

SIETAR EUROPA 1995

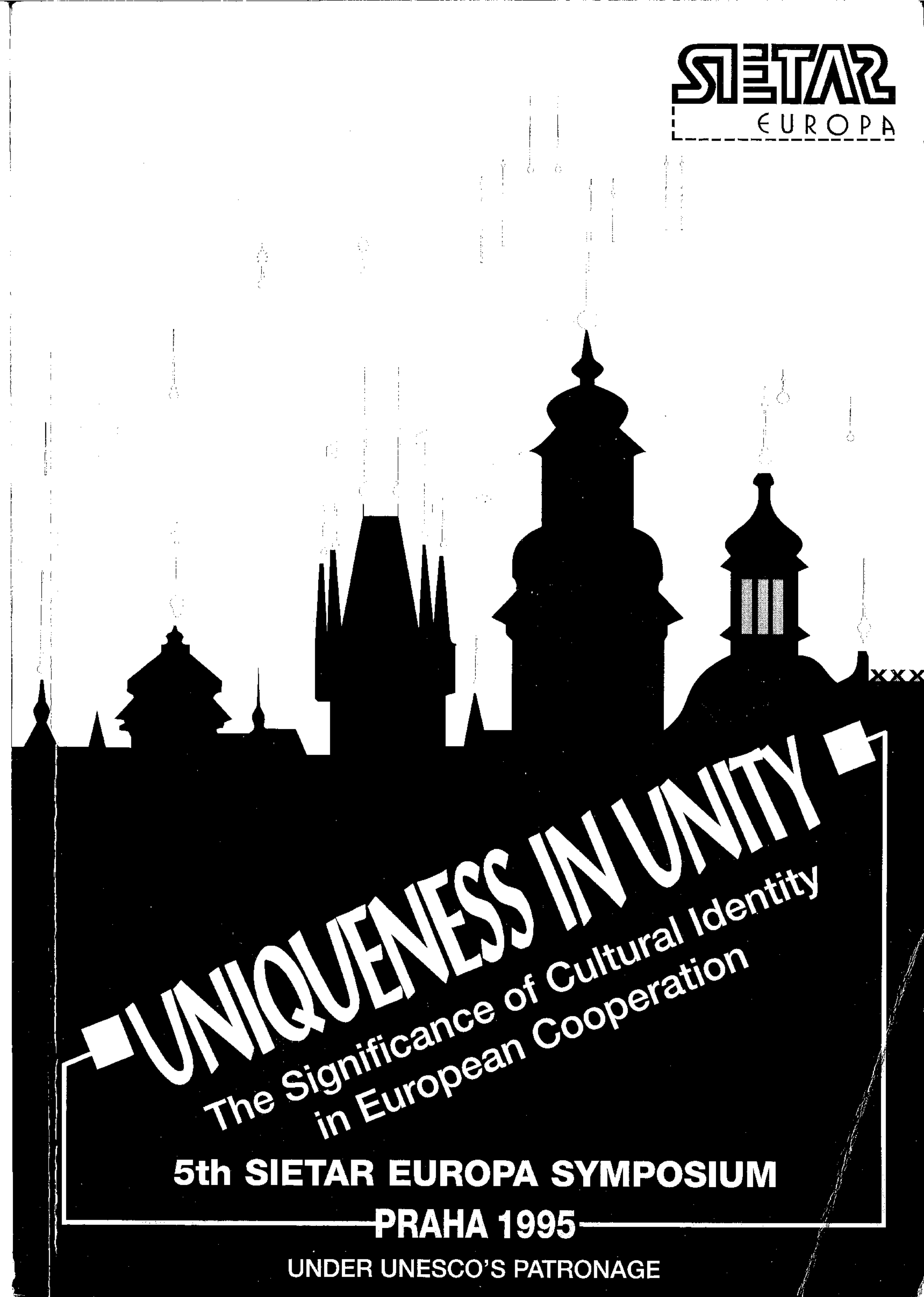
Proceedings

UNIQUENESS IN UNITY

The Significance of Cultural Identity
in European Cooperation

Edited by

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in European Cooperation

5th SIETAR EUROPA SYMPOSIUM
PRAHA 1995

UNDER UNESCO'S PATRONAGE

This edition was published in 1995
by SIETAR EUROPA
&
Envirostress, Praha
Nová cesta 9, 140 00 Praha 4, Czech Republic

