

The use of foreign words as a persuasive tool in Marketing discourse: the cultural stereotype of global English in Spanish print advertising

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1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is a complex phenomenon that has revolutionized the way we understand social, cultural, economical and political relations these days. The advertising industry is well aware of the new situation and has become increasingly internationalized, having to adapt to the exigencies of global consumers. Among these exigencies, the introduction of multilingual voices in advertising discourse seems both inevitable and necessary if geographic and cultural borders are to be transcended. Of particular importance for this end is the use of English, which has been broadly agreed to serve as the language of globalisation and whose presence on the media is extensive all over the world. In the specific case of Spain, the introduction of English into the media business has probably been more belated than in other European countries, mainly due to the occlusion the country suffered until the end of the dictatorship in the 1970's and the preeminence of French as the compulsory foreign language in education. However, with the country's aperture after the dictatorship and the rise of English as the global *lingua franca*, its presence in all facets of Spanish life is a fact. In the advertising industry, the combination of English and Spanish has become an essential strategy for many publicists that include language mixing in their ads with originality and creativity. Disassociated from its country-of-origin (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001), English is used for its international/global value within the context of advertising (Bathia, 2005; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Piller, 2001), as a strategy to provide the Spanish consumer with a certain taste of modernity, international appeal and other positive values.

Many researchers have focused their studies on the presence of English in foreign advertising as a useful resource to add positive values to the product advertised (Bhatia, 1987, 1992; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2005; Gerritsen *et al.*, 2000; Piller, 2001 & 2003; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Luna and Peracchio, 2001 & 2005; Ryall, Luna and Peracchio, 2007; Lee 2006; Martin, 2002, 2007; Kuppens, 2010;), with specific works in the case of Spanish advertising (Haarmann, 1989; Ray *et al.*, 1991; Hornikx *et al.* 2007; Gerritsen *et al.* 2007, 2007b; Aldea, 1987; Rodríguez Segura, 1999). In the particular case of language mixing in Spanish advertising, some of them constitute quantitative studies on the presence of English in the Spanish media (Aldea, 1987; Rodríguez Segura, 1999). Others represent comparative studies on the use of English in advertising in different countries and focus on how the amount of this use differs among the countries investigated (Hornikx *et al.* 2007; Gerritsen *et al.* 2007, 2007b). Finally, some researchers provide qualitative analyses (Haarmann, 1989; Ray *et al.* 1991) of the ways in which English is used to evoke positive effects on the audience. From the theoretical point of view, the study of English as an international language within the context of advertising has been grounded in different approaches: Semiotics (Martin, 2007), Sociolinguistics (Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Piller 2001, 2003), Psycholinguistics (Luna and Peracchio, 2001) and Information Processing Theory (Domzal *et al.*, 1995). In the present paper we will show how a socio-cognitive approach (Kristiansen and Dirven, 2009) can contribute to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of English code-switching in Spanish advertising. Starting from the idea that language is both a “maker” and a “marker” of social identity (Kristiansen, 2009; Eckert, 2004), we will see how English words and phrases are intentionally used by advertisers to *make* social meaning, namely, cultural associations with the stereotype of global English.

English occurrence will be proved to be more significant in Spanish publications intended to be related to such stereotype. Furthermore, it is argued that these word/stereotype associations are enabled by means of a source-in-target metonymic link (Kristiansen, 2003, 2008) since English items in advertising constitute social *markers* of the broader frame of the cultural stereotype of global English.

1.1. Research hypothesis and objectives

The aim of this work is to extend the study of language mixing in the panorama of the Spanish advertising discourse, analysing the presence of English in a corpus of printed advertisements both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The starting point is, as we mentioned above, the fact that language is seen as a trigger of social identities but also as a tool for expressing social identities (Kristiansen, 2008). Our research hypotheses can be formulated as follows:

- (i) In media discourse, English is frequently disassociated with a country-of-origin stereotype and rather associated with an international stereotype by its condition of global language.
- (ii) Spanish magazines that, as expressed by their mission statements and data on target audiences, want to convey an image of internationalisation and cosmopolitanism, show a higher occurrence of English in their publicity.

- (iii) English is sometimes used by advertisers in Spain to imbue products and campaigns with a certain taste of internationalization or modernity and other values derived from the social stereotype of global English: technological advancement, innovation, creativity, sophistication or entertainment. Derived from this fact, English borrowings are metonymically associated with such stereotype.

Our aim in this research is to examine the proactive character of English as a tool to create social meaning. We will first carry out a quantitative analysis to show how Spanish publications that want to convey an image of modernization and internationalization include more English in their publicity than other publications that do not pursue this end. In a second stage we will look at significant advertisements from our corpus to examine the different ways in which marketers use English to imbue their products with specific values. At the same time, we will look at the ways English interacts with other visual mechanisms to convey these values, for which we will resort to an analysis of multimodal metaphors and metonymies (Forceville, 1996, 2006, 2008; Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Yu, 2009).

The theoretical framework used to analyze our corpus, as we stated before, is based on the principles of Cognitive Sociolinguistics and the proactive character of language as maker of social identities (Kristiansen, 2008; Eckert, 2004). We will also draw on the traditional principles of CTMM (Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), as well as particular contributions to the specific case of Metonymy (Croft, 1993, 2002; Ruíz de Mendoza, 2000; Barcelona, 2002) and the interaction patterns

between metaphor and metonymy (Ruíz de Mendoza and Díez de Velasco, 2002). Finally, as we also pointed out above, we will use the guidelines of the analysis of multimodal metaphors and metonymies (Forceville, 1996, 2006, 2008; Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Yu, 2009). But before going in depth into our theoretical section, let us first provide some information about the corpus and methodology employed in our analysis.

1.2. Corpus and Methodology

For the purpose of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the presence of English in Spanish print advertising alike, a corpus of 427 advertisements was compiled from four Spanish magazines: *MIA*, *'H' Magazine*, *Tiempo* and *Computer Hoy*. The number 427 is the totality of all advertisements published in these magazines from June 2008 to November 2008, at a rate of one issue per month, given the fact that one of them is monthly, two are bimonthly and one is weekly. *MIA* is a weekly magazine and the six issues selected correspond to the first week of each month. *'H' Magazine* is a monthly magazine, so six issues from the six consecutive months were chosen. *Tiempo* is also a weekly magazine and again only the first issue of each month was considered for our corpus. Finally *Computer Hoy* is a bimonthly magazine, from which the first issue of each month was singled out. These publications were selected because of their divergences in terms of scope, areas of interest and target audience, since these parameters definitely determine the type of advertising to be found in their pages. As stated before, we believe in the correlation between a trendy, international or modernistic image of the magazine and a high occurrence of English words in its advertisements. This way, the four

publications chosen were expected to show different amounts of English depending on the parameters exposed above. Let us examine these magazines more in detail.

In their public mission statement the publishers¹ define *MIA* as “the first magazine of practical information addressed to women and their environment” (my translation). *MÍA* is a magazine oriented to women that includes contents such as fashion, beauty or gastronomy. Its target audience, as provided by *MÍA*’s marketing department², is a mature, middle to upper-middle class woman, non-university graduated and with little or no knowledge of English. Considering its target audience and scope, *MIA* is not expected to show a high occurrence of English in its advertisements.

‘H’ Magazine is a complete different format, described—in English—on its webpage³ as a “Spanish trendy, glossy print magazine with international distribution” and on their publishers’ as “una revista mensual de tendencias y cultura urbana para *trendsetters*”⁴ (a weekly magazine about trends and urban culture for *trendsetters*). It is interesting to note that both WebPages use English for the description of the magazine; the term “trendsetters” is also significant to characterize the target audience of the magazine: a cosmopolitan and urban young reader, familiar with the latest art, fashion and cultural events. On the publishers’ webpage the magazine’s target reader is described as “young, urban and unisex, interested in all kinds of subjects such as fashion, art, travel, health,

¹Publishers: Grupo G&J -> URL: http://www.grupogyj.es/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18:mia-concepto&catid=46&Itemid=98

Original translation in Spanish: “*MÍA* es la primera revista de información práctica y la única revista seminal dirigida a la mujer y su entorno”.

² López Solano, Olivia. Marketing department . Grupo G&J, Madrid. Telephone Interview. 5 Sep, 2010.

³ <http://hmagazine.nireblog.com/>

⁴ Publishers: *MotorPress Iberica (Grupo G&J)*

URL: http://www.grupogyj.es/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=396&Itemid=123

communication, technologies, etc.”; in sum, “a modern reader from the 21st century”⁵. Besides, in the magazine’s corporative profile (personal communication) the publishers add the following description about their target reader: “upper-middle class, educated young reader aged 18 to 25 and 35 to 40”⁶. We expected *H Magazine* to show a high occurrence of English in advertising for a variety of reasons. First, for its corporative image and target reader’s profile; it is a magazine that sells a clear image of modernity and its readers are urban, educated young people. Besides, the fact that English is everywhere in the magazine’s pages (articles, titles, etc.) and the cosmopolitan character of its contents led us to consider this magazine as a good publication to find a high occurrence of English.

Tiempo is again a very different publication in terms of content and target audience. *Tiempo* is a magazine about current affairs, with sections such as national and local news, politics, economy or interviews to notable personalities. Its publishers’ webpage⁷ offers the following profile of *Tiempo*’s target audience: a male reader (57% of the total readers), upper-to-middle class (78,74%), between 20 to 54 years old (60%) and university educated (29%). Paying attention to the latter percentage, we could presuppose the potential reader’s familiarity with English; however, since this is only an assumption, we rather chose *Tiempo* for its contents, since this is a magazine focused on national news and issues, rather than in international affairs.

⁵ My translation. Target reader description at: <http://tienda.motorpress-iberica.es/asp/area/suscripciones/default.asp?sIdAreaTienda=7>

⁶ Tabernero, Jorge. International Advertising manager. Grupo G&J, Madrid. Telephone Interview and Email Communication. 5 Sep, 2010.

⁷ Publishers: Grupo Zeta
URL: <http://www.zetagestion.com/Revistas/Tiempo,33,02,2007>

Finally, *Computer Hoy* is a magazine conceived for computer users and as described on the publishers' webpage⁸, a "new generation" publication that has inspired many others in the market. It is a bimonthly publication that offers practical and current contents about IT products, audiovisuals, Internet, video games or mobile phones. The magazine's publishers describe their target reader as an upper-middle class male reader, aged 25-45; they didn't provide specific information on educative level (personal communication⁹). However, they estimate that this reader, although familiar with IT terminology, is not completely fluent in English (*ibid*). Computer Hoy was selected according to the hypothesis that IT terminology includes a great deal of Anglicisms and thus, many of these terms could be potentially found in advertisements. However, when asked, the publishers claimed their target reader to be non-fluent in English. The expectation with this magazine was to find a somewhat equivalent distribution between ads entirely in Spanish and ads with some presence of English.

To test our hypotheses, we took the 427 adverts that the four magazines summed up in total and subjected them to two different analyses: a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. For the quantitative analysis, we classified the advertisements according to the language they used: whether they were monolingual (entirely in Spanish/ entirely in English) or bilingual (Spanish-English; Spanish-other languages). Having the numbers with us, we could then corroborate our initial assumptions: the magazines that, for their content and scope, were expected to present a higher presence of English in advertising indeed did so.

