the role of English in Thai media. The researchers observe that the products originating from the more developed countries are often seen by the poorer nations as superior and thus more credible. Consequently, the incorporation of English loanwords into the rhetoric of Polish advertising helps to create the image of the company as 'competent and chic', implying that it is part of the international business scene (Piller, 2001: 161)

4.5 The creative use of English

In addition to producing socio-psychological effects and evoking modern connotations, the English language serves an important role as a source of linguistic creativity and innovation. A few advertisements included in my data exploit multiple meanings of English or challenge its grammatical and orthographic conventions. For instance, in the promotional campaign for the fashion items, the Polish company *Re-served* (Figure 15) uses the English slogan: *every moment re-reserved for me* to create a double meaning. The line, which complements the picture of an attractive young woman raising arms in a gesture of contentment, plays on the pun of *reserved*. In the literal sense, the slogan conveys the concept of time, personal freedom and self-government. Its symbolic meaning involves using the company's name as part of the promotional message. The creative use of language can also be observed in the brand name of this fashion line, which might be read as a single unit *reserved*, or a two-part lexical item composed of the prefix *-re* and the term *served* (*re-served*). The reading of the name as made of two

elements additionally reinforces the philosophy of the company, indicating excellent service standards.

Other instances of non-literal language usage were found in the promotional text of the Polish bicycle producer Kross (Figure 16). Here, the English language functions as a valuable linguistic resource, occurring in the name of the company, but also in the slogan and the headline of the advertisement. The use of English in the brand-naming illustrates an example of local *accommodation*, where a foreign language undergoes a process of linguistic adaptation conforming to the rules of the receiving language (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 541-43). With respect to the company's brand name *Kross*, the change involves only orthographic modifications: thus *kross* instead of *cross*. The presence of the global tongue in the text of the Polish company is mostly visible at the phrasal and sentential level, where English is shown to be polysemous, connoting multiple meanings and associations. For instance, the core meaning of the slogan *we move people* corresponds to the type of business run by the company which deals with the production of bicycles. However, there are other senses of the word *move* which we can infer from the slogan, like the one which refers to provoking certain feelings and emotions such as happiness or admiration (Cambridge Advance Learner's Dictionary, 2006)

The use of wordplay or figurative speech in the promotional campaigns reveals a purposeful strategy aimed at enhancing the memorability of the advertisement, leading to a better product recall (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 539). Adhering to linguistic codes other than the local language brings additional benefits in that it inhibits automatic data processing, which consequently improves the chances of retrieving the commercial statements from the memory (Piller, 2001: 163).

Equally challenging for the advertisers worldwide is the task of attracting the audience's attention. One way of generating the public's interest and arousing their curiosity in the advertised product is by breaking the norms of 'visual, social, and linguistic usages' (Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005: 501). An example of deliberate rule violations can be seen in the recent promotional campaign by *Sunsetsuits* (Figure 17), a famous Polish fashion creator for men, where the limits of the English grammar have been intentionally

transgressed to produce special psycholinguistic effects. The slogan of the advertisement, written at the bottom of the page, contains an erroneous imperative structure: *be culture*, instead of the correct form *be cultured*, as dictated by the rules of the English grammar. Other elements missing from the text, most likely to increase the visual appeal of the message and to evoke a sense of ambiguity, are two digits pointing to the year of the newest collection. The consequence of this innovative technique is a maximum allure for the product, achieved through a simple linguistic strategy based on grammatical incongruity. In addition to succumbing to the global power of English, the advertisement conveys also nationalistic themes, which can be inferred from the colours used to represent the Polish national flag, as well as the jumbo-sized headline which translates as: 'we dress our people' (Ubieramy naszych).

The advertisement for a recent CD collection released by the Polish radio station RMF (Figure 18) shows creative use of English, which, similar to the earlier cases, serves as an important source of linguistic violations. The headline of the promotional text, which translates as: 'this is max' (to jest max), includes an interesting example of 'truncation', commonly found in the Japanese English (Stanlaw in Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 541). Here, the item which undergoes shortening is the English adjective maximal, spelt with a triple x and in big capital letters. The unusual graphology of the word makes it the most conspicuous element of the advertisement, creating special visual effects employed to capture the attention of the magazine reader. The next line of the advertisement reads: The best of RMF max vol. 2, followed by another eye-catcher: maxymalna muza na maxymalnef skladance, which in English could be translated as: 'maximal music with a maximal cd mix'. Here, in contrast to the earlier usage, the borrowed item has been presented in its entirety, following the assignment of the Polish gender and number markers: thus maxymalna muza. What is most striking about the phrase, however, is the lack of semantic congruity between the noun and its modifier, showing a breach in the selectional restrictions (Bhatia and Ritchie, 2004: 540). The adjective maximal is most commonly applied for the expression of quantity or degree and has as its main collocates words such as rate, velocity and activity (The Bank of English). The use of the English loanword together with the words like music or cd mix serves a similar function to that performed by the value-judgement adjectives, employed to imbue the products with a 'glowingly attractive description' (Leech in Bhatia and Ustinova, 2005: 498).

In sum, the role played by English, as observed in the already mentioned examples, is aptly characterized by Bhatia (1992: 196) who notices that:

'Language mixing (..) is likely to exploit those untapped possible limits of either the mixed-language grammar or the absorbing-language grammar which introduces innovative and creative effects into advertisements'.

4.6 The local identity of English: processes and tendencies of mixing English in Polish advertising

Similar to the findings obtained in previous studies, the analysis reveals that the impact of Englishization on the rhetoric of Polish advertising reaches beyond the level of lexical borrowing (Bhatia, 1992; Ustinova and Bhatia, 2005) and encompasses more complex linguistic phenomena such as hybridization in compounding or syntactic transference. Apart from changing the formal and structural characteristics of Polish, the global tongue is itself strongly subjected to the influence of the local vernacular, which can be viewed with respect to different linguistic components such as phonology, orthography, morphology or syntax.

Those formal features that imbue Polish code-mixed texts with a distinctively local flavour represent three major categories and will be discussed under the following headings: *compounding, affixation* and *morphological adaptations*.

4.6.1 Compounding

Polish promotional texts display a strong tendency to combine different linguistic codes in the names of the advertised products, with the main goal of enhancing their international appeal. Regarding the corpus of local advertising, the most frequently occurring compounds include an English/Polish mix, as well as constructions composed of English and other elements, visibly influenced by its writing conventions. Examples representing the first group of compound words are the following:

panorama look (Figure 19), gapa fashion (Figure 20), talia fitness (*waist) (Figure 21), eva natura (*nature) (Figure 22), opona Excellence(*tyre) (Figure 23) and collection Adam (Figure 24).

In the majority of cases, the compound words can be seen to follow the English pattern of word formation, with the first noun acting as a qualifier. Constructions with two nouns, where the first one performs the function typically held by Polish adjectival modifiers, sound unnatural to a Polish speaker. The last two examples conform to the rules of Polish grammar which allows for postnominal modifications. However, the last compound is neither well formed in Polish nor English. The use of the Polish structure necessitates adding inflectional ending to the noun (kolekcja Adama), whereas the English version requires reversal word order (Adam collection).

What is more interesting, the lexical choices made by the designers of the following names produce equally unfortunate results. For instance, the Polish word *gapa* is a colloquial term used to describe someone who is scatterbrained or foolish (Polish Dictionary Ling pl). Similarly, the combination of words such as *waist* and *fitness* sounds bizarre as for a single product name. So does the 'quality noun' *excellence* seem not the best lexical option for the product category such as car tyres.