Printed and bound 1995 in Czech Republic
by Printing House VAMB Štěchovice

Cover and book design and composing PAPAVER, Prague

ISBN 952 - 90 - 7082 - 9

SIETAR EUROPA gratefully acknowledges
the patronage of UNESCO

'English' Advertisements in the Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy and Spain

0. Introduction

In the countries of the European Common Market which have another standard language than English such as France, Spain, Italy both governments and private persons generally display an aversion to the use of English words and phrases in the standard language of their country. In some of those languages we even find disparaging terms for this such as *Franglais* in France, *Italianglais* in Italy and *Espanglais* in Spain. This negative attitude towards English from official sources has not restrained companies from advertising partly or completely in English. They have several reasons to do so.

1. The company wants the product to be associated with the life-style of English speaking countries, more particularly with that of the United States. We find this in the advertisements of life-style products like Coca Cola, Swatch, Mexx.
2. The product originally is American or English and there is no word available for it or for characteristics of it in the target language. This holds for example for terms indicating technical aspects of computers. Those terms are borrowed from English in many languages (local-bus, portable, cache).
3. The company globally wants to use one and the same advertisement. Global advertising has expanded enormously due to the increase of the worldwide export. Handbooks advise to advertise globally because it is relatively easy and cheap: enormous savings can be gained by executing a single worldwide marketing and advertising strategy (De Mooij 1994: 198, 209; Walsh 1991:122). Such global advertisements either communicate their message only with pictures or by using English. English is chosen for several reasons. Firstly, because the United States serve as the model within the field of advertising (Mowlana 1986:85). The world's top 50 advertising agencies in terms of gross income and billings include, in the first place, the United

States agencies (130,000 million of U.S. dollar in 1990, prognosis for 2000 240,000 is million U.S. dollar), followed by the Japanese, British, German, French and Italian agencies (together 85,000 million U.S. dollar in 1990, prognosis for the year 2000 is 240,000).

Secondly, English is chosen as a result of the generally held view that English is fairly well understood in foreign countries. De Mooij (1994:288) for example states in the second edition of her *Advertising Worldwide* that the higher educated throughout Europe, as well as the youth, can be reached with English language programmes. However, a few question marks are in place here. In Table 1, we see that the actual comprehension of English in western Europe is far less than suggested. In that view it is understandable that de Mooij (1994:205) advises relatively simple English/American for global advertising with few words and no colloquialisms, relying heavily on the visual or musical aspects of the message.

Table I Percentage of comprehension of English in Europe (From Reader's Digest Eurodata 1990)

United Kingdom	100
Sweden	73
The Netherlands	72
Denmark	61
Norway	58
Finland	48
Germany	44
Austria	42
Switzerland	40
Belgium	34
France	31
Greece	28
Portugal	25
Italy	16
Spain	12

From several countries (the Netherlands, Spain, France, Germany, Italy) we received some complaints about advertisements that were partly or completely in English. Actually, this is all we know. We have hardly any idea how often these advertisements occur, in which media, whether they contain many English words and whether those words are easy to comprehend, especially for the target groups of the advertisement and last but not least whether the target groups have the same associations with the advertisements as the advertising agency intended.

Questions like these are hardly ever raised in handbooks on advertising, let alone that they be answered. A small survey by telephone among advertising agencies in France, Spain, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands did not provide an answer to these questions either. The general policy of advertising agencies to advertise (partly) in English is because the company wants to do so. There is hardly any research on the comprehension of the English parts of an advertisement and on the associations with these (partly) English advertisements.