⁸ Publishers: Axel Springer. URL: <http://www.axelspringer.es/index.php?s=divisiones&id=4&p=1>

⁹ Axel Springer Spain. Press and Marketing Department. Telephone Interview, 6 Sep, 2010.

For the second part of the study, we selected significant samples from our corpus and carried out a qualitative analysis. We analyzed the different verbal and non-verbal metaphors and metonymies in the ads so as to provide evidence of how the stereotype of “international/global” English is used by advertisers to convey or evoke particular values about the products/brands advertised. We took several adverts from these magazines, looked at different values that English conveys and divided the analysis into four different sections according to these values: innovation, entertainment/fun, sophistication and technical reliability. For the analysis, we paid attention to the different elements that contribute to create these values: English borrowings used, use of Spanish, visual metaphors/metonymies, brand names, icons, typography, colors or images are some of these elements that we observed in detail.

However, before we turn to the analyses, the following section will present the theoretical background that supports the present research. In section 3 and 4, we will carry out the quantitative and qualitative analyses respectively, whose findings will be discussed in section 5. Finally, section 6 will be devoted to conclusions and suggestions for future research. After the last section, there is an appendix that contains the advertisements analyzed and a bibliography with the literature that helped develop the present research.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Setting off from the hypothesis that English borrowings are used in advertising to convey an image associated to the cultural stereotype of “global/ international” English, the present paper aims to analyze the presence of English in Spanish advertising from different theoretical perspectives. The line of Cognitive Sociolinguistics (Kristiansen and Dirven 2008) will serve us to ground the proactive aspect of the relation between language and society. Kristiansen’s analysis on lectal variation (2008) will lead us to the double facet of language in social interaction: first as ‘marker’ of social meaning and second, as ‘creator’ of social meaning. In this sense of language as ‘maker’ (not marker) of social identity, we will also look at Penelope Eckert’s notion of “style” (2004), to understand how existing linguistic resources can adopt new meaning depending on the social context where they are used. We will argue that the use of English in Spanish advertisements is motivated by the advertisers’ desire of giving a particular status to their products and thus is aimed to create a particular effect on the reader. Linking up to the idea of persuasion and advertising effectiveness, we will also look at Domzal *et al.*’s (1995) application of Information Processing Theory to the use of foreign words in advertising to provide scientific evidence of how foreign words constitute pieces of unusual information and thus enable advertisements to be better processed and remembered.

But before turning to Cognitive Sociolinguistics and starting from the idea that English borrowings relate metonymically to a certain cultural stereotype (Kristiansen, 2003, 2008), it seems necessary to start with Cognitive Linguistics and Conceptual

Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) as enunciated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Within CCMT, contributions on conceptual metonymy by Croft (1993, 2002) and typological characterization of metonymy by Ruíz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) will serve to explain the nature of the metonymic structure that facilitates the connection between language and social stereotypes.

Finally, the ideas and practical applications of the theory of Multimodal Metaphor and Metonymy (Forceville's 2006, 2008) become essential in our study since we will argue that not only verbal, but also visual metaphors and metonymies play an important role in the creation and effectiveness of the advertising message.

2.1. Metonymy and Cognitive Linguistics

Lakoff and Johnson's Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (1980) meant a turning point in the field of Cognitive Linguistics since it provided the first extensive and systematic study to illustrate how the human conceptual system is primarily metaphorical, that is, how we understand most concepts in terms of other concepts (*Ibid*, 57). In their book, in its most part dedicated to Metaphor, they also dedicated a chapter to Metonymy, arguing that metonymy represented another way of conceptualizing the world rather than being conceived as a mere rhetoric figure. However, the authors understood Metaphor and Metonymy as different kinds of processes: whereas metaphor has a primarily descriptive function, metonymy's main function is referential (*Ibid*, 36). As for structure, the authors identify metaphors as a correspondence between two different "domains" of experience, that is, we understand one domain of experience in terms of another. In a subsequent

study by Lakoff and Turner (1989), they would argue that metonymy, unlike metaphor, “involves only one conceptual domain. A metonymic mapping occurs within a single domain, not across domains” (Ibid: 103). After the appearance of Lakoff and Johnson’s model, many researchers devoted their efforts to continue and complete their theory of metaphor and metonymy. As far as our study is concerned, Croft (1993) introduced a key element in the contemporary theory of metonymy: the concept of the “matrix domain”. For him, metonymic mapping does not occur within a single domain, but “within a single domain matrix” (2002: 177), which would turn metonymic structure into a more complex one, namely, one that includes several subdomains related to the same concept. Thus, in his metonymy *Proust is tough to read* (Ibid: 179) in the domain matrix of [PROUST] two subdomains are referred to: the person and his creative activity. This referential process is what Croft defines as “domain highlighting” (Ibid: 179) “since the metonymy makes primary a domain that is secondary in the literal meaning”. Ruiz de Mendoza (2002) goes beyond the notion of “highlighting” and introduces the idea of “domain expansion and reduction” (2002: 495) to account for cases like *Mary’s just a pretty face* (non-referential metonymy) and *John is a lion* (metaphor). For him, there exists domain highlighting in both cases; thus, what makes the first case a metonymy is a domain expansion where the concept of ‘face’ is mapped onto the broader domain of ‘beautiful person’ (Ibid: 496). The opposite operation occurs in referential metonymies such as the Proust example above, where there is a metonymy reduction of ‘Proust’ to his ‘literary work’. In brief, Ruiz de Mendoza identifies “highlighting” as a process present both in metaphors and metonymies, whereas ‘expansion and reduction’ are restricted to metonymic mapping. He

also uses the terminology “target-in-source metonymies” for reduction and “source-in-target metonymies” for expansion (2000: 109).

The studies mentioned above meant essential contribution for the development of the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy. However, as Forceville points out (2006), in these studies only verbal manifestations of metaphors and metonymies were brought into focus, which limited the validity of the theory. As he points out:

“to validate the idea that metaphors are *expressed by language*, as opposed to the idea that *they are necessarily linguistic in nature*¹⁰, it is imperative to demonstrate that and how, they can occur non verbally and multimodally as well as purely verbally” (2006: 381).

By multimodal metaphor Forceville and Urios-Aparisi understand those metaphors whose target and source are presented in two different “modes or modalities” (2009: 4), a mode being “a sign system interpretable by a specific perception process” (Forceville, 2006: 381). According to this description, Forceville establishes six modes: 1) written language; 2) spoken language; 3) static and moving images; 4) music; 5) non-verbal sound; 6) gestures (2009: 4). Metaphor can be realized in a variety of modes and it can appear in a wide range of genres such art, television, film, news articles or as in our case, in advertising. We have hitherto referred to metaphor exclusively, when metonymy is also a conceptual mechanism and as such, we would expect it to also appear in a multimodal fashion. Multimodal metonymy has not received as much attention as metaphor in recent studies on multimodality, but as Forceville and Urios-Aparisi remark, “it is impossible to

¹⁰ The author’s emphasis.

study metaphor without addressing metonymy” (2009: 12). Several studies have analyzed the presence of multimodal metonymy in different environments (Yu, Urios-Aparisi, Mittelberg and Waugh, 2009), but mainly in its relation or interaction with metaphor. However, as Forceville and Urios-Aparisi state, “a metonymy can be an ad hoc one, created by a particular context or shared by a specific community of users” (2009: 12) and its presence does not necessarily depend on the immediate presence of a metaphor. In the particular context of Spanish print advertising, we will see how realizations of the English language can be analyzed not in a verbal but in a visual way and be considered as the source of a source-in-target metonymic schema: the visual presence of English in Spanish print advertising leads the reader to the wider frame (or target domain) of the particular cultural stereotype of global English, phenomenon that will contribute to add certain quality attributes to the product advertized. Let us divide the analysis of such metonymic schema into three different sections: the source, the target and the implications of this schema for the particular genre of advertising.

2.2. The metonymic source: “the linguistic fetish”

As we stated above, the metonymies present in our advertisements are not of a verbal nature but realized in a visual way. However, the question may arise: how can actual linguistic realizations be considered as visual? The answer leads us to the concept of “Linguistic Fetish” proposed by Kelly-Holmes in her extensive study on multilingualism in advertising (2005). She applied the Marxian notion of commodification to language in advertising:

“ (...) Language seems to be used primarily for its symbolic value, while the communicative or utility value of the particular words has come to be obscured or mystified through the process of fetishization to the point where it becomes irrelevant. The language appears to achieve value independently and this value is not the product of its communicative value, but rather of its symbolic value in the process of advertising communication” (2005: 24).

Using the traditional structuralist terminology, foreign words would then be regarded by their connotational rather than their denotational value; this symbolic or connotational value (as we will review in the next section) is one of modernity, progress and globalization. We will not go so far as to affirm that advertisers disregard the actual meaning of foreign words, since, as we will observe later on, denotational value definitely helps to create the message in our advertisements. Furthermore, it would be difficult to believe that companies and advertising agencies spend considerable amounts of money in campaigns whose texts cannot be understood by their audiences. However, it is certain that, in the specific case of a Spanish audience and many others in the world, not every reader is capable of understanding foreign messages in English. As Piller remarks, some advertisements that use English as a second language are “about an elite group (...). If you read English, fine; if not, you are an outsider. Tough luck” (2001: 168). We can agree that English in foreign advertising is not meaningless—in terms of literal meaning—but restricted to a few acquainted readers/viewers. However, its symbolic value, its fetishization allows us to associate it metonymically to a particular cultural stereotype. The linguistic fetish is the vehicle to active the wider frame of global English, as we will see in the next section.

2.3. The metonymic target: the social stereotype of global/ international

English

In the past few years, there have been numerous studies devoted to the multilingual component in advertising (Bhatia, 1987, 1992; Bhatia and Ritchie, 2005; Haarmann, 1989; Ray *et al.*, 1991; Gerritsen *et al.*, 2000; Piller, 2001 & 2003; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Luna and Peracchio, 2001 & 2005; Ryall, Luna and Peracchio, 2007; Lee 2006; Hornikx *et al.* 2007; Martin, 2002, 2007; Kuppens, 2010;), with a growing interest in the presence of English as a foreign language in the advertising market. Many of these studies seem to agree in regarding the English language used in the market as “international English” (Bathia, 2005; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Piller, 2001) as opposed to a variety of English associated with its country of origin, whether this is the United States, Britain or New Zealand. In terms of market discourse, there exists the notion “country-of-origin”, which can be defined as “the country which a consumer associates with a certain product or brand as being its source, regardless of where the product is actually produced” (Jaffe and Nebenzahl, 2001: 27). Depending on the origin of a certain product or brand name, consumers are exposed to “the country-of-origin effect” or the “recall[ing] of that country and its attributes” (61). For the same idea, Haarmann (1989) used the notion “ethnocultural stereotype”. In his groundbreaking study, he understands the use of each foreign language in Japanese media as representative of a certain cultural value, associated with a correspondent country. Grounded on gathered data among Japanese people, he found that stereotypes commonly related to English were modernity, practical use or practical life style (11), whereas French, for instance, was perceived as a symbol of

refined taste, sophistication or charm (11). Surprisingly enough, as Piller (2003) notes, stereotypes found in Japanese culture were very similar across cultures (172). In subsequent usage-based works (Piller, 1999; Katie-Holmes, 2000) French would again appear as an evocation of elegance and glamour; Spanish would stand for adventure and masculinity; German would be technical reliability and precision, whereas Italian would be traditionally associated with food and positive attitude towards life (in Piller 2003, 173-174).