The second group of compounds comprises names composed of English or Englishinspired words and morphemes such as the following:

Mollon Cosmetics, Mollon Medic (Figure 25), Kazar Collection (Figure 26), lipidio end (Figure 27) and lipocell bloker (*blocker) (Figure 28), Nivelazione woman (Figure 29).

Here, the influence of English is visible already at the sublexical level through the use of letters or consonant clusters which defy the rules of the Polish orthographic system (*Nivelazione, Mollon*). In some cases it is hard to tell if the names are in fact English, or inspired by other languages, including Polish (*Kazar, Nivelazione, lipidio*).

4.6.2 Affixation

Another manifestation of Englishization, which makes for its essentially local variety, shows itself through the process of affixation. Added to the English words or morphemes, and more often to the roots of Polish lexical items, certain groups of letters function as a marker of innovation and modernity. These include English prefixes *max* or *maxi*, as in *maxgrip*, *maxi*vision, or *maxi*vit (Figures 30, 31, 32), suffixes *ax/ex*, such as *coldrex*, regulax, damex and nizax med (Figures 7, 33, 34), as well as - al,- ic and -ative, as exemplified by the words: normative, preventic, effectival (Figures 35, 36, 37). Very often the affix is linked to a nonsense morpheme, as in nizax med, creating the impression that the name of the product is in fact of English origin.

An opposed trend can be observed in the names of the following cosmetics and medications: basica, perfecta, calma (Figures 38, 39, 40), where essentially English roots have been enriched with a Polish inflectional marker –a. The use of the Polish ending illustrates the workings of the accommodation strategy, employed to prepare the Polish audience for the intake of English and, if necessary, to alleviate its adverse effects by eliminating negative associations. It is precisely in this nativized form that the dual role of English is best captured and demonstrated, pointing to its complex function as a vehicle for unification and diversification. By adopting the innovative linguistic features in their promotional campaigns, Polish advertisement writers solve the problem of standardization and localization at the same time, enabling English to play the role which Bhatia and Ritchie (2004: 543) refer to as glocalization.

4.6.3 Morphological adaptations

The last category indicative of linguistic hybridity reveals considerable experimentation with morphology. Here, the significant position of English as the main donor language can be seen in the concentration of parts of words, or the actual English terms combined with other elements such as:

apptrim, aplefit, menoplant, allertec, vitapil, bactum, revalid, kalms (Figures 41,42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48).

This group of product names shows relatively little unity with respect to its writing conventions. Sometimes the words involved follow orthographic rules of the Polish language (*aple*, *pil*, *kalms*). In some other cases, the names contain letters or consonant clusters untypical of the Polish spelling (*vita*, *revalid*, *apptrim*, *allertec*).

Mixing of English in Polish brand-naming, effected through the processes of compounding, affixation or morphological modification, adds distinctively innovative features to the Polish commercial texts, creating maximum appeal for the products and the company. As Friedrich (2002: 24) rightly observes: 'Instead of one language, with an already tired set of combinations, one ends up having two codes available, which makes for an entirely new set of possible combinations'.

However, extreme caution should be taken when designing names for the products or businesses in order to avoid unfortunate scenarios, which, at worst, may result in a major loss of interest in particular products or services. As Chlopicki and Swiatek (2000, 30-31) aptly observe, product and company names are the most permanent parts of the advertisement. A failure in making the right lexical choice may bring serious economic consequences. The researchers recognize enormous potential in the naming practice, pointing to the fact that product names arouse considerable emotion and activate associations, as well as attitudes in the mind of the reader.

<u>Affixation</u>		<u>Compounding</u>		Morphological modifications
Prefix	Suffix	English/Polish	English/Other	English- inspired words or morphemes
max/i	ax/ex	<u>eva</u> natura panorama <u>look</u>	kazar <u>collection</u> mollon <u>cosmetics</u>	apptrim aplefit
<i>max</i> ivit	regul <u>ax</u>	talia <i>fitness</i>	nivelazione woman	menoplant
<i>maxi</i> vision	dam <u>ex</u>	gapa <u>fashion</u>	lipidio <u>end</u>	vitapil
<i>max</i> grip	niz <u>ax</u> med	opona <u>excellence</u>	mollon <i>medic</i>	allertec
		collection adam	<u>lipocell</u> bloker	bactum
	ative/al/ic			revalid
				kalms
	norm <u>ative</u>			
	prevent <u>ic</u>			
	effectiv <u>al</u>			
	root + a			
	basic <u>a</u>			
	calm <u>a</u>			
	perfect <u>a</u>			

 Table 2: Instances of local creativity: English in Polish product naming

4.7 Discourse domains of English in Polish advertising

The presence of English in the discourse of Polish advertising has been acknowledged with respect to a large number of product categories. Of all the product domains that mostly favour the use of English, cosmetics and beauty products take the most prominent place, with medicines and clothing following shortly after. What is interesting, English appears to be the most preferred linguistic strategy used for the promotion of mobile phones (Figures 49, 50, 51, 52). It should be noted, however, that the product types examined here have been largely determined by the choice of the medium. The analysis of written press other than the magazine issues investigated in this study may challenge the present findings, both with regard to the type of loans, as well as the number of their occurrences.

With respect to the culturally sensitive domains such as food or household products, there appears to be no more barriers for English to overcome. Advertisements promoting washing detergents (Figure 53) or national food such as sauces (Figure 54), drinks, juices

(Figures 55, 56) or beer, (Figure 57), show the use of English or English-inspired words or phrases in the names of their products, as well as packaging. What is more, even in such casual themes, the code-mixed texts reveal features of innovation and creativity. For instance, the leading Polish rice company Sonko (Figure 58) exploits similarity between the English term *sun* and its Polish diminutive equivalent *slonko* to create denotationally rich trademark *sonko*. The following results with respect to the product categories utilized by English echoes the core findings obtained by Bhatia (1992: 204), pointing to a large number of discourse domains highly accessible to the global vernacular.

4.8 Motivational factors

The extensive diffusion of English in the global media, but also the scale of its penetration with respect to different language components, is unprecedented in the history of linguistic imperialism. The reasons for the accelerated contacts between English and other languages are numerous and complex and should be considered against the historical and political backgrounds of these countries (Kachru, 1994: 138).

As regards Poland, the linguistic landscape of this former communist state has been profoundly shaped through the power and influence of the Russian dictatorship. The remarkable expansion of English within the Polish commercial milieu in the last decade can be seen as a direct reflection of the country's economic, political and technological transformations. In this view the influence of English illustrates the workings of the *dominance hypothesis*, implying the existence of the advanced culture which acts as a donor source for the receiving language (Kachru, 1994: 138). The influx of the foreign capital in the countries of the former communist block, including changes in technologies and communication, has contributed significantly to the rapid rise of English usage in numerous functional domains such as business, science, computers, tourism, media, advertisements etc (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas in Dushku, 1998, 370). The foreign influence on the Polish market can be observed in particular in the advertisement sector, which after 1989 became a profit target for international companies capitalizing on the economic instability of Poland. The modern economic realia of the third Republic of Poland are well illustrated by Moczarski (2005, 1) who notices that:

'After years of communism, Poles can at last benefit from free-market economy. They are often ready to spend beyond their means, only to acquire brand-name goods (..), they follow advertising offers with great interest, much greater than people in the West, where many consumers are already tired of competition between companies'.