As a matter of fact these advertisements generally consist of more than words alone. Pictures, colours and so on also contribute to communicating the message. Nevertheless it would be rather audacious to pretend that words do not have any function. On the contrary, de Mooij (1994:420) states for example that the comprehension of global or Pan-European advertising has to be tested. I have, however, the impression that this is not done or not sufficiently done. That is one of the reasons why I decided to perform an explorative investigation in the role of English in product advertising in a number of countries of the European Common Market where English was not the standard language. Students of the Department of Business Communication of the University of Nijmegen helped me with the research.¹ Our project consists of four parts:

- a. An investigation into the occurrence of (partly) English product advertisements in newspapers, newsmagazines, glossy magazines and family magazines in Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands.
- b. An investigation into the comprehension of a selection of the English words and phrases that we found in product advertisements in Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands.
- c. An investigation into the attitudes towards the use of English in product advertisements in Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands.
- d. An investigation into the relations between the results of a., b. and c.

In this paper we will merely report on the first part of our project. In section 1 we will discuss the design of our study on the occurrence of (partly) English advertisements. In section 2 the results of our survey are presented and discussed.

1. Design

1.1. Countries

The study has been performed in Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands, all countries of the European Common market. These countries are chosen because they

¹ The group consisted of the following students: Floor Arts, Elke van Buul, Patricia Dekkers, Kirsten Eijk, Desiree Hidding, Jolanda Janssen, Elza Kuipers, Sylvia Langendam, Sander van Maarschalkerveerd, Laurens Mes, Lard Ortjens, Antonella Pagliaro, Melanie Remmen, Hiske de Ridder, Hilde van Turenhout, Astrid Steenbruggen.

differ with respect to the percentage of the population that comprehends English (cf. Table I). Griffin (1993:432) states for example: "In Europe there is no such thing as a single audience. Instead grouping by 'language clusters' is a distinct possibility: German-speaking countries....Latin countries and English-speaking countries (the UK, Scandinavia and possibly Holland)". We expect a direct relationship between the comprehension of English in a country and the extent to which advertisements that are (partly) in English occur and the amount of English in the advertisements. As a consequence we expect a hierarchy as in (1) where the Netherlands has the highest level of use of English and Spain the lowest:

- (1) The Netherlands > Germany > France > Italy > Spain

Another reason to investigate precisely Germany, Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands was that the students in the research group mastered the languages of these countries very well.

1.2. Categories of written media

Both written and spoken advertisements that are (partly) in English occur in the countries that were chosen for this investigation. Both these types are extremely interesting for investigating the infiltration of English in product advertisements in countries in which English does not have the function of a standard language. For practical reasons, however, we had to restrict ourselves to written communications in this part of the project. In a later stage of our project we hope to analyze spoken advertisements, too.

We have analyzed advertisements of six different types of written media: newspapers, news magazines, glossy magazines, family magazines, women's magazines and men's magazines. The different groups at which these written media are aimed together represent almost the total population of a country, all but the youth. In this paper we will not report on the results of the last two mentioned written media, since we were not able to analyze women's magazines and men's magazines for all the five countries of our study.

We expected to find more and larger advertisements in English in media that aim at higher social classes of the society compared to those that aim at lower social classes (cf. De Mooij 1994:288). Although it is hard to say at what social classes the four categories of our written media precisely aim - the more so since within a category different magazines sometimes aim at different social classes (cf. Frankfurter Allgemeine and Bild in Germany) - we believe that a hierarchy like (2) reflects the differences in social class: newspapers will have the highest number of advertisements in English and family magazines the lowest.

(2) Newspapers > glossy magazines > newsmagazines > family magazines

Table II indicates the newspapers and magazines that were investigated per country. Table III shows the total number of pages per category and the number of pages with product advertisements on it. Those last pages are the object of our investigation.

Due to the fact that in some countries and in some categories a larger number of pages was investigated and/or a larger number of pages was devoted to product advertisements the object of our research was for some categories in some countries much smaller than in other countries. In analyzing the data we will settle this by considering advertisements that are (partly) in English in relation to the total number of pages with advertisements.

In presenting the data we will always lump together the data for all the different magazines in that category in a particular country. If, however, there are striking differences between magazines within a category, we will pay attention to it.