However, as we anticipated above, much of the literature on the presence of English in advertising came up with the conclusion that it behaves in a different way compared to other languages in advertising. The main argument for giving English a special status is, as Kelly-Holmes indicates:

“The fact that English has meaning, use and significance, to a large extent, independent of the countries in which it is spoken, and its use in multilingual advertising is, not exclusively but very often, not motivated by a desire to allude to the perceived stereotypical characteristics of countries with which it is associated” (2005: 67)

The question now would be: since English is not used to motivate country-specific stereotypes, what does this stereotype of “international English” entail and where does it come from?

As we observed above, recent studies on the presence of English in multilingual advertising have shown that consumers all around the world associate English with

certain recurrent characteristics. Subjects interviewed by Haarmann in Japan (1989), as we stated before, found English to evoke modernity and practical style of life. Kelly-Holmes on her work on the uses of English in German advertising (2005) found it was associated to technical display, cosmopolitanism, coolness and internationalization. Piller (2001) on her exploration of a corpus of German advertisements came up with five values/orientations for English, namely: international orientation, future orientation, success orientation, sophistication and fun orientation. Similar values were found in our corpus of Spanish advertisements, as we will subsequently show in our data analysis. One solid conclusion can be drawn upon the results in these studies: the evidence that English has acquired a global status as the language of international business and communication. But how did English reach its current status? According to Crystal (1997), two different factors have contributed to its stature nowadays: geographical-historical factors and socio-cultural factors. As for the socio-cultural explanation, the one that interests us the most for our current purposes, Crystal claims:

“a socio-cultural explanation looks at the way people all over the world, in many walks of life, have come to depend on English for their well-being. The language has penetrated into the international domains of political life, business, safety, communication, entertainment, the media and education. The convenience of having a lingua franca available to serve global human relations and needs has come to be appreciated by millions. Several domains have come to be totally dependent on it” (24).

However, an inevitable consequence of any given global language is for Crystal the fact that “no one can claim sole ownership” (130) over it and that “the language will become open to the winds of linguistic change in totally unpredictable ways” (131). This way, the

spread of English around the world has given place to the emergence of new varieties of English in the different territories where the language has settled down, which are often known as “new Englishes” (131). One of these varieties is what he calls “World Standard Spoken English” (137) or a universally intelligible form of English used in international realms: conferences, university lectures or the media. A similar and maybe more risky notion is that of “Globish”, a recently coined term by Nerrière and Hon (*Goblish: The world over*, 2009) which they use to name the variety of English that non-native speakers use as a common ground in the world of business communication. Globish is a simplified version of English—consisting originally of 1500 basic words—that can be considered, as the journalist McCrum¹¹ defines it, “a new dialect of the 21st century” derived from a specific political-economical situation. For them, Globish is the effect of the disassociation of English with its colonial heritage and its new status as an international language.

Even accepting the systematicity of these accounts—which in the case of Globish is subjected to certain reservations—and the particular labels of “Globish” or “World Standard Spoken English”, one question is clear: whether we talk about British, American or International English we are facing different instances of the same thing that have a particular meaning for a particular social group. As Kristiansen (2008: 52) illustrates this:

“The word-forms in question may be written in exactly the same way and even pronounced in exactly the same way, but nevertheless denote different concepts. In other words, the Cultural Cognitive Models (Holland and Quinn 1987) associated with the same word-form can be fundamentally different”.

¹¹ Robert McCrum in Roberto Manetto (2010).

But what is a Cultural Cognitive Model and how can it account for the link between language and society? At this point in our discussion and for a rigorous answer to this question, we believe it necessary to turn into the realm of Cognitive Sociolinguistics and the notions of Cultural Models and Social Stereotypes.

2.4. Social stereotypes and cultural models: a Cognitive Sociolinguistic perspective.

Several theoretical disciplines have attempted to account for the relationship between language and culture; however, the need, as Kristiansen remarks, is for “explanations involving a more linguistically-oriented theoretical framework and a solid empirical basis” (2008: 53). Cognitive Sociolinguistics, as defined by Kristiansen and Dirven (2008) is a discipline within the broader framework of Cognitive Linguistics that includes the study of the social dimensions and variables of language. In Cognitive Linguistics, linguistic analyses are often limited to the ‘language level’, disregarding variation and interaction within the standard and non-standard varieties of a language. To Kristiansen and Dirven, if Cognitive Linguistics is to claim its condition as a usage-based approach, it has “to opt for ‘context’ as a key word” (3). CS represents then, an excellent theoretical framework to give a technical answer to our main research question, namely, the reason why the presence of English can evoke a certain stereotype in Spanish print advertising.

Let us come back now to the notion of Cognitive Cultural Model we introduced above. We will start, as Kristiansen suggests (2008: 64), by assuming “that what we call languages, accents, dialect, style and social group constitute concepts” and that they belong to a hierarchically broader frame or Cognitive Cultural Model. A Cultural Model

is understood (Quinn and Holland, 1987) as presupposed conceptions of the world shared by a particular community of speakers that affect the way this community categorizes the world. Social and cultural stereotypes are one of the results of this categorization of the world, constituting “simplified images” (Kristiansen, 2008: 64) of another given social group: their behavior, their manners, their folklore, their traditions or their language. In our case then, we could talk about the Cognitive Cultural Model of English as shared by a particular section of the Spanish community, where stereotypical images of modernity, internationalization or sophistication are presupposed. However, as Kristiansen rightly points out (64), conceiving language as a mere marker of social identity would constitute a partial conception. From the perspective of Cognitive Sociolinguistics, language is not only a marker of social identity but also a maker of identity; that is, linguistic elements also trigger social meaning. The notion of “trigger” takes us back consequently to our previous discussion about the metonymic link between language and society. Bringing together Cognitive Linguistics and Sociolinguistics as Cognitive Sociolinguists suggest, we may establish the following mapping: a linguistic element (a word, a sentence, a code-switched slogan) leads us to the corresponding wider schema of a language; subsequently, with a second operation a language brings us to the broader notion of the social stereotype, because a source-in-target metonymic schema is at work (Kristiansen 2008: 67). The English component in an advertisement leads the reader to the frame of the English language that (s)he, in the context of business communication, associates with the different cultural beliefs and images this reader has about English.

2.5. Use of English as a persuasive style and its effectiveness in advertising

A rigorous analysis of the reader's impressions on the use of English in Spanish advertising forms part of a continuation of our analysis in future research. For the present purposes we will focus on the perspective of the advertisers and their use of English as maker of social meaning. As we pointed out above, language is not only socially diagnostic but also a maker of social identities. In this sense, we turn to the notion of *style* in Penelope Eckert's (2004) study on the role of linguistic variation in stylistic practice. To Eckert, style "is not a *thing* but a *practice*. It is the activity in which people create social meaning, as style is the visible manifestation of social meaning". Style, in terms of linguistic variation, can be then understood as the use by a certain group of speakers of a particular linguistic element to provide social meaning. Moreover, she conceives stylistic practice in terms of a process of "*bricolage*":

"People combine a range of existing resources to construct new meanings or new twists on old meanings. Small stylistic moves, such as the addition of a Mickey Mouse watch to a business ensemble, can tweak an already-existing style and the persona that it presents – in this case perhaps inserting a zest of playfulness. The tweaking, however, is not just about the tweaker, but adjusts the social world around the tweaker. Perhaps the businesswoman wearing a Mickey Mouse watch to a meeting wishes to convey a certain amount of liveliness and independence – not just for the fun of it, but more likely in order to distinguish herself from those that she sees as stodgy and uninteresting" (2).

Our claim is then that, just as Eckert's businesswoman would give new meaning to a Mickey Mouse watch because she is using this element in a different context, when

advertisers are using foreign English words in Spanish advertising they are adding an extra value to an existing linguistic resource: this being innovation, progress, internationalization, reliability or sophistication; all this in order to reach two final goals: 1) to induce a value of prestige to the product or the brand name advertized and 2) to enhance the advertisement's ability to draw attention. As Domzal et al. observe, "using foreign words in advertisements is unusual because it is not commonplace; people do not expect to encounter them" (1995: 95). This way, as we stated before, foreign words may work in a visual way, as an attention-getter device. Because the word/ words in English are perceptually salient, they become the focus of attention, which leads us to a second goal pursued by advertisers: the memorability of the advertisement. As Domzal et al. also note, basing their arguments on the well documented phenomenon called 'The Von-Restorff effect', within the framework of Information Processing Theory:

"There is a widely documented phenomenon in psychology - the von Restorff effect - which holds that information that is novel or unexpected captures one's attention, is processed more extensively and subsequently is much more likely to be remembered than information which is redundant or expected to appear in a given context (...).As 'unusual' information, foreign expressions represent schema-incongruent stimuli and this has a profound effect on how they are located in a person's cognitive architecture." (98)

Assuming then the potential of foreign words to make a specific product or brand name more appealing and memorable, certain previsions must be made as to the amount of foreign words and the context where they are employed. In the first place, an excess of unfamiliar words could "frustrate people's understanding with incomprehensibility" (99)

and in the second place, advertisers have to bear in mind the kind of reader they are addressing. However, this is a fact that multinational companies and advertising agencies less than ignore, basing their campaigns in the target audience they assume to be interested in their products. We can think of the ‘ideal reader’ that Fairclough discussed in his *Language and Power* (1989): a preconceived reader created by media producers with whom the rest of the consumers have to deal.

In the case of the Spanish media, as we will soon test with our qualitative and quantitative analyses, the presence of English in print advertising is a common practice chosen by publicists who want to add certain values to the brand name or product advertized; but agencies and multinational companies very well know the ‘ideal readers’ they have to address and consequently, the occurrence or non-occurrence of English in advertising, as we will see, will depend to a great extent on the type of publication we examine and the target audience of such publication.

3. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As we discussed in the introduction, in the current analysis we will discuss the ways in which English is used in advertising to make reference to a particular social stereotype, i.e. what we have called the stereotype of “global/international English”. English is thus used in a proactive way by advertisers to provide their campaigns with an extra value of sophistication, internationalization, technical reliability or entertainment. However, as it was argued in our methodology section before, the advertising context is vital for the delivery of such values. Our hypothesis is that magazines that tend to convey a more international image for a more international audience, will show a higher occurrence of English in their pages and thus in their publicity. In the present section we will offer a quantitative analysis of the presence of English in the 4 magazines in our corpus. But before the quantitative and qualitative analysis, a brief commentary about the status of English in Spain seems necessary for a better understanding of the presence of the language in the context of advertising discourse.