After an initial burst of enthusiasm related to buying products made by the international giants, Poles have been gradually losing interest in the promotional campaigns, treating them with indifference or often completely ignoring their presence (Rabikowska, 2005: 4). However, the significantly high number of international advertisements (51%), as may be inferred from this study, indicates the country's still non-competitive production environment, reflecting its gradual transition towards a free market.

Owing to the specific socio-economic conditions of Poland resultant from the years of political disintegration, the role of English extends far beyond its functional and pragmatic considerations. Apart from being used as a language of wider communication for the purpose of global advertising, the English language symbolizes a return to the Western world, acting as a communication bridge between the West and the formerly communist East. Fifty years of the communist regime imbued English with the symbolic value of freedom, liberty and political success. The demise of the Soviet domination additionally exposed an urgent need for speaking a mutually comprehensible tongue, the role which has been given to the English language (Fonzari, 1999: 39-40).

In addition to serving as a lingua franca in the global context, English often becomes a strategic choice of Polish manufacturers, appearing in the names or packages of the local products. What is more, some of these products such as medicines or clothes are frequently targeted to indigenous populations. The abundance of English usage can be justified with reference to the 'developing nations' phenomenon (Masavisut et al, 1986: 204), but also by social reasons as English connotes modernity, prestige and innovation. Regarding the first motivation, English brand names indicate superior quality standards and are commonly used as a device to signal credibility of the product and company. Sometimes the use of English reveals a purposeful strategy to globalize the brand, leading

the public to believe that is has genuinely international origin. This globalized rhetoric, with English often representing the central voice of the company, is a popular marketing technique employed to manipulate the public into buying a particular product (Piller, 153: 161).

In the Polish case, the extensive use of English can be seen also as an attempt to liberate itself from certain stereotypes that carry typically negative connotations from the past. By participating in a different linguistic reality, the Polish audience can finally abandon the communist leftovers, entering the world of universal values underlying consumptive societies in general (Chlopicki and Swiatek, 2000: 17). It has been noticed by many scholars that the employment of English in the discourse of global advertising rarely pertains to British or American themes. Rather, it is used to express nonnational concepts associated with social advance and globalization, instead of conveying culture- specific values as characteristic of English-speaking communities. This point is aptly summarised by Kachru (1994: 135) who observes that 'English has acquired distinct sociolinguistic identities as an additional language: British and American identities form only a part of a larger group of identities'.

The incorporation of English into Polish promotional texts does not result from the lack of adequate terminology, which corresponds with the premise of the *deficit hypothesis* (Kachru, 1994: 138). As shown in examples in the same chapter, new terms could easily be coined or existing words employed instead of relying on the global rhetoric. However, as pointed out by Bhatia (1992: 195), this would not produce the same persuasive effects as when expressed by the English equivalent. It is precisely the socio-psychological effects evoked by the global tongue that motivate English-based bilingualism. These include associations with prestige, sophistication, modernization, expensiveness, technological and industrial innovations, novelty, globalization, internationalism, standardization, to name just a few (Bhatia, 1992: 204). The powerful appeal of English is thus implicitly reinforced by its perception as an 'effective code of communication' (Kachru, 1994: 141). This view is supported by Ross (1997: 31) who notices that 'English is today seen as an attractive and fashionable language'.

The advantage from mixing English in Polish advertising consists also in its potential for creating double meanings or allowing for multiple interpretations, which introduces special effects into advertisements (Ustinova, 2005: 499). The innovative appeal of codemixed texts is often achieved via processes of linguistic accommodation, where English is seen to take on formal characteristics of the Polish language.

In sum, the growing popularity of English in the Polish promotional campaigns can be explained by reference to its pragmatic function as the single most important language of global advertising, as well as social and attitudinal reasons underlying an essentially Polish desire for Westernization and Internationalization.

CHAPTER 5

5. Conclusion

The present study examines some of the key works in code-mixing research in contemporary global advertising, focusing on the quantitative and qualitative aspects of English usage characteristic of Polish commercial setting. From the above analysis it can be inferred that the English language plays a pivotal role in the re-emerging Polish advertising, providing an adequate reflection of the country's transition towards a free-market economy.

As the data in this study indicate, 90% of the magazine advertisements incorporate two or more linguistic codes. The vast majority of the ads studied employ English (79%), with Polish monolingual texts comprising only a small fraction of the data (10%). These include advertisements for national food such as yogurts, instant soups, chocolates, mineral water, seasonings, but also shoes, electrical appliances and cars. The amount of data presented in this analysis proves insufficient to determine the essentially Polish product domains. It is satisfactory, however, to point to the effective diffusion of English in the most culture-bound product categories such as beer, drinks, juices, sauces or washing detergents. Of all the product domains that mostly favour the use of English, cosmetics, medicines, clothes, but also mobile phones targeted to the national audience take the most prominent place. It has been mentioned already that the results regarding the relationship between the product type and the language choice may change depending on the medium studied, including characteristics of the implied reader.

With respect to the structure of Polish advertising, the presence of English has been noticed in nearly all structural components of the advertisements, with product names and labelling indicating the most usage of the foreign code. As the analysis reveals, as many as 84% of the Polish products carry English or English-sounding names. These are often subject to the processes of local adaptation, indicating unique modes and standards for mixing English in Polish commercial discourse.

In general, the dissertation distinguishes two types of Polish advertisements which manifest different levels of linguistic sophistication. The first group uses simple English, or English inspired words or morphemes employed to enhance the visual appeal of the advertising text and to create modern connotations. The second category includes advertisements notable for complex and elaborate structures, exploiting multiple meanings and interpretations, experimenting with orthography, or deliberately violating stylistic and grammatical conventions of English. This group of promotional texts has been found to make use of persuasive devices typically observed in the global discourse of advertising such as hyperbole, metaphor, puns, constructions with value-judgment adjectives etc (Vestegaard and Schroder, 1985: 58-65). The visible similarity in structures and promotional techniques used to create interest in the advertised commodity, points to a growing influence of the Western discourse on the rhetoric of Polish advertising. After an unnatural break hindering the evolution of the advertising discourse, the Polish commercial sector has had to compensate for the time delay at an unusually high speed (Chlopicki and Swiatek, 2000: 19). This often involves borrowing the already established and well-developed patterns from the neighbouring discourses.

The most conspicuous manifestation of Anglicization, as can be seen from the collected samples, occurs at the lexical level in the form of single lexical items, usually brand names or nominal phrases, often employed to emphasize the innovative characteristics of the product. The most preferred category of loans contained within the discourse of magazine advertising includes technical and pseudo-scientific terms such as *system*, *technology*, *formula or serum*. The incorporation of such words in the grammar of the Polish language reveals a common translation pattern adopted by Polish copywriters. The topic still remains an open area for investigation for translators and linguists alike. Similarly, more research is necessary to identify quantitative and qualitative aspects of English mixing in Polish advertising, such as the type and number of English loanwords. In this study it was only possible to briefly outline some major trends and tendencies that occur in the commercial discourse of Poland. The analysis opens a general discussion on the typological differences between English and Polish, investigating an essentially Polish dimension of the English-based bilingualism. The influence of the global tongue is

particularly prevalent in the phonological, orthographic, semantic and morphological levels of the language, with a few examples of advertisements pointing to a syntactic transference. All these issues have yet to be fully addressed, including the ever-changing face of English as a consequence of local accommodation.