Table II The written media that were analyzed

Newspapers

The Netherlands: Volkskrant (1994: 19-9, 21-9, 24-9, 27-9, 28-9, 1-10), NRC-Handelsblad (1994:21-9, 24-9, 26-9, 27-9, 1-10), Telegraaf (1994: 22-9, 23-9, 26-9, 27-9, 29-9, 1-10)

Germany: Frankfurter Allgemeine (1994: 21-9, 24-9, 26-9), Süddeutsche Zeitung (1994: 21-9, 24-9, 26-9), Bild (26-9-1994)

France: Le Monde (8-10, 11-10)

Italy: Corriere della Sera (1994: 1-10, 3-10, 5-10, 8-10)

Spain: ABC (1994 22-9 en 23-9), El Mundo (39-9-1994)

News magazines

The Netherlands: HP de tijd (16-9-'94), Elsevier (17-9-'94), Vrij Nederland (24-9-'94)

Germany: Der Spiegel (19-9-'94), Focus (19-9-'94)

France: Express (1994: 29-9, 13-10, 27-10)

Italy: L'Europeo (21-10-'94), Panorama (21-10-'94), Avvenimenti (21-10-'94)

Spain: El Economista (1994: 7-9, 14-9, 28-9, 5-10, 20-10, 27-10, 14-11), Cambio 16 (26-9-'94)

Family magazines

The Netherlands: Panorama (22-9-'94, 29-9-'94), De Kampioen (9-'94)

Germany: Stern (29-9-'94)

France: Paris Match (18-8-'94, 27-10-'94)

Italy: Gente (26-9-'94, 10-10-'94)

Spain: Dies Minutos (16-9-'94, 21-10-'94), Lecturas (30-9-'94)

Glossy magazines

The Netherlands: Elle (9-'94), Cosmopolitan (9-'94), Avenue (9-'94), Elegance (10-'94)

Germany: Elle (10-'94), Marie Claire (10-'94)

France: Vogue (9-'94, 10-'94), Elle (2-'95)

Italy: Elle (9-'94, 10-'94)

Spain: Elle (9-'94)

Table III The number of pages of each category with the number of pages with advertisements on it

Categories Countries	Newspapers		News magazines		Family magazines		Glossy magazines	
	Pages N	Pages adv. N %	Pages N	Pages adv. N %	Pages N	Pages adv. N %	Pages N	Pages adv. N %
The Netherlands	664	216 32%	326	80 25%	264	66 25%	606	183 30%
Germany	625	275 44%	576	284 49%	286	117 41%	642	321 50%
France	78	18 23%	220	22 10%	212	12 7%	692	235 34%
Italy	190	78 41%	480	166 35%	267	89 33%	1208	624 52%
Spain	311	81 26%	671	78 12%	336	55 16%	212	33 16%

1.3. Type of advertisements

We restricted our study to product advertisements. Vacancy advertisements were left out since they are not aimed at the total population of the readers of a newspaper or a magazine. Moreover, the reasons to publish those advertisements (partly) in English are quite different from publishing product advertisements in English.

1.4. What is English?

A vast number of English words and phrases have crept in the standard languages of the countries whose product advertisements are investigated here. Therefore, we have to define what we consider English and what not.

Words that were originally English but that were conjugated or inflected according to the rules of the language of the newspaper or the magazine in which the advertisement was published were not considered English, for example *lease* in Dutch advertisements. According to the most authoritative Dutch dictionary this verb is conjugated in a Dutch way (*Ik leaste (I leased), hij heeft geleast (He has leased)*). This criterion could, however, not always be used to distinguish real English words from words that were already established in the receiving language, since the inflection or conjugation of words in some languages is similar to English. This holds for example for the word *computer* in Dutch. The Dutch plural *computers* is the same as the English plural. In those cases the

dictionary had the last word. If the original English word was included in the most authoritative dictionary of the language of that country it was not considered to be English. English words, however, that did not occur in that dictionary were considered English. The major part of those words also occurred in the most authoritative English dictionary. There were some exceptions. For example we found the word *bamboo* as a verb: *let's bamboo*. This certainly is no English, but we have considered it as such, since it is clearly meant to be that.