3.1. The Setting: English in Spain and the Spanish media

Spain is a multilingual country where Spanish is the most spoken official language. The other co-official languages in Spain are Catalan (spoken by 17% of the population), Basque (2%) and Galician (7%)¹². From an educational point of view, English is the only

¹² Data from the Minerva report. URL: <http://mek.oszk.hu/minerva/html/dok/spain.pdf>

compulsory foreign language in the school curriculum, followed by French and German, which are only studied optionally in some schools. Children start learning English in Pre-school at the age of 3 and continue having it several times a week during the secondary education years. In terms of Kachru's¹³ (1992) famous typology of the global spread of English, Spain could be placed then in the "expanding circle" or the group of countries where English is neither a native nor an official language, but its importance as an international language is recognized and so it is normally studied as a second language.

Despite the fact that people study English as a compulsory subject from ages 3 to 18 at school, the command of the language seems a difficult task for Spaniards for a variety of reasons: historical, like the occlusion to foreign influences during Franquism; political, like a defective language planning or the lack of communicative methods in traditional language teaching; and also cultural, as the fact that foreign movies and programs are always forecast with Spanish voice-over on TV. However, the preferential status of English among other foreign languages in Spain, has led language planners to try to overcome these difficulties. For instance, CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) programmes are being increasingly introduced in public schools, which means that English constitutes an independent subject but also serves as the vehicle to teach other subjects such as history or sciences. The aim is to allow young learners for meaningful contact with the language so that they get to use the language in a natural and communicative way. As for historical problems, the country has experienced an excellent aperture after the end of the dictatorship and is enjoying a good international status

¹³ In Bhatia (2008: 519)

nowadays. Finally, the question of dubbing is getting better thanks to the introduction of digital TV, which allows the spectator to see TV programs in their original version.

Getting now in the specific panorama of Spanish advertising, we can safely state that English also enjoys a privileged position as a foreign language in the advertising discourse. Different studies have focused on the presence and spread of English in Spanish advertising and all of them have come up with a similar conclusion: the increasing importance of English in the Spanish media. In 1991, Ray *et al.* already mentioned the growing presence of English in Spanish advertising and gathered some samples from Spanish publications to illustrate the phenomenon. In quantitative terms, Rodríguez Segura (1999) carried out an extensive analysis of the presence of Anglicisms in the Spanish media, which is mainly a descriptive work about the most common Anglicisms found in Spanish newspapers. Similarly, Durán Martínez (2000) with his statistical analysis of the occurrence of English in Spanish advertising came up with the result—after examining more than 300 advertisements from Spanish newspaper supplements—that 58% of the ads surveyed used English in some way. More telling is maybe a recent study that compared the Spanish situation with that of other European countries. Gerritsen *et al.* (2007a, 2007b), for instance, carried out an interesting study about the frequency of occurrence and comprehensibility of English in Spanish, German, Dutch and Italian print advertising in glossy magazines. In terms of frequency of occurrence, they draw on results from their previous study in 1995 and compare them with recent studies in 2003 and 2007. Surprisingly enough, the percentage of English in Spanish advertising in 1994 was 17%, in 2003 it had gone up to 75% and in 2007 it was 77%; this was the highest percentage among the countries surveyed against the

researchers' predictions. Their results on comprehensibility are also noticeable. According to their results, Spaniards were less able to understand English in ads than their European neighbors but were the only one—out of the four nationalities—that held an image of modernity associated to English (2007a: 92).

The figures in the studies above indicate a growing and important presence of English in Spanish advertising that will be complemented with the data gathered in our corpus. However, we will introduce an extra variable in our analysis: divergent types of publications so as to satisfy the initial prediction that, depending on the information they provide and their target audience—some magazines are more inclined to show English in advertising than others. Let us turn then to our quantitative analysis.

3. 2. Analysis of the statistical presence of English in Spanish print advertising.

The first part of our analysis is devoted to a quantitative analysis of the advertisements found in the different magazines chosen for the study. Our aim, as we stated before, was to validate the hypothesis that the more up-to-date a magazine—and its target audience--was expected to be, the more English we would find in the publicity of such magazine.

For the quantitative analysis, we took into account the total number of advertisements in each publication and the language used in each of them. We classified the advertisements according to the language used to deliver them: whether the ads were monolingual—in Spanish or entirely in English—or they were bilingual—in Spanish and

English or Spanish and a different language¹⁴. We considered an ad bilingual when a foreign language—whether English or another language—appeared in any dimension of the advert’s schema: brand name, slogan, headline, explanatory subtext or catchphrase. In the case of bilingual advertisements we disregarded the collocation of English within the advertisement, since for the quantitative purposes of our analysis the place of occurrence was not definitive for the purpose of characterizing the magazines and their audiences. In table n° 1, we can observe the final distribution of monolingual and bilingual ads in each magazine:

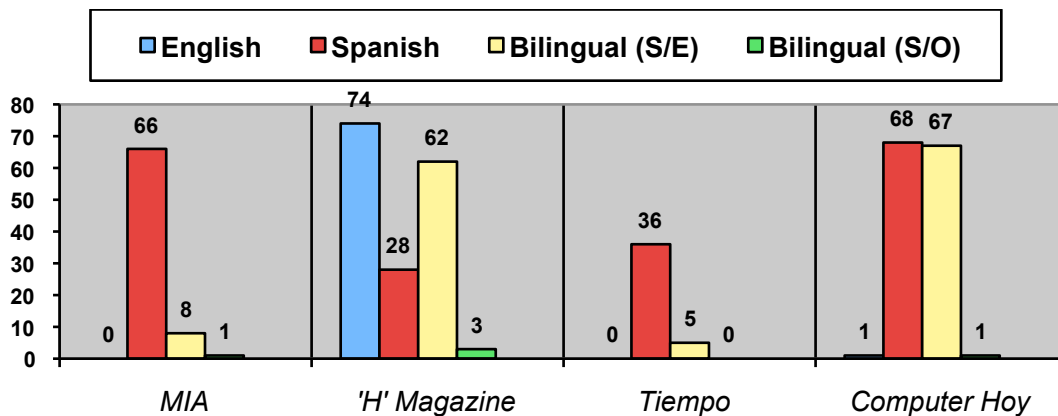


Table 1. Distribution of advertisements by magazine and language used

From the total of 427 advertisements compiled for the study the distribution was the following. Out of the 85 advertisements in MIA, 66 were entirely in Spanish; 8 were bilingual in English and Spanish; only 1 advert included some French mixed with Spanish and no ads were found entirely in English. ‘H’ Magazine presented a total of 167 ads, of which 74 were entirely in English; 28 entirely in Spanish; 62 showed a mix of Spanish

¹⁴ Only instances of French were encountered in the issues surveyed. Adverts entirely in a language other than English and Spanish were not found.

and English and only 3 included other foreign languages (2 in French-Spanish; 1 German-Spanish). 41 advertisements were counted in the *Tiempo* magazine, of which 35 were entirely in Spanish and only 5 showed some English too. Finally, the six issues of *Computer Hoy* amounted a total of 167 ads, where English was found in 68 of them (1 monolingual ad; 67 Spanish-English bilingual ads). The ads entirely in Spanish were 68, whereas only 1 instance of mixing with other languages was found (a bilingual Spanish-French ad).

Looking at the figures above from the point of view of the presence of English alone and according to our initial predictions, the magazines with a higher percentage of English were '*H*' Magazine with 81% of its ads including English in some way and *Computer Hoy*, with 49%. On the other hand, *MIA* was the magazine that showed the lowest percentage, with only 10% of its advertisements showing English occurrence. Likewise *Tiempo* only gathered 12% of multilingual advertisements, whereas the rest of its advertisements were entirely in Spanish. The presence of other languages was not very significant however, apart from the rare use of some French in a couple of ads.

From these percentages we can conclude that the magazines that were expected to show a higher amount of English in fact did so; in the same way, magazines where English was not likely to appear showed little occurrence of English in their advertisements. However, in the case of *Computer Hoy* the percentage of ads with English is almost equal to that of ads exclusively in Spanish (49% and 51% respectively); besides, it can be argued that the high occurrence of English in computer magazines may also be due to practical rather than connotative reasons. Computer jargon makes use of numerous English voices that have been assimilated in all languages, which could cancel the

hypothesis that English has connotative values in this type of publications. However, we encountered numerous examples of the use of English aside computer jargon, not only in brand names but also in slogans or catchphrases.

In the case of ‘H’ magazine, the predominance of English in its advertising is fairly evident, with 81% of its ads being either monolingual in English or bilingual with Spanish. This preeminence may be due to the fact that the magazine is distributed internationally, as we remarked before. However, the magazine itself is written entirely in Spanish: articles, sections or interviews do not appear in an English version. As we quoted above from the magazine’s webpage, the “ideal reader” of *H* is a ‘trendsetter’, an urban, cosmopolitan person but—we would add here—a Spanish speaker. The magazine may not aim to be bilingual but it exploits the connotative value of English as something that can help them create a taste of cosmopolitanism and modernity. Advertisers also understand the tone of the magazine and it is very significant that monolingual ads in English are more numerous than mixed ads in the 6 issues we have consulted. English definitely “sells” and the fact that 81% of *H*’s publicity includes this language tells us so.

4. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

4.1. LANGUAGE STANDS FOR CULTURAL STEREOTYPE **metonymy**

Our second objective is to show how English is a cognitive reference point that leads the reader to associate language with a particular cultural stereotype: the stereotype of “international/global” English. Leaving actual responses from real subjects for a future study, in this paper we will focus on how advertisers rely on their audience’s metonymic association of English with such stereotype. We will examine the ways in which English is used to imbue products and campaigns with a particular value of internationalization or modernity. Nevertheless, we will use “internationalization” as a label to name different values that we believe included in the same frame, namely: 1) innovation/ modernity; 2) fun/ entertainment; 3) sophistication; 4) technical reliability. We chose the most representative and interesting samples within our corpus to illustrate how all these different “subvalues” of English work in Spanish advertising. For our analysis we will draw on three different approaches: Cognitive Linguistics and Ruiz de Mendoza’s (2002) source-in-target metonymies; Cognitive Sociolinguistics and Kristiansen’s (2008) metonymic link between language and social identity and the idea of language as maker of social identities; and finally, Multimodal Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009) to see how a series of non-verbal metaphors and metonymies can contribute to deliver the aforementioned values pursued by advertisers.

We claim that there exists a similar schema for the central metonymy in our samples, namely the metonymy LANGUAGE STANDS FOR CULTURAL STEREOTYPE. In its

turn, this central metonymy is constructed through a primary metonymy. Since English words lead us to the whole frame of the English language, we have the metonymy **WORD STANDS FOR LANGUAGE**; the whole frame of the language, again in a source-in-target metonymic relation, leads us to a particular cultural stereotype, a metonymy that we will call **LANGUAGE STANDS FOR CULTURAL STEREOTYPE**.

The rest of the elements in our selected advertisements, whether visual (color, images, typography) or verbal (logos, slogans, taglines), contribute to creating the particular value associated with English. In our analysis we will see how these elements can be put together and identified as multimodal metaphors and metonymies used by publicists to create a certain taste for their product. Those multimodal metaphors and metonymies will be approached following Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco's (2005: 512) work on the different patterns of conceptual interaction between metonymy and metaphor which, as we said before, are based on two different processes: *expansion and reduction*. These authors distinguish five different patterns of interaction. These processes are:

- Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source.
- Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target.
- Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the target domain of a metaphor.
- Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the target domain of a metaphor.
- Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the source domain of a metaphor.

Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco limited their analysis to verbal expression but in his interesting multimodal analysis of Spanish advertising, Urios-Aparisi (2008: 100) applies their classification to the analysis of multimodal metaphor and metonymy. In some of our samples, we will show how applying the analysis of conceptual interaction patterns provides very good answers to the multimodal analysis of advertisements. Let us start with the different case studies in the analysis.

4.2. Case Studies

4.2.1. Case study 1. *English stands for innovation, modernity.*

Advertisement 1 (fig.1¹⁵) belongs to 2008 advertising campaign released by the Spanish airline *Vueling* on the occasion of the company's expansion and the opening of several new routes in Europe. The commercial features the recognizable symbol of the company: the cloud. This image represents the identity of the corporation in many aspects: playful, fresh, current and even comical would be some of the qualities that this brand conveys. In the series of commercials included in this particular campaign, the *Vueling* "clouds" appear camouflaged in different settings: the sea, the mountains or as in this case, in an urban scenario. The first visual metonymy that we encounter, therefore, is LOGO/ICON FOR COMPANY, in this case the *Vueling* cloud stands for the airline itself.

¹⁵ For enlarged versions of the advertisements, see the Appendix.



Figure 1. *Vueling* commercial. Advertising company: SCPF.
From 'H'Magazine, n°96 (Oct 08')

Let us next look at the setting of this particular commercial. One of the *Vueling* clouds is camouflaged in the shape of a big piece of ice, whereas the other is disguised in the sleeve of the child's parka. The last element that helps to create the setting is what looks like a graphitized wall with foreign words. Here we have the second visual metonymy: **SETTING STANDS FOR COUNTRY**. We have the two clouds in a distant country underlying the so mentioned expansion of the airline and stressing the range of this expansion. The opening of new routes in far-off destinations (up to this moment *Vueling* only operated flights in neighboring countries such as Italy, France or Portugal) suggests the idea of a growing progress for the airline; thus we can elaborate the first metaphor included in this ad: **GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENT IS BUSINESS ADVANCEMENT**. The same idea of business expansion is expressed verbally within the first speech balloon: "Ahora verás nubes everywhere" (*Now you'll see clouds everywhere*). Again taking the

clouds metonymically for the company, we have the same idea of the airline's growth delivered with words. At this point, it is necessary to remark that one of the hallmarks of *Vueling*'s identity is this code-switching between Spanish and English (also French sometimes) that they use both in the brand name and in all their marketing campaigns. As they define it on their webpage: "Our way of seeing and doing things is new and different, maybe that's why we are considered a new generation airline"¹⁶. *Vueling* presents a young, fresh and friendly image, which is in a great part conveyed by one of their hallmarks: the mixing of English and Spanish (and French occasionally). Enric Miró, marketing director of the airline, describes "vueling" language this way¹⁷:

The combination of languages in our creativity is only a part of our communication code. The truth is that *Vueling* was born with the idea of being different from the other airlines in Spain to the moment. Our potential clients must perceive this target, translated in the services we offer, even before trying us out. For this reason, we decided to break with the classic communication code in traditional airlines and start being different from the very first moment we got in touch with the client" (My translation¹⁸).

The company's name itself combines the root Spanish "vuel-" (for *fly*) and the easily recognizable English "-ing" ending. The word 'vueling' is obviously an ungrammatical term both in Spanish and English, but it is easily recognizable for Spanish speakers, who would instantly associate the -ing ending with the English language. The presence of the

¹⁶ http://www.vueling.com/vueling/acerca_espiritu.php?language=EN

¹⁷ In *Comunicas? Revista de tendencias en comunicación*. Diciembre 2005, n°4.

URL: http://www.grupobpmo.com/comunicas/docs/Comunicas_04.pdf

¹⁸ Texto original: "La combinación de idiomas en nuestra creatividad es sólo una parte de nuestro código de comunicación. Lo cierto es que *Vueling* nace con la idea de ser distinta a todas las aerolíneas que existían en España hasta el momento. Este objetivo, que se traduce en los servicios que ofrecemos, debe ser percibido por nuestros clientes potenciales incluso antes de probarnos. Para ello decidimos romper con los códigos clásicos de comunicación de las aerolíneas tradicionales y empezar a ser distintos desde el primer momento que nos poníamos en contacto con el cliente".

English morpheme would lead the Spanish speaker to immediately associate this item with the entire linguistic system where it belongs and thus we encounter another PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in the commercial: WORD/MORPHEME STANDS FOR LANGUAGE; metonymy that can be applied to the rest of the English words in the advertisement (*Everywhere, from*). The advertiser's intention is to activate the speaker's English language schemata with everything that this association involves, in this case: freshness, youth, innovation, advancement or modernity. We can then establish the following metonymic mapping: WORD \rightarrow LANGUAGE \rightarrow CULTURE.

In table 1, the different metonymies and metaphors in the advert are summarized. The two first metonymies, realized in a visual way, help to advertize the airline's new routes and motivate the metaphor that trespassing frontiers means a business expansion and growth. In accordance with our theoretical framework, we furthermore stipulate that a third metonymy (WORD FOR LANGUAGE) motivates the last metonymy in the advertisement (ENGLISH STANDS FOR INNOVATION) which underscores *Vueling's* philosophy and identity, namely that of a modern and fresh airline that aims to present an innovative alternative to the traditional airline format.

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metonymy 1	SOURCE: ICON TARGET: COMPANY	LOGO/CLOUD	
Metaphor 1	SOURCE: GEOGRAPHICAL MOVEMENT (Expanded from the metonymy SETTING STANDS FOR COUNTRY) TARGET: BUSINESS ADVANCEMENT	FOREIGN WORDS	FOREIGN WORDS
Metonymy 2	SOURCE: ENGLISH TARGET: INNOVATION	Code-switched slogan and words in English	Code-switched slogan and words in English

Table 1. Metonymy and metaphor in case 1.

4.2.2. Case study 2. *English stands for fun, entertainment, adventure*

- **Case 2a**

The second commercial in our analysis belongs to the 2008 *Land-rover* campaign for the release of a new model of their famous *Freelander* all-terrain car. In the advert, a red *Freelander* is parked in what seems to be an urban setting and in the background an ascending balloonist is depicted. This print advertisement was part of a new campaign *Land-rover* launched in 2008 which also included a TV commercial with the same theme. In fact, on the left top of the page (Fig.2) three captures from the TV version are included. To better understand the intention of the print campaign, let us briefly describe the TV commercial. We see a race between a couple that travels from the centre of a big city, out



Fig. 2. “Cloudhopping” by *Land-Rover*. Advertising company: Y&R and Wunderman
In *Computer Hoy*, n° 259 (Jul 08’)

through the surrounding mountains and into the countryside. The woman is ‘cloud hopping’ in a hot air balloon and the man is driving a *Freelander 2*. The camera cuts back and forth between them until they both reach their destination at the same time: a remote place in the mountains.

The magazine reader might not be familiar with the TV version of the ad, and although the ascending fashion of the balloon may imply the idea of a race, what is more clearly suggested is the identification of the car with the balloon. We encounter then the first visual metaphor in the ad: BALLOONING IS DRIVING A CAR. However, this visual metaphor is derived from a previous metonymy: AGENT FOR ACTIVITY, since in this case we have the balloon/balloonist standing for the sport and then the metonymy BALLOONIST STANDS FOR CLOUDHOPPING. This complex structure of metonymy within a metaphor is what Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002: 522) establish as a ‘metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source’ and Urios-Aparisi applies to a multimodal analysis of a car advertisement (2009: 104).

The catchphrase in big print introduces the term “Cloudhopping” in English with the text “Para practicar Cloudhopping necesitas: nervios de acero y un fantástico todoterreno” (*To practice Cloudhopping you need: nerves of steel and a fantastic all-terrain vehicle*). The word “Cloudhopping” might be intelligible for the non-speaker of English, but most surely this reader would draw the connection between the balloon and the English word. Following the slogan, the advertiser explains the meaning of “Cloudhopping”, a new kind of hot-air ballooning where the pilot is harnessed to the balloon rather than standing in a

basket¹⁹. According to the text, the car would be the perfect companion to track the “cloudhopper” during a balloon flight. From the text Cloudhopping is described as a non-traditional, risky, adventurous and difficult sport to practice; adjectives that are also attributed to the car, by the textual explanation but also by this first visual metaphor the reader finds. As Bogotsi Matsheka, Marketing Manager of Land-rover explained when this world campaign was launched:

“Freelander 2 is a compact premium SUV with an ever-ready capability that enables one to share in a life that is rich in adventure. The audience we are targeting with Freelander 2 have original and interesting passions and this campaign brings these qualities to the fore in a manner that typifies Land Rover's brand persona.”²⁰

It is evident then that the advertisers’ intention is establishing a connection between the “cloudhopping” characteristics and the car’s characteristics and ultimately, with Land Rover’s brand persona. However, the mechanism is fairly tricky: to catch the reader’s attention through an unfamiliar word, so the reader gets intrigued, keeps reading and finds out the connection between the car and the new sport. Whether the reader can work out the meaning of “cloudhopping” or not, this is a very effective attention-getter device built upon a metaphoric-metonymic process, similar to the one in case study 1. Let us see the mapping.

Again from the attention-getter “Cloudhopping” and the image of the balloon, the reader is expected to activate a particular schemata related to the language used. The

¹⁹ The complete text following the ad’s slogan (my translation):

Cloudhopping is doing a balloon flight without the basket. More exciting than the traditional version but more difficult to control. The sense of freedom is indescribable when you are up there, but you never know what direction the wind is going to take you. That’s why you need a good tracking with a good all-terrain. One like Freelander 2. With turbodiesel engine...and the only one with Terrain Response that maximizes the traction in any driving situation.

²⁰ <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/140/21725.html>

Spanish public is accustomed to finding English terms used for sports and related activities, especially if those are newly created (it would be improbable for instance to find “football” for *fútbol* or “basketball” for *baloncesto* in the Spanish media). The word in English adds once more this contemporary, new-fashioned flavor to the product, but also the adventurous character by the association with the images and text in the ad. The mapping would then be as follows: ENGLISH WORD STANDS FOR LANGUAGE → LANGUAGE STANDS FOR CULTURAL STEREOTYPE, this cultural stereotype referring to qualities such as fun, adventure or innovation again. We can summarize the metaphoric and metonymic processes in the table below:

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metonymy 1	SOURCE: AGENT TARGET: ACTIVITY	BALLOON/BALLOONIST BALLOONING	
Metonymy 2	SOURCE: INSTRUMENT TARGET: ACTIVITY	CAR DRIVING A CAR	
Metaphor 1	SOURCE: BALLOONING TARGET: DRIVING A CAR	BALLOON CAR	
Metonymy 3	SOURCE: ENGLISH TARGET: ADVENTURE,FUN		Word “Cloudhopping”

Table 2. Metonymy and metaphor in case 2.