Finally, the paper attempts to define motivations and attitudes governing the linguistic behaviour of modern-day Poland. It has been implied that the growing popularity of English in the Polish commercial setting pertains to its prominent position as the single most important language of global advertising. However, the ubiquitous spread of the global tongue in the promotional texts of Polish indigenous companies reveals other reasons, such as the essentially national desire for prestige, modernization and Westernization.

Appendix 1



Figure 1: Straight extension A

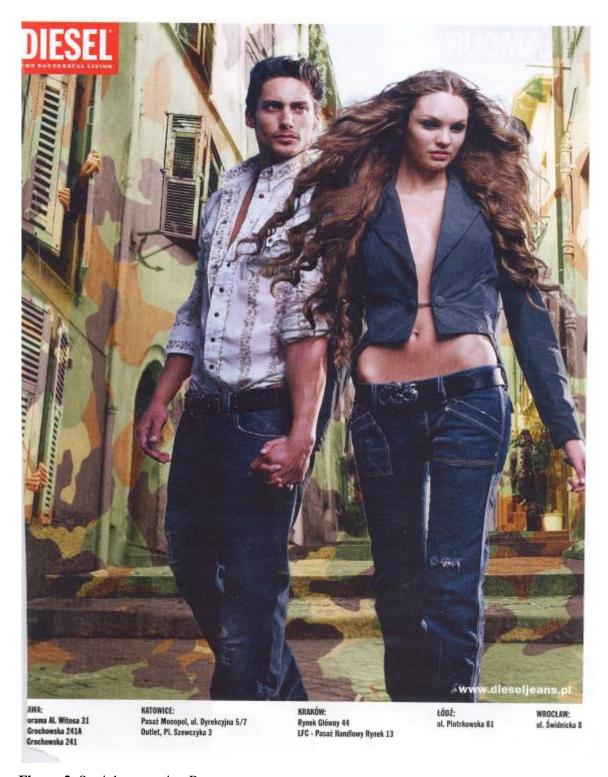


Figure 2: Straight extension B

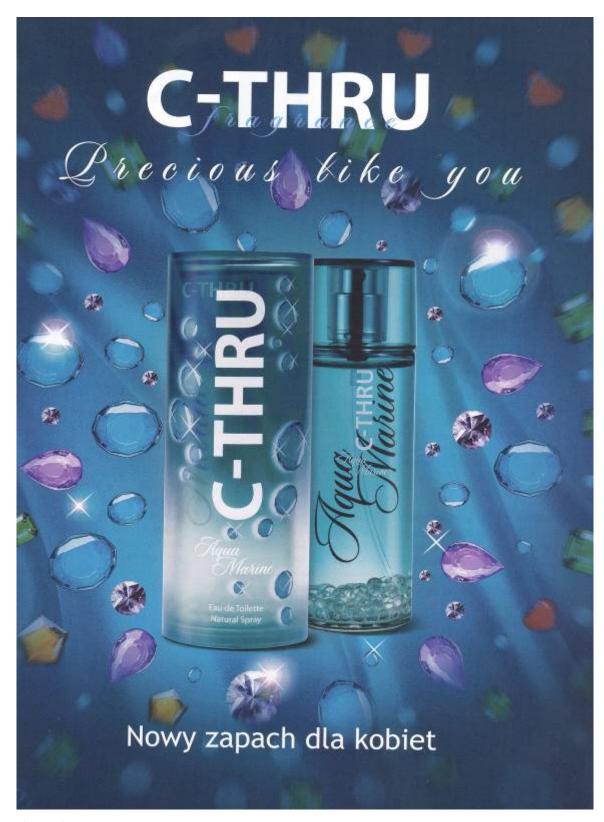


Figure 3: Straight extension C



Figure 4: Product adaptation strategy



Figure 5: Polish monolingual advertisement



Figure 6: English in Polish advertising



Figure 7: Code-mixing of Polish and French

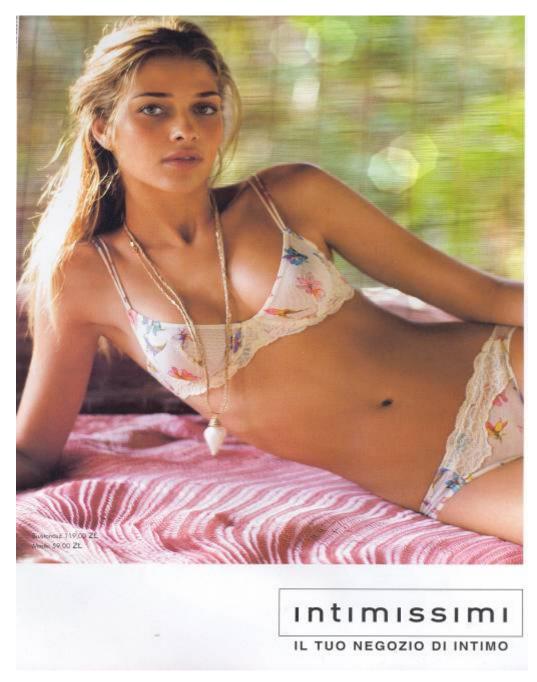


Figure 8: Advertisement with a slogan and brand name in Italian

APPENDIX 2



Figure 1

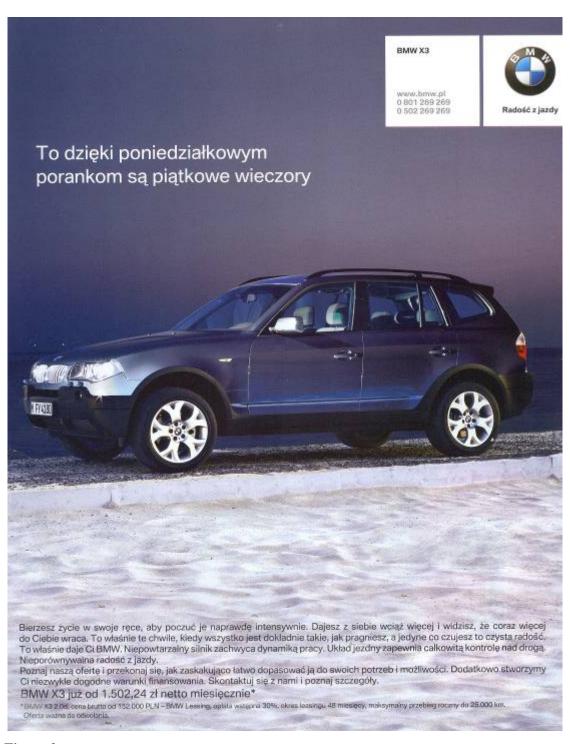


Figure 2

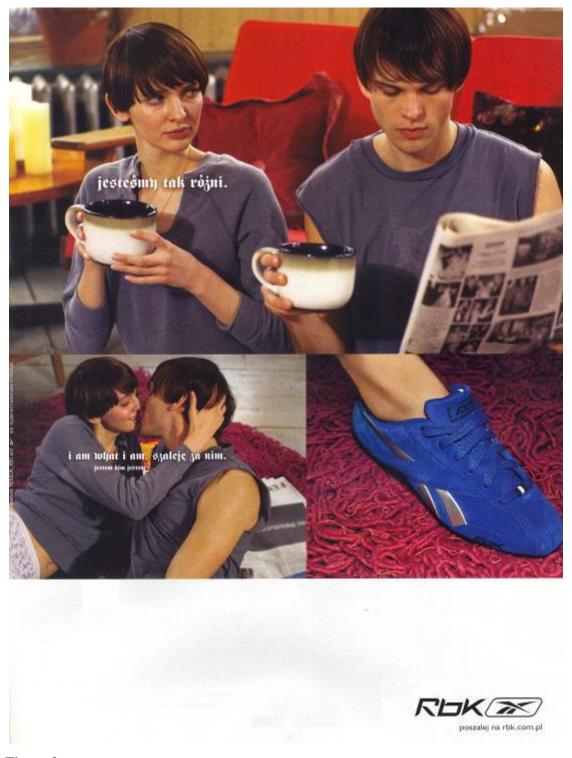


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