Brand names like Philips, Motorola, Lancaster, OMO were not taken into account. However, product names and names indicating a series of products that consisted of English words were considered to be English. It concerns product names like *Escape* for a perfume of Klein, *Translucence* for make-up of Rubinstein, *Slingshot* for a film and names for series of products like *Skin life* for a number of creams of Rubinstein and *Time zone* for creams of Lauder. The reason to consider those names as English has to do with the fact that in other countries those names either were completed with a translation or they only occurred in translated forms in the target language. The film *Slingshot* is in the Netherlands for example advertised as *Slingshot* without a translation. In France, the film is advertised as *le Lance-pierres* with the English title printed in very small characters under the French title. In Spain the film is only advertised with a Spanish title. We find similar examples for names of a series of products. This implies that the choice of the name is not arbitrary in these cases but that the company intends to express a value of their product with the name. As a consequence such names also have the function of a word.

1.5. Data analysis

Regarding the use of English in product advertisements three types of advertisements occurred:

1. Advertisements that were completely in the language of the country in which the newspaper or the magazine was published, with no words that could be considered English according to our criteria (cf. 1.4);
2. Advertisements that were completely in English, with no words in the language of the newspaper or magazine in which the advertisement was published;
3. Advertisements that were partly in English and partly in the language of the newspaper or the magazine of the country in which the advertisement was published.

The type of advertisement mentioned in 1 will only be considered in order to determine which percentage of advertisements in a certain category consists of advertisements that were (partly) in English.

The major part of this paper is about advertisements that were completely or partly in English. In order to get an impression of the amount of what we call 'Englishity' of those

advertisements we have counted the English words. An advertisement completely in English that consists of 1 English word (*Very Valentino* (clothes in France and Italy) or six (*The magic of a Kiss by Bison Bisone* (make-up) in France) is less English than one that consists of 111 words in which it is exactly explained how a certain Whisky is distilled (the advertisement of Jack Daniel's in the Netherlands). We counted the number of English words of the advertisements that were completely in English and calculated the range and standard deviation. In the advertisements that were partly in English we counted both the English words and the words in the original language of the country in order to determine which percentage of the advertisement consisted of English words. An advertisement in which 5 of the 12 words were in English (for example *Set your spirit free. Wings. Erhältlich in exklusiven Fachparfümerien und ausgesuchten Warenhäusern*. by Giorgio Beverly Hills) is more English than an advertisement that consists of 4 words in English and 98 words in the language of the country of the magazine (for example *Skin Smoothing Capsules, Institute* by Pond's). Besides we calculated the standard deviation and range of the words in the advertisements that were partly in English.

In the advertisements that were partly in English the number of English words compared to the number of native words was not our only measurement of 'Englishity'. Advertisements with English words as a header (for example *Nothing but clothes* by H&M and *I miss you* of Motorola (telephones) in Germany) must be considered more English than those with only English words around a logo (*The best of all worlds* around the logo of Honda (cars) in the Netherlands). Therefore, we also considered the position of the English words in the advertisement.

2. Results

Table IV shows which part of the pages with advertisements on it consisted of advertisements that were partly or completely in English.

If we look at the total for all categories of magazines in the last column of Table IV we see a dichotomy between the Netherlands, Germany and France on the one hand where about 20% of the pages with advertisements have advertisements that were (partly) in English and Italy and Spain on the other hand where this percentage is much lower: 6%. This is in line with the hierarchy mentioned in 1.1. There is a relationship between the comprehension of English according to Table I and the occurrence of advertisements that are (partly) in English. The glossy magazines in both Germany and the Netherlands have the highest percentage with advertisements in English (33%)², followed by the

² There is a rather large difference between the Dutch glossy magazines. In *Avenue* and *Elegance* 50% of the pages with advertisements have advertisements that are partly or completely in English. For *Cosmopolitan* this percentage is 24% and for *Elle* 17%.

Table IV The total number of pages with advertisements in English compared to the total number of pages with advertisements.