- **Case 2b**

A similar case to “cloudhopping” can be found in fig. 3, featuring a *Canon* ad for a video camera. *Canon* is a well-known Japanese multinational that specializes in the manufacture of electronic audiovisual products. This ad belongs to a campaign *Canon*

called *Freecording*, play on words between ‘Free’ and ‘Recording’. The product advertized is the new series of cameras *Canon* launched in 2008, characterized by their ease of use and their high definition quality. The structure of the ad is very similar to the previous one, with a code-switched catchphrase and a following explanation about the product. However, what is interesting about this sample is the fact that the correspondent explanation about the product seems not to make clear the meaning of *Freecording* as it happened in the previous case with the word *Cloudhopping*. By comparing the two samples in this section we can show how the use of English might not result transparent sometimes if the advertiser does not provide the right tools for the (monolingual) reader to make out the meaning of a foreign word.

The ad (fig.3) features a man who has fallen asleep in the sun by a pool and seems to be getting burnt. At the other side of the pool, a timely camera captures the shot and plays



Fig. 3. “Freecording” by Canon. In ‘H’Magazine, n°94 (Jul 08’)

with angles by adding a ‘cocktail’ umbrella that, in perspective, seems to be protecting the man from the sun. The image is frankly comical and rich as far as conceptual patterns are concerned.

Realized visually, we have the metonymy HAND STANDS FOR PERSON, or more specifically, HAND STANDS FOR CAMERAMAN. Related to this metonymy, we have the first visual metaphor, namely, ADVERTISEMENT IS A CAMERA SHOT. And finally, to create the illusion with the perspective, we have the metaphor COCKTAIL UMBRELLA IS A PARASOL.

At the verbal level we first have the catchphrase “Freecording *es jugar con otras perspectivas*” (*Freecording* is playing with a different perspective); realized verbally then, we have the metaphor RECORDING IS PLAYING, whereas the word *Freecording* itself refers metonymically to the words *Free* and *Recording*. Another textual element is the explanatory text at the bottom right of the page, where it says in Spanish: “You don’t need to be a film maker to know how to play with a camcorder and create illusions. With high definition Canon HF10 everything is as easy as being in the right place at the right time. Get the whole picture at www.canon.es”²¹. From *Canon*’s marketing department, *Freecording* was defined as “recording without rules. It aims to inspire anyone to pick up a camcorder, find a new perspective and shoot – no matter what the occasion.”²². This particular campaign represents an example of what is known as *Viral Advertising*, a technique of covert marketing based on the internet and the different social networks; this type of advertising is normally targeted to young audiences and takes the form of videos,

²¹ My translation.

²² From http://www.canon-europe.com/About_Us/Press_Centre/Press_Releases/Consumer_News/News/Freecording.asp

images, songs or ads that serve to enhance ‘Brand Awareness’ but do not address the consumer directly²³.

Freecording represents an example of Viral Marketing, since the campaign included several viral movies, an outdoor campaign and especially a movie contest where users participated sending their own videos. The idea is going beyond the simple advertising of a product to create a whole environment derived from the idea of being creative and having fun recording with your camera. This idea of stressing individual’s capabilities is also conveyed by *Canon*’s tagline, which also appears in the present sample. The current slogan is “You Can. *Canon*”, another wordplay profiting from the similarity between the verb and the brand name. Whereas both examples probably make all the sense for an English speaker, one might think of the monolingual reader’s accessibility to such linguistic items. With this particular sample our claim is that, even when the ideas of creativity and fun might reach the monolingual audience, this is probably not done through the play on words but 1) the complementary text in Spanish and 2) by making a connection between a possibly unknown English word to the Spanish text, enhancing then the connotative rather than denotative meaning of the word *Freecording*. In the previous case, the concept of “Cloudhopping” was explained in detail for the advertiser to create the similarity with the car—such word could be perfectly unknown for a native speaker that is not familiar with the sport. In the present sample, rather than giving us a detailed description of the camcorder, advertisers used the trick of selling the ‘philosophy’ linked to that product: creativity and fun. Through the use of a comic image, certain typography and an explicative text in Spanish, the brand’s philosophy is conveyed; although maybe

²³ See Meerman-Scout (2010). Chapter-8: “Going Viral: The Web helps audiences catch the fever”.

not directly by the use of the *Freecording* word itself. Especially by its collocation in the ad, this word is likely to lead the monolingual reader to the metonymic association of English with fun and entertainment. The following chart summarizes the different multimodal patterns in sample B.

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metonymy 1	SOURCE: HAND TARGET: PERSON	Hand	
Metaphor 1	SOURCE: UMBRELLA TARGET: PARASOL	Cocktail Umbrella	
Metaphor 2	SOURCE: ADVERTISEMENT TARGET: CAMERA SHOT	Advertisement	
Metaphor 3	SOURCE: RECORDING TARGET: PLAYING		Word <i>Freecording</i> Word “jugar”
Metonymy 4	SOURCE: ENGLISH TARGET: FUN; CREATIVITY	Word <i>Freecording</i>	Word <i>Freecording</i>

Table 3. Metonymy and Metaphor in case 2b

4.2.3. Case study 3. *English stands for sophistication, elegance and classiness.*

The next commercial is an interesting example to analyze since it appeared in *MIA*, one of the magazines with the lowest presence of English as we have concluded from our quantitative analysis. The company is the cosmetics brand *Mary Kay* and the product is their new make-up compact box. *Mary Kay* is a multinational company characterized by their direct selling philosophy that became very popular in the 60’s in the US. Their

employees were exclusively women who would sold their products door-to-door or in home demonstration parties; a global network of independent beauty consultants who, at the same time, would train some of their customers to also become sellers for Mary Kay. Their selling philosophy was groundbreaking in the 60's, and so were their sales incentives: the hallmark of the company was a pink Cadillac with which the top sellers of the year were rewarded.

The company's context is essential here to fully understand the intention of the advert. An American reader—or a reader familiar with American popular culture—would immediately associate the word “pink” and the brand *Mary Kay*, for its connection with the famous pink Cadillac. In other words, the word “pink” will activate the mental frame of the company's background for a reader familiar with it. This is not the case for Spanish readers since this information does not belong to their popular imagery. Let us stop first at the catchphrase in the ad; it says: “Si buscas sentirte sofisticada, think about pink. Mary Kay” (*If you seek to feel sophisticated, think about pink. Mary Kay*. Fig.4).



Fig. 4. “Think about pink” by Mary Kay. In *MÍA*, n° 1160 (Dec 1 – Dec 7, 2008)

The first thing we find is a code-switched text where the first half in Spanish appears in very small print, whereas the second part in English uses a much bigger print; the attention is obviously directed then to the English part of the slogan. At the same time the word “pink” is highlighted in a different color (ironically not in pink), the same color used for the print in the brand name. Taking account of the context explained above and establishing the association between “pink” and the company, we have our first metonymy: **ICON/LOGO STANDS FOR COMPANY**.

The difference between the print size of the Spanish and English parts of the catchphrase is remarkable given that this ad appeared in the *MIA* magazine which, as we pointed out before, is targeted to a middle-age female monolingual audience; this is one of the few instances with code-switched items we found in the magazine in question, with only 10% of English occurrences in its ads. However, even in the case the reader cannot work out the English words or the shared knowledge of the word “pink”, there is a clear connection between the word “*sofisticada*” (sophisticated) and the product, the brand name and the words in English. By proximity of the word “sophisticated” with the English words—possibly unintelligible for some readers—these contribute to add a taste of sophistication or refinement to the product. By a metonymical process then we will have the following mapping: **WORD → LANGUAGE → CULTURAL STEREOTYPE**. Specifically the cultural feature that is highlighted is the idea of English as superior in terms of elegance or sophistication. In the light of Cognitive Linguistics and the analysis of linguistic forms as metonymically related to a cultural stereotype (Kristiansen, 2008), we can derive the following mapping: **ENGLISH WORD → ENGLISH LANGUAGE →**

CULTURAL STEREOTYPE → SOPHISTICATION. Table 3 summarizes the different metaphors and metonymies in case study 3.

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metonymy 1	SOURCE: LOGO/ICON TARGET: MARY KAY		Mary Kay Logo and word “pink”
Metonymy 2	SOURCE: ENGLISH TARGET: SOPHISTICATION	English words (in much bigger print than Spanish words)	English words

Table 3. Metaphor and Metonymy in case study 3

As a last remark and supporting this idea of English “superiority”, it is interesting to observe the catchphrase translation in Spanish at the bottom of the page. After the explanatory paragraph about the characteristics of the product (the make-up box), the catchphrase is repeated, this time in Spanish and in a very small print; this fact underlines the idea that English is preferred at the expense of the advertisement’s intelligibility for some readers. The publicist makes sure that the product’s features are understandable for the reader and so s/he uses Spanish to deliver this information; however, English is the language used in the most salient part of the ad, with the intention of adding an extra value to the product (and the company): a value of superiority, quality and in this case, sophistication.

4.2.4. Case study 4: *English stands for technical reliability*.

The two ads in the present section are examples of how English is often used to give technical details about the products, in accordance with our hypothesis that global/international English culture is used to confer an air of prestige to the products advertised. The two examples in the present section are instances of this type of value, so let us examine them in detail.

- **Case 4a.**

The first of them features an online virus scanner created by the Spanish company *Panda Security*. Panda is a computer security company centered on the production of antivirus software, being the largest antivirus vendor in Spain and the fourth worldwide²⁴. In the first place, it is interesting to note that this company was founded only as *Panda* in 1990 in Bilbao (Spain), changing its name to *Panda Security* in 2007; this change coincided, as *Panda's* chairman Jorge Dinares remarked, with an internal renovation motivated by an increasing international expansion²⁵. At the same time, a new slogan was added to all advertisements and new products, a slogan in English that can be read in our first ad (fig.4): “One step ahead”. This slogan according again to Dinares, “respect[ed] the company’s values: innovation, advancement and reliability” (2007: *Ibid*). There is an obvious connection between renovating the company’s image with the introduction of English in the company’s name and the slogan, especially after an international

²⁴ Information from Wikipedia. URL http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panda_Security

²⁵ By EFE Agency for *Cinco Dias* newspaper, 23/07/2007; see Reference List.

expansion. In the present sample *Panda* promotes a new tool PC customers can use online and at no cost to detect malware in their computers. Panda called this online tool *Infected or not* and even created an exclusive webpage for the product, where users could go and check their PCs online. This ad was part of a global campaign and thus the name of the product was again in English; however, what is interesting is the fact that 1) it is a Spanish company advertising a product in a Spanish magazine 2) the main body of the ad is actually in Spanish, not in English, so even if we argue that it is part of a global campaign, this ad has been adapted for a Spanish audience. However, the first element of the ad is the question *Infected or not?*”, which is tricky to identify with the product’s name; here we have the first metonymy SLOGAN STANDS FOR PRODUCT.