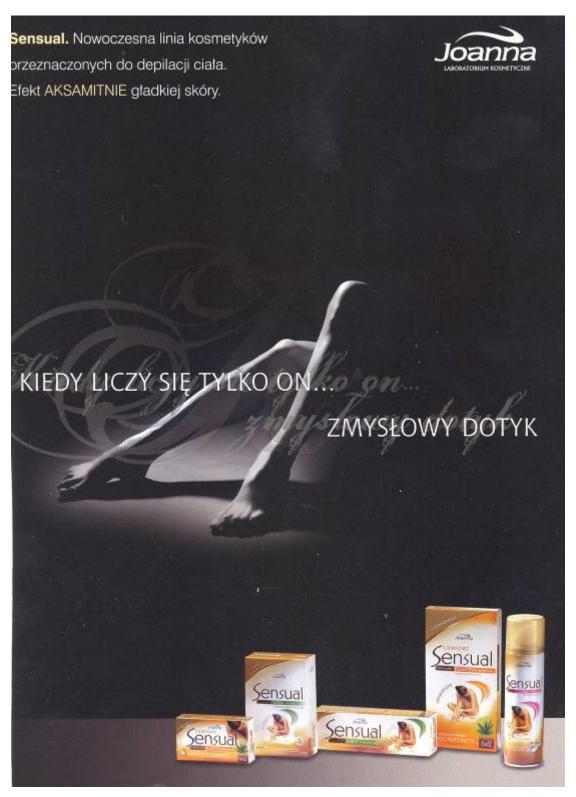


Figure 6

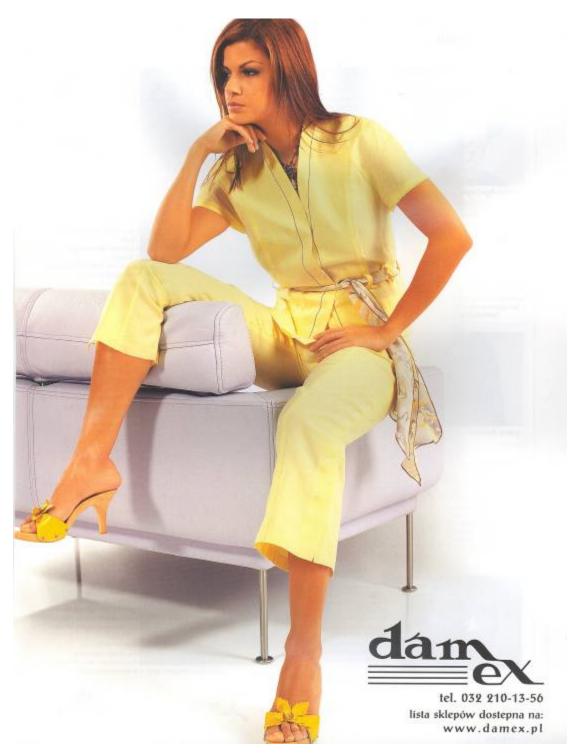


Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9

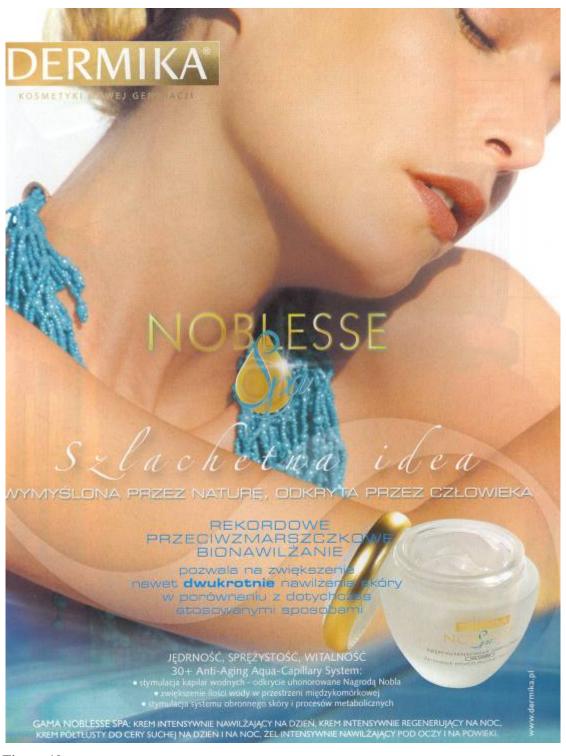


Figure 10

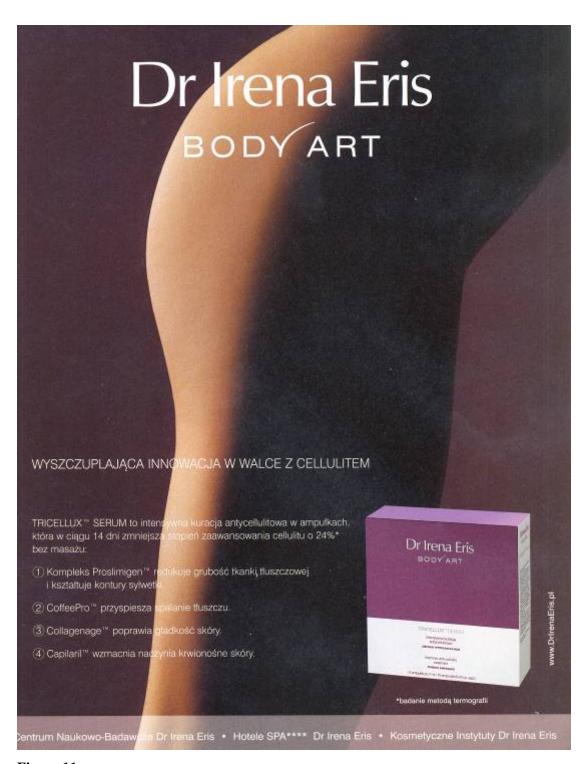


Figure 11



Figure 12

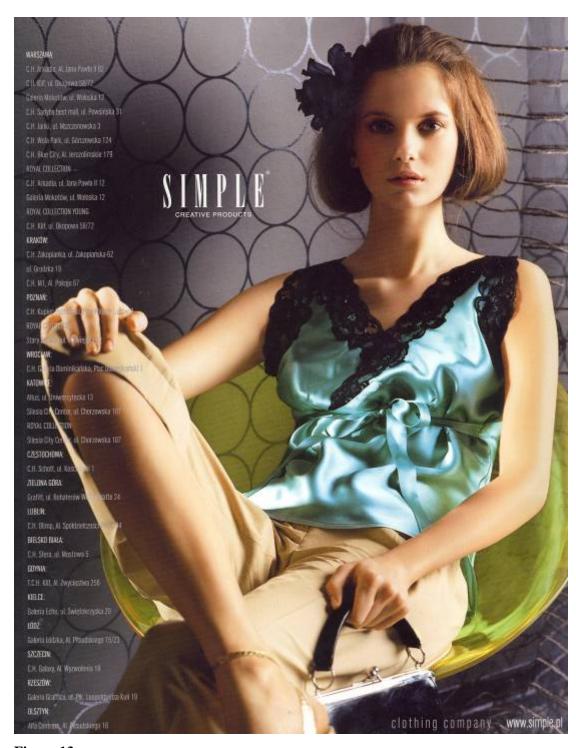


Figure 13



V&BIS Łódź, ul. Giewont 103 tel. 042 679 50 80, 042 679 50 81 www.vbis.com.pl

Sklepy firmows: £dd2 "Galaria Łódzka" d.i. Pisudskiego 15/23 Warszawa C.H. Blue City 1/27 Al. Jerozofirnskie 179 Plotrków Trybunaleki D.H. Mierium d. Sienkiewicza 16b Belchatów ul. 9 Maja 10 Augustów 'Delta', Rynek Z. Augusta 38 Bieruń C.M. Trend, d. Warszawska 342 Brzeszko Skiep Odzieżowy, ul. Mickiewicza 29 Chodzież Skiep V8818, ul. Kościuszki 1 Ek Frastion' ul. A. Krajowej 88 Konin "Gartos" d. Choppis 19 Kodo "Ewa-Moda dla Clabie" d. Zielbra 5 Legnica "Modalo" d. Zotonjska 14 Leborik Skiep "Mesin" d. Zwycięstwa 3 Lublia Nowa Galata Laciat Skiep "Cotion Cub" d. Tomasza Zana Maków Mazowiecki Skiep Odzieżowy Rynek 2 Nysa "Merkur" ul. Winodawkia 2 Ostrolęka Skiep Matylin" d. Kilniskiego 37 Plock "Szala Miccych" Nowy Rynek 3 Rzeszów "Odzieżowy