Categories Countries	Newspapers		News magazines		Family magazines		Glossy magazines		Total	
	Pages adv. N	Pages adv. with Engl. N %	Pages adv. N	Pages adv. with Engl. N %	Pages adv. N	Pages adv. with Engl. N %	Pages adv. N	Pages adv. with Engl. N %	Pages adv. N	Pages adv. with Engl. N %
The Netherlands	216	19 9%	80	23 19%	66	1 2%	183	60 33%	545	103 19%
Germany	275	11 4%	248	54 19%	117	20 17%	321	107 33%	997	192 19%
France	18	3 14%	22	4 20%	12	4 25%	235	52 22%	287	63 22%
Italy	78	10 12%	166	37 22%	89	2 2%	624	8 1%	957	57 6%
Spain	81	1 1%	78	2 3%	55	9 15%	33	6 17%	247	18 7%

newsmagazines (19%). The lowest percentage of pages with English advertisements in Germany were found in newspapers and in the Netherlands in family magazines. The French data do not show significant differences between the four categories of magazines with respect to the occurrence of advertisements that were (partly) in English. English advertisements occur in Italy especially in newspapers and in news magazines³ and hardly in the other two categories. In Spain it is just the other way round. These data do not at all confirm the hierarchy mentioned in 2 (Newspapers > glossy > newsmagazines > family magazines) which was based on the idea that media meant for higher social classes would contain more advertisements in English than media meant for lower social classes.

So far advertisements that were completely in English were lumped together with advertisements that were partly in English. We have to make a distinction between those two types of advertisements since an advertisement that is completely in English scores of higher on the level of 'Englishity' than an advertisement that is partly in English.

Table V shows the occurrence of advertisements that were completely and partly in English.

³ There is a rather large difference between the three Italian newspapers. *Avvenimenti* does not have advertisements in English. *L'Europeo* only one. In *Panorama* 26% of the pages with advertisements is partly or completely in English.

Table V The occurrence of advertisements that were completely or partly in English

Categories Countries	Newspapers		News magazines		Family magazines		Glossy magazines		Total	
	completely	partly	completely	partly	completely	partly	completely	partly	completely	partly
The Netherlands	8 9%	85 91%	2 10%	18 90%	0 0%	4 100%	15 33%	30 66%	25 15%	137 85%
Germany	2 9%	20 91%	6 11%	49 89%	5 23%	16 77%	24 30%	56 70%	37 21%	141 79%
France	0 0%	8 100%	1 25%	3 75%	0 0%	3 100%	9 27%	25 73%	10 20%	39 80%
Italy	3 13%	20 87%	1 4%	22 96%	0 0%	2 100%	2 25%	6 75%	6 11%	50 89%
Spain	0 0%	2 100%	1 50%	1 50%	0 0%	9 100%	1 25%	3 75%	2 12%	15 88%

A look at the last two columns of Table V shows in the first place that the majority of advertisements is partly in English in all the countries of our investigation. In the second place we see that there are no great differences between the five countries in the proportion of advertisements that were completely or partly in English. The percentage of advertisement that were completely in English varies between 11% and 21% and that of advertisements that were partly in English between 79% and 89%. In 2.1 we will deal with the advertisements that were completely in English and in 2.2. with those that were partly in English.

2.1. Advertisements that were completely in English

The highest percentage of advertisements that were completely in English were found in those countries that also have the highest percentage of advertisement pages in English (cf. Table IV and V): Germany, France and the Netherlands. This is in line with the hierarchy mentioned in 1.

The percentage of advertisements that were completely in English is the highest in glossy magazines in all countries except Spain and the lowest in family magazines in all countries except Germany. In the Netherlands and Germany, newspapers and news magazines almost have the same percentage of advertisements that are completely in English (around 10%), but this does not hold for France, Italy and Spain. For Germany and the Netherlands we have found a rather clear hierarchy between the different categories of magazines in the occurrence of advertisements that are completely in English: glossy >

newspapers=news magazines. This hierarchy, though, is not in line with (2). we will come back to that in 3. A reason why the data for France, Spain and Italy do not show a similar (or another) hierarchy could be due to the fact that advertisements (partly) in English are relatively scarce in those countries. As a consequence the percentages are based on very few data, sometimes only on 2 per cell. In fact the amount of data is insufficient to make any calculations, let alone statistics.

Table VI The number of advertisements that were completely in English (N) with the mean (M) of the number of words, the Standard Deviation (SD) and the range.

Categories Countries	Newspapers			News magazines			Family magazines			Glossy magazines		
	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range
The Netherlands	