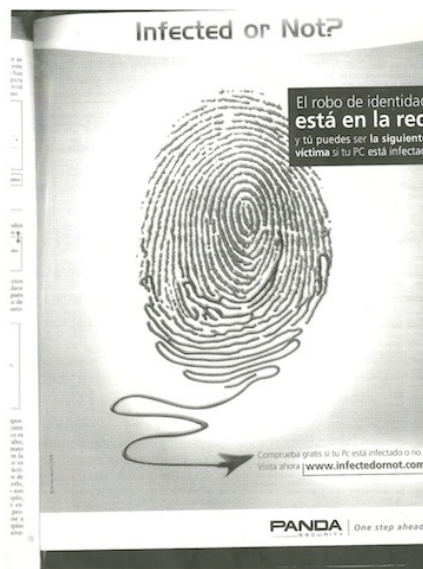


Fig. 5. “Fingerprint”. *Panda Security*. In *Computer Hoy*, n° 263 (Oct 2008).
Photocopied version (original version also in black and white)

The phrase, however, is considerably transparent with respect to the Spanish “¿Infectado o no?” that had been discarded in detriment of the English translation. The first image is easily identifiable with a person by the metonymy FINGERPRINT STANDS FOR PERSON’S IDENTITY. The fingerprint is the source of the metonymy but also part of the metaphor that is developed as the fingerprint gets deformed and becomes the “tale” of the arrow. Such metaphor is identified by Urios-Aparisi (2009: 107) as an *Expansion of metonymy in the source domain of the metaphor*²⁶. In this case then, the metonymy FINGERPRINT STANDS FOR PERSON’S IDENTITY is part of the source of the metaphor DEFORMING A FINGERPRINT IS STEALING SOMEONE’S IDENTITY. In this case we have a metaphor whose source is identified by the visual mode while the target is in the verbal mode throughout the words “el robo de identidad”.

Together with this multimodal metaphor, we have another one. The big fingerprint gradually unravels and transforms into an arrow that points to a paragraph in Spanish that reads “Check for free whether your PC is infected or not” (*Comprueba si tu PC está infectado o no*), as if the fingerprint evoked the existence of an infection and the arrow led the reader to the solution. An infected PC is the cause of someone’s identity being stolen and thus we have the metonymy STEALING SOMEONE’S IDENTITY STANDS FOR AN INFECTED PC, a variant of the general metonymy EFFECT STANDS FOR CAUSE. The arrow visually aids to point out a solution, so we could establish the metaphor ARROW IS SOLUTION TO PROBLEM, where the source of the metaphor is a visual element and the target is the solution expressed verbally in the paragraph in

²⁶ A similar case is found in Urios-Aparisi’s (2009: 107-110) analysis of an abortion advertisement, where the metaphor ABORTING IS UNKNITTING A BABY BOOTIE is motivated by the metonymy BOOTIE STANDS FOR BABY.

Spanish at the bottom of the page. In such paragraph the name of the webpage *infectedornot.com* is included, making an allusion again to the first slogan in the ad. The strategy is certainly a cunning one: getting attention through the initial question in big black print and making the reader follow the arrow visually to end in the product advertised. However, the characteristics of the product and the detecting mechanism are not straightforwardly detailed so that the customer takes the bait and gets on to check the webpage. If the initial slogan served as an attention-getter, the same slogan on the name of the webpage serves as the solution for a possible computer infection. The last important element in the ad is the company's logo and slogan at the bottom right of the page, very close to the last paragraph. As we noticed before, the fact that the product's name is in English may be due to marketing reasons, since the software was launched globally. The structure of the ad helps to attract the readers attention, leaving some blanks in the product's description to force a potential customer to go online and check for further details. Yet, it is necessary a reliable and well-known signature for this type of mechanism to work; otherwise, the reader would distrust the product. That is why *Panda's* logo appears right below the product's name; to provide a feeling of reliability to the reader, who identifies the product with a well-known trademark, which, additionally, is displaying a new and renovated face as we saw above.

In this particular sample multimodal metaphors and metonymies create a visual track for the reader to follow, aided by instructions in Spanish. At the same time the ad is framed by 1) an English catchphrase working as an attention-getting device 2) the product's name in English 3) the brand name and corporate slogan also in English; all three elements helping to convey an idea of reliability to invite the reader to go further

and use the product online. Again then, we come across a last metonymy where English voices stand for a certain stereotype (Kristiansen 2008), in this case the association of the language with technical trustworthiness. The different metaphors and metonymies in Case 4a are summarize in the table below:

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metonymy 1	SOURCE: SLOGAN		Words “Infected or not?”
	TARGET: PRODUCT		Online anti-virus tool
Metonymy 2	SOURCE: FINGERPTINT	Fingerprint	English words
	TARGET: PERSON’S IDENTITY		Word “Identidad”
Metaphor 1	SOURCE: DEFORMING A FINGERPRINT	Deformed fingerprint	
	TARGET: STEALING SOMEONE’S IDENTITY		Words “robo de identidad”
Metonymy 3 CONSEQUENCE STANDS FOR CAUSE	SOURCE: IDENTITY STEALING		Words “robo de identidad”
	TARGET: INFECTED PC		
Metaphor 2	SOURCE: ARROW	Arrow	
	TARGET: SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM		Words “Comprueba si tu PC está infectado o no”.

Table 4. Metaphor and metonymy in Case 4b.

- **Case 4b.**

The second case in this section is probably more transparent as far as the value of “tecnhical quality” is concerned. Sample 5 features an advertisement by *Crocs*, a shoe manufacturer famous for having patented a material called *Croslite*, “a technology that makes each pair of shoes soft, comfortable, lightweight, non-marking and odor-

resistant”²⁷. *Croslite* is basically a resin that makes the shoes heat up and soften with body heat and mold to the users' feet. *Crocs* shoes have been tested and recommended by several podiatric associations²⁸, stating their adequacy especially for people whose daily activity requires that they stand on their feet for a considerable time. Technical suitability soon gained Crocs customers' approval and the company experienced a meteoric development, considering they started selling 200 pairs in 2002 and now the company has a turnover of 400 million dollars²⁹. However, *Crocs* shoes probably counts on as many detractors as supporters for a question of aesthetics. As an article in the *Washington Post* poses it: “how can you trust people who go out wearing goofy rubbery clogs with vent holes?”³⁰.

Part of the company's success lies in the fact that their marketers have acknowledged their detractors' critics and use them to sell the product. For instance, the first campaign by the company used the slogan “Ugly can be beautiful”, which in words of the public relations manager for Crocs, was “really in line with the way consumers view the shoes—at first they are unsure about the look, but they inevitably fall in love with the shoe because of its comfort”³¹. It is obvious then that Crocs campaign will focus on the product's quality rather than its look and that is the case for the following ad in our analysis.

Sample 5 (fig.5) belongs to *Crocs* marketing campaign but it is an advertisement created specifically for the Spanish market. The ad features the figure of a big blue shark

²⁷ At Crocs webpage. URL <http://company.wearecrocs.eu/about-2/>

²⁸ *Ibid*

²⁹ Anglés, David (March 3, 2009). See referente list.

³⁰ Huget, Jennifer (August 1, 2006). See reference list.

³¹ Bryer, Amy (September 6, 2005). See reference list.

(Fig.5) whose figure is achieved by a series of Crocs blue shoes put together. Beneath the shark, several different shoe designs are displayed and at the bottom of the page a tagline in big print reads “El rey de los mares” (The king of the sea). Several interesting metaphors can be observed. We can start by the identification of the shark as “the king of the sea”, metaphor realized visually in the source and verbally in the target. The second one is the obvious association between the shark and the shoe, with which we have the first metaphor SHOE IS A SHARK, realized visually both in target and source. Establishing a metaphorical mapping and thinking of stereotypical attributes of the shark, we could come up with qualities such as strength, authority or resistance to be applied to the shoe. The image of a shark is a very powerful one and the animal’s strength is expressed by the visual comparison with the figures of the little fish displayed on the page.



Fig. 5. “El rey de los mares” by Crocs. ‘H’Magazine, n° 95 (Aug 08’)

Now, if we are to establish this identification, we should also pay attention to the tagline and the reference to the sea. The mapping in the first metaphor SHARK IS A KING is easily traceable, considering sharks are the aquatic predators *par excellence*. Linking together our two metaphors so far, we could identify a third metaphor by extension, namely, SHOE IS A KING. But what about the reference to the sea? We should note that the present ad appeared in the July issue of ‘*H*’ magazine, promoting the *Crocs* summer collection. This can also be observed from the type of shoes featured, mainly flip-flops and sandals. Sea is a clear reference to the season then, stressing the fact that Crocs shoes are the best option for the summer; there is a fourth metaphor here: SEA IS SUMMER SEASON.

We have seen how the metaphor SHOE IS A SHARK served to confer a value of quality and resistance to the product, as well as the idea of the brand’s success in the market. The different metaphors were realized in a multimodal way, the advertisers making use of visual and verbal devices. Spanish is in use in big print for the catchphrase, but if we look at the technical specifications on the bottom left of the page, those are written in English. The text in the bubble reads: “comfortable, ergonomic, antimicrobial, odor-resistant and light-weight”, in accordance with the features the advertiser intends to highlight.

It is interesting that in a campaign designed specifically for the Spanish market, with a big tagline in Spanish, the advertiser chooses to give technical specifications about the materials in English. This once again indicates that English serves the purpose of stressing this aura of technical quality intended by the publicists; otherwise, in an ad directed and created for a Spanish audience, it could have been more natural to include these words in

Spanish. This example also corroborates our hypothesis that English is used with the intention of conveying a certain value to the product, which we identify with the value of prestige and technical reliability. Besides, there is little risk of incomprehensibility of the English words, since they are fairly transparent for a Spanish monolingual reader (Spanish equivalents being *ergonómico*, *antimicrobial* o *resistente*). The last metonymy in the ad, as in the previous case studies, would then be ENGLISH STANDS FOR TECHNICAL RELIABILITY, a particular case of the more general metonymy ENGLISH STANDS FOR CULTURAL STEREOTYPE, namely, the stereotype of English as a global/international language.

Figure	Components	Visual elements	Verbal elements
Metaphor 1	SOURCE: SHARK	SHARK	
	TARGET: KING OF THE SEA		Spanish words “El rey de los mares”
Metaphor 2	SOURCE: SHOE	SHOE	
	TARGET: SHARK	SHARK	
Metaphor 3	SOURCE: SEA		Word “mares”
	TARGET: SUMMER		
Metaphor 4 (by combination of the previous 3)	SOURCE: CROCS	SHOE (Metonymically)	
	TARGET: LEADER OF THE SUMMER MARKET		Words “rey de los mares”
Metonymy 2	SOURCE: ENGLISH		English words
	TARGET: TECHNICAL RELIABILITY		Cultural stereotype

Table 5. Metaphor and Metonymy in case 4b

In table 5 we can see the different metaphoric and metonymic structures summarized for case study 5. As we have seen, for this campaign the advertisers made use of a very

powerful image to transmit an idea of resistance and applied it to the product advertised, in this case summer shoes. Also aided by verbal devices in Spanish, the association of shoe and shark was perfectly delivered. However, they chose to provide technical details in English, which we claim responded to the aim of playing with the connotative meaning of words.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The world status of English in the past century has been a story of a tremendous ascension. The current phenomenon of globalisation, with the most important markets working in English, has raised it onto the status of the *lingua franca par excellence* and so its presence is well established in all fields, including especially the field of media and communication. Newspapers, TV channels, magazines or radio stations have become common sites of language contact all over the world, and as a language of contact, English is probably the language that proportionally most appears in these multilingual contexts.