Ogród" d. Lisa Kui 19137 Rytmik D.H. Barbara Rynek 2 Nowy Sącz Skiep V8818 D.H. Europe dl. Niszotowska 1 Szczylno "KST Moda" ul. 1 Maja 5 Szczedelnek "Paris" dl. Schaledow Warszawy 8 Swidnica Skiep V8818 ul. Stockowa 11 Starogerd Gdański C.H. Kupiec Al. Niepodlegióść 3 stosko 28 Sochaczew Skiep "Ott" ul. Starzica 22 Tychry Makir Rynek 12 Tarnobrzeg "Lady M" ul Siankiawicza 14 Toruń Galaria Copemicus "Tiff" ul. Zokinwakiapo 15 Toruń C.H. Bietawy ul. Obszynska 8 Turek "Ewa - Moda dla Cieble" ul. Zielora 5 Tozew Skiep "Ola" ul. Zwirki 42 hala 2 box 22 Wadowice Skiep "UniSac" ul. Luowska 72a Wodzielaw Stąski "Skiep" ul. Sądows 2 Węgorzewo Skiep Odzieżowy Kepi" pł. Wolności 16

Poszukujemy partnerów do współpracy.

Figure 14



Figure 15

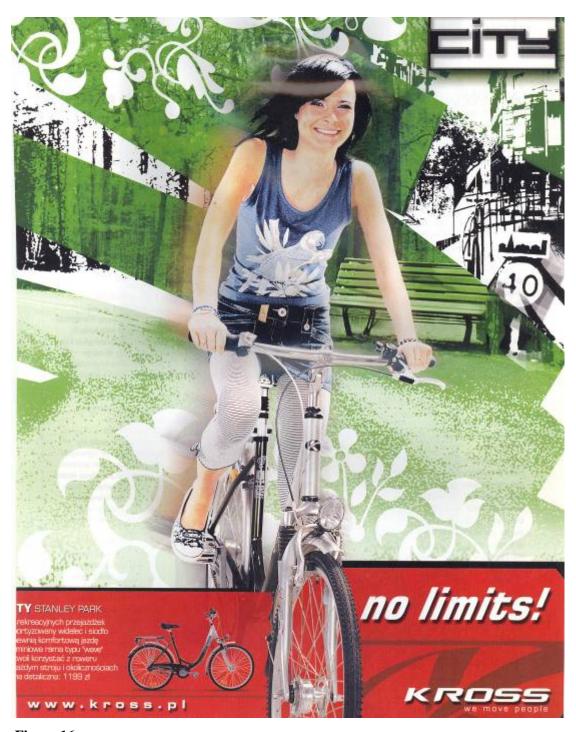


Figure 16

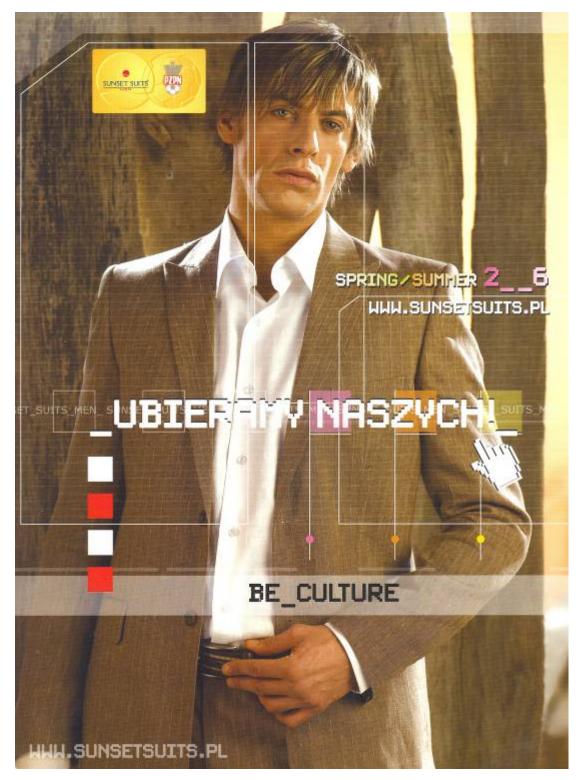


Figure 17

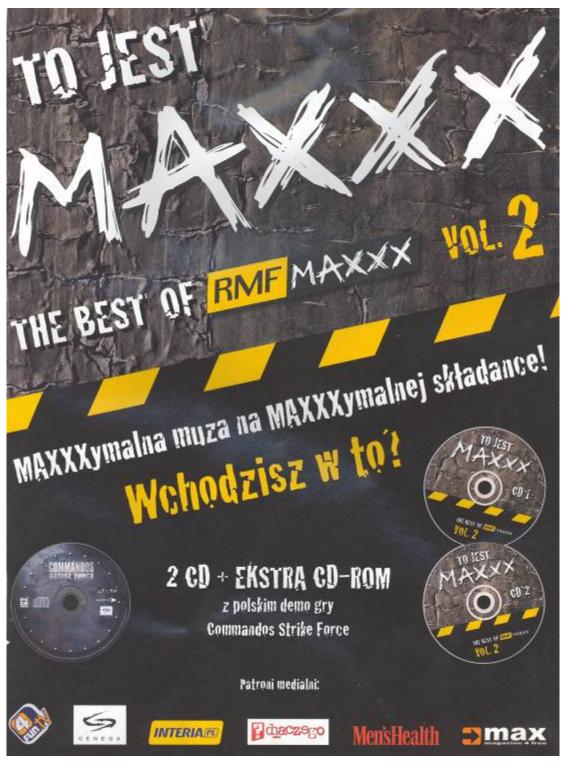


Figure 18



Figure 19



Salony: Warszawa: Galeria Mokotów ul. Wołoska 12, Wola Park ul. Górczewska 124; Katowice: Silesia City Center ul. Chorzowska 10: Altus ul. Uniwersytecka 13: Gdańsk: Madison ul. Rajska 10; Gdynia: Klif Al. Zwycięstwa 256; Włocławek: Galeria M ul. Witosa 2

Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22

OPONA EXCEllence® RZY SPOSOBY BUDOWANIA ZAUFANIA

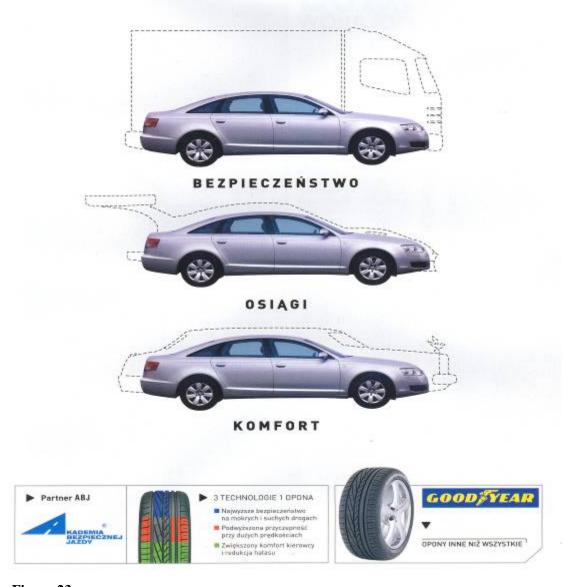


Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Jesteś kobietą aktywną!

Codzienna odpowiedzialna praca i mnóstwo domowych obowiązków...

A przecież masz jeszcze ochotę na gimnastykę,
naukę języka i po prostu chwilkę dla siebiel.

Skąd wziąć na to wszystko siłę?

Sięgnij po MAXIVIT dla Niej, połączenie żeń-szenia, witamin i mineralów
specjalnie dostosowane do potrzeb organizmu kobiety.

MAXIVIT dla Niej doda energii, wspomoże Twoje siły fizyczne i psychiczne!

Od teraz wszystko będzie prostszel





SIŁA WYŻSZA

Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37



Figure 38



Figure 39

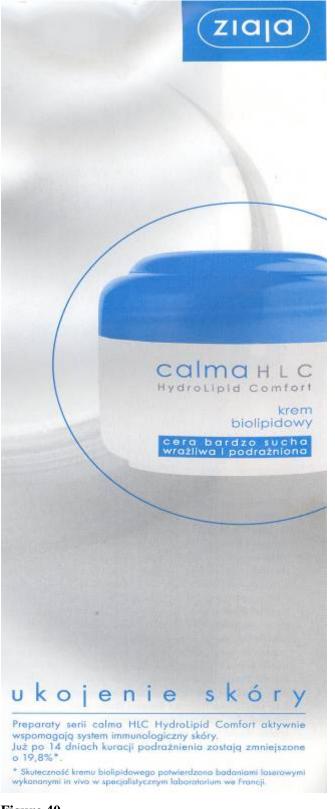


Figure 40

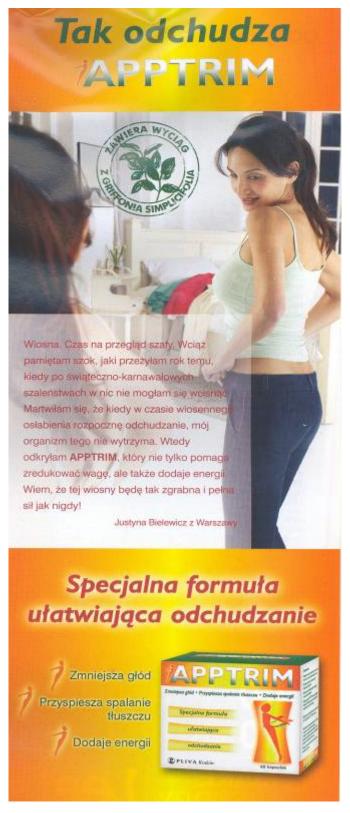


Figure 41



Figure 42

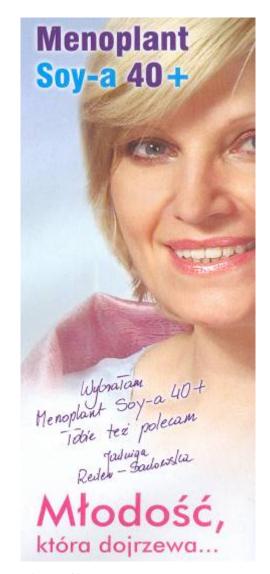


Figure 43



Figure 44



Figure 35



Figure 46



Figure 47



Figure 48

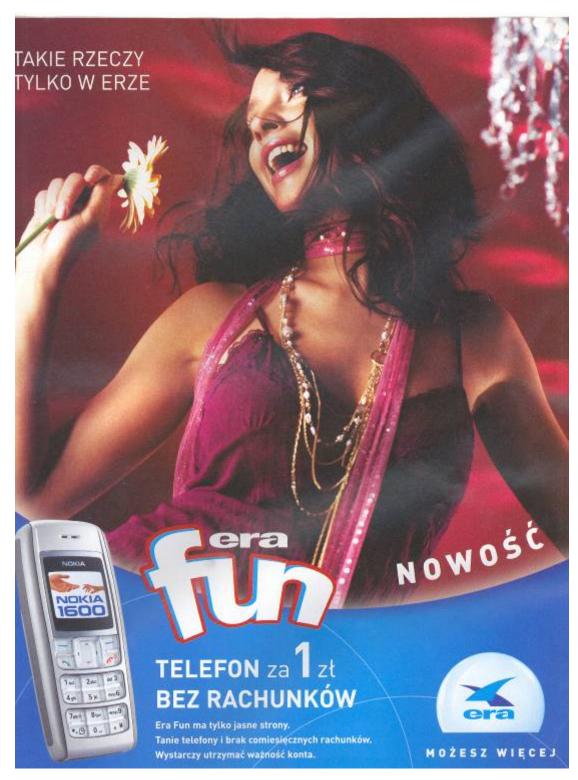


Figure 49



Figure 50

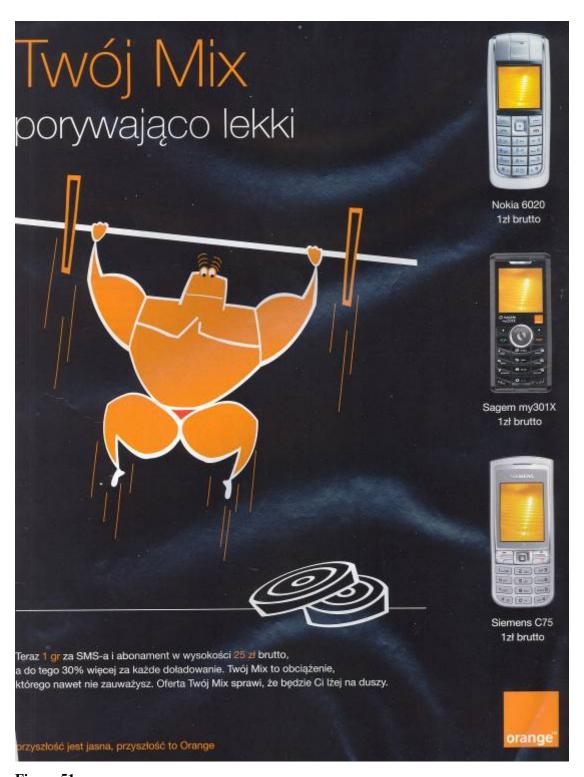


Figure 51

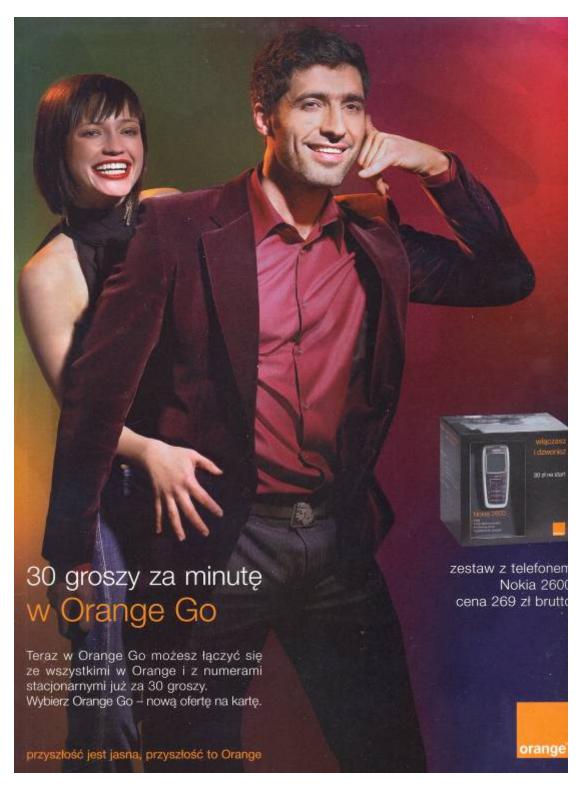


Figure 52



Figure 53



Figure 54



Figure 55



Figure 56



Figure 57



Figure 58

References:

Bhatia, Tej K. (1992). Discourse functions and pragmatics of mixing: advertising across cultures. *World Englishes*, 1(2/3), 195-215.

Bhatia, Tej K. and Ritchie, William C. (2004). Bilingualism in the media and advertising. In The Handbook of Bilingualism. Edited by Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie. Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 513-45.

Bhatia, Tej K. and Ustinova, I. (2005). Convergence of English in Russian TV commercials. *World Englishes*, 24(4), 495-508.

Dushku, S. (1998). English in Albania: Contact and convergence. *World Englishes*, 17(3): 369-379.

Fonzari, L. (1999). English in the Estonian multicultural society. *World Englishes*, 18 (1), 39-48.

Friedrich, P. (2002). English in advertising and brand naming: sociolinguistic considerations and the case of Brasil. *English Today*, 18(3), 21-8.

Chlopicki, W. and Swiatek J. (2000). *Angielski w polskiej reklamie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Evans, M. and Moutinho, L. (1999). *Contemporary issues in marketing*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Haarmann, H. (1989). Symbolic Values of Foreign Language Use. From the Japanese Case to a General Sociolinguistic Perspective. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Johnson, Owen V. (1998). 'The Media and Democracy in Eastern Europe'. In *Communicating Democracy: The Media and Political Transitions*, by O'Neil, Patrick H. (ed). London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kachru, Braj B. (1994). Englishization and contact linguistics. *World Englishes*, 13 (2), 135-154.

Knowles, M. and Moon, R. (2006). *Introducing Metaphor*. London: Routledge.

Kotler, Ph., G. Armstrong, J. Saunders. and V. Wong. (2002). *Principles of Marketing*, 3 rd European edition, Harlow, England: Prentice Hall.

Lee, J. S. (2006). Linguistic constructions of modernity: English mixing in Korean television commercials. *Langauge in Society*, 35, 59-91.

Martin, E. (2002a). Cultural images and different varieties of English in French television commercials. *English Today*, 18(4), 8-22.

Martin, E. (2002b) Mixing English in French advertising. World Englishes, 21(3), 375-402.

Masavisut, N., Sukwiwat, M. and Wongomontha, S. (1986). The power of the English in Thai media. *World Englishes*, 5 (2/3), 197-207.

Mooij, **M. K. D.** (1994). Advertising worldwide: concepts, theories and practice of international, multinational and global advertising. New York: Prentice Hall.

Piller, I. (2001). Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. *Langauge in Society*, 30, 153-86.

Piller, I. (2003). Advertising as a site of language contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 170-183.

O, Neil, P. (1998). *Communicating democracy. The media and Political Transitions*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Sparks, C. (1998). Communism, capitalism and the mass media. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Ross, Nigel, J. (1997). Signs of international English. English Today. 13(2), 29-33.

Ustinova, I. (2006). English and emerging advertising in Russia. World Englishes, 25(2), 267-277.

Vestergaard, T. and Schroder, K. (1985). The language of advertising. New York: Blackwell.

Corpus data:

The Bank of English (BoE), University of Birmingham

Internet sources:

Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. (2006). Cambridge: Cambridge University Presss. Available from: http://dictionary.cambridge.org [Accessed 25th July 2006].

FIPP/Zenith Optimedia World Magazine Trends 2004/2005/ (2004). *Poland at a glance*. London: Polish Chamber of Press Publishers.

Available from http://www.fipp.com/Default.aspx?PageIndex=2002&ItemId=12095 [Accessed 20th June 2006].

Polish Dictionary LING.PL (2003). Available from http://www.ling.pl/index.jsp [Accessed 10th June, 2006].

Moczarski, A. (No date). *Direct marketing in Poland*. Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Marketingu Bezposredniego. Available from:

http://smb.artegence.com/strona.xml?id=20&of=-1&pic=54 [Accessed 5th August 2006].

Pieklo, J. (2002). European media landscape. The Polish media landscape. Maastricht: European Journalism Centre. Available from: from http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/poland.html [Accessed 20th June 2006].

Rabikowska, M. (No date). Commercial Consumer TV Advertising in Poland. Informal working papers from Departmental Research Seminars. University of Glasgow: Glasgow. Available from: http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/Slavonic/Epicentre.htm [Accessed 19th June 2006].

Robertson, T. (2006). *Poland, Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers*. Thomson Gale. Available from http://www.pressreference.com/No-Sa/Poland.html [Accessed 20th June 2006].

Zenith Optimedia. (No date). *PRESS RELEASE. World Cup to boost ad spend growth in 2006.* Available from:

http://www.zenithoptimedia.com/gff/pdf/Adspend%20April%202006.doc [Accessed 20th June 2006].

Works consulted but not cited:

Cook, G. (1992). The Discourse of Advertising. London: Routledge.

Lee, J. S. and Kachru, Y. (Eds.). (2006). Symposium on world Englishes in pop culture [Special Issue]. *World Englishes* 25 (2), 191-93.

Li, David C.S. (2000). Cantonese-English code-switching research in Hong Kong: a Y2K review. *World Englishes*, 19(3), 305-22.