In Spain, this situation is not much different. English seems to have pervaded all fields in everyday life and it is by far the most required foreign language all over the country. With the present study we aimed to demonstrate how Spanish advertising is a site for language contact and how English is the most popular foreign language used in advertising discourse. Setting off from the idea that language not only *triggers* social meaning but also *creates* (Kristiansen, 2008; Eckert, 2004) social meaning, popular magazines became a suitable ground to test our initial hypotheses. In the first place we formulated the hypothesis that the more modern and international a publication intends to be, the more English we will find in its advertising pages. A direct correspondence between high occurrence of English and high level of modernity was established. To test this claim we accounted for the presence of English in the publicity of four different Spanish magazines, each one with a different concept and target audience. Drawing on the

figures of our quantitative analysis, we corroborated the relation between a certain reader's profile in a magazine and the statistical presence of English in that magazine's publicity. The two magazines that showed little presence of English in advertising were *Tiempo* and *MIA*, exactly as they were expected. In the case of *Tiempo*, its marked domestic character in terms of contents and concept, made us expect little occurrence of English, as it finally happened: only 12% of its publicity included English. As for *MIA*, also the nature of its content—little emphasis on international issues, sections on traditional food and recipes, national gossip news, etc—and its target reader—middle-aged mature female—classified it as a potential candidate not to show a great presence of a foreign language. Consequently, as our figures showed only 10% of the magazine's advertisements included English. The case with *Computer Hoy* was different. We thought of this publication as one where the number of multilingual adverts would be more or less equal to monolingual ads in Spanish. On the one hand we considered the reader's profile proposed by their publishers: a computer user familiarized with IT terminology in English but not completely fluent. On the other hand, we took into account the magazine's mission statement and contents; it is a magazine devoted to computer issues, which sells an image of modernity in the sense of technological advancement. The numbers in our analysis corroborated our initial assumptions: 49% of the ads in *Computer Hoy* included English, whereas 51% of them were entirely in Spanish. Finally, the magazine that, according to its concept and target audience, was expected to show the highest occurrence of English, indeed did so. *H Magazine*, described as a magazine for “young, urban trendsetters”, showed 81% of English in its advertisements.

In the second place, we made the second hypothesis that advertisers in Spain often use English to give their products and campaigns a taste of modernity and internationalization and four values derived from the stereotype of global English: technological advancement, innovation, sophistication and entertainment. We used a qualitative analysis to account for this phenomenon, examining significant samples of each of the aforementioned values. Through our analysis we saw how advertisers creatively use English borrowings to produce a positive response in the audience, thus becoming “meaning makers” (Kristiansen, 2008; Eckert, 2004). We also saw how images and illustrations serve to ensure the pursued reading of these borrowings. English is part of a carefully constructed network of visual elements that also include typography, specific use of color, word plays, images or illustrations. These elements interact with each other constituting different multimodal metaphors and metonymies (Forceville, 2006, 2008; Yu, 2009; Urios-Aparisi, 2009) that contribute to imbue English borrowings with a certain taste of reliability, sophistication, entertainment or innovation, depending on the case. Well aware of the status of global language and the positive implications this fact has for Spanish consumers, Spanish marketers rely on their audiences’ metonymic association of English borrowings (Kristiansen, 2003, 2008) with the cultural stereotype of globalization to better appreciate the products advertised. Values related to internationalization, modernization and cosmopolitanism derive from such stereotype; advertisers acknowledge it and use English as an efficient and creative communicative tool.

A further line of research could include the audiences’ responses to language-mixing in advertising, to fully test the potential of English to be metonymically associated to the stereotype of globalization/internationalization. Furthermore, investigation on actual

population would provide interesting conclusions about the effectiveness of language mixing in terms of message comprehensibility and memorability. Further studies on people's actual reactions could help marketers choose the amount and complexity of foreign expressions, to ensure the right encoding of the advertising message. It would also be interesting to subject the occurrence of other foreign languages to a qualitative analysis, to confirm their use as country-of-origin representations, as different from English, which as we saw, is often associated with a global stereotype; and vice versa, look at samples where English can be associated with a cultural stereotype other than globalization: there are many instances of Spanish advertisements that use English in relation to a British or American cultural stereotype. For instance, we can think of Spanish phone company *Movistar* and the slogan used to promote their new weekend plan last summer: “yes, *week-end*” in clear reference to president Obama's famous tag “yes we can”. In this sense, a diachronic study on Spanish advertising would also result interesting to observe how stereotypical associations of English have changed considerably during the past few decades.

Advertising discourse definitely constitutes an exceptional field for linguistic analysis from a variety of perspectives, of which the study of multilingualism seems to be a fairly prolific one. An attempt has been made to show the preeminent status of English in Spanish advertising as well as the creative ways in which advertisers use it to address the Spanish consumer. Marketers are in a continuous search of new ingenious ways of making their products and campaigns more innovative and extraordinary and have found, in a versatile language such as English, an excellent communicative tool for years to come.

6. APPENDIX

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



The advertisement features a large hot air balloon floating over a city skyline at sunset. A person is seen hanging from the basket of the balloon. In the foreground, a red Land Rover Freelander 2 is parked on a rooftop. The background shows a city skyline with several tall buildings. The overall tone is adventurous and emphasizes the car's off-road capabilities.

Para practicar Cloudhopping necesitas: nervios de acero y un fantástico todoterreno."

Cloudhopping es montar en globo aerostático sin la cesta. Más excitante que la versión tradicional, pero más difícil de controlar. La sensación de libertad es indescriptible cuando estás allí arriba, pero nunca sabes en qué dirección te va a llevar el viento. Por eso necesitas un buen todoterreno de seguimiento. Uno como el Freelander 2. Con motor turbodiesel 2.2 Td4 de 160 CV y el único con Terrain Response™ que maximiza la tracción en cualquier situación de conducción.

www.landrover.es

FREELANDER 2 desde 29.950 €

LAND-ROVER
GO BEYOND

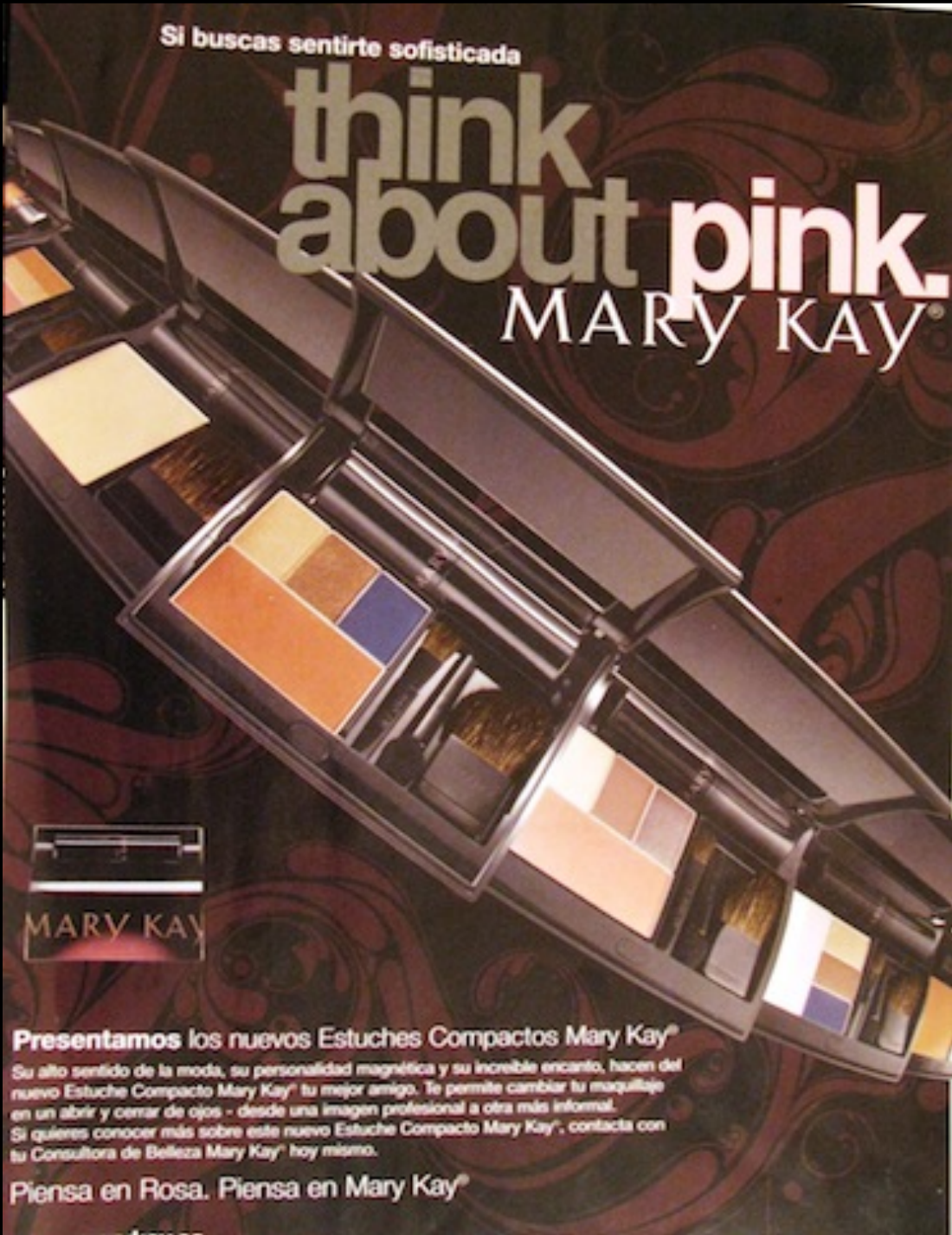
GARANTÍA 3 AÑOS
UN LÍMITE KM

FREELANDER 2 Td4. Consumo combinado (l/100 km) desde 7,5 hasta 8,5. Emisiones de CO₂ (g/km) desde 194 hasta 224. PVP recomendado para Península y Baleares (IVA, impuesto de emisiones, transporte y campaña promocional incluidos).

Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Si buscas sentirte sofisticada

think about pink.
MARY KAY®

Presentamos los nuevos Estuches Compactos Mary Kay®
Su alto sentido de la moda, su personalidad magnética y su increíble encanto, hacen del nuevo Estuche Compacto Mary Kay® tu mejor amigo. Te permite cambiar tu maquillaje en un abrir y cerrar de ojos - desde una imagen profesional a otra más informal.
Si quieres conocer más sobre este nuevo Estuche Compacto Mary Kay®, contacta con tu Consultora de Belleza Mary Kay® hoy mismo.

Piensa en Rosa. Piensa en Mary Kay®

Fig. 5

The advertisement is a black and white page spread. The main headline at the top is "Infected or Not?". Below it, a large, detailed fingerprint is the central visual element. To the right of the fingerprint, a text box contains the Spanish text: "El robo de identidad está en la red y tú puedes ser la siguiente víctima si tu PC está infectado". At the bottom right, an arrow points from the fingerprint to the text: "Comprueba gratis si tu Pc está infectado o no. Visita ahora www.infectedornot.com". The Panda Security logo and tagline "One step ahead." are at the bottom right. On the left edge, there is a vertical strip of text from the adjacent page, which is partially cut off.

Infected or Not?

El robo de identidad
está en la red
y tú puedes ser la siguiente
víctima si tu PC está infectado

Comprueba gratis si tu Pc está infectado o no.
Visita ahora www.infectedornot.com

PANDA | One step ahead.
SECURITY

Fig. 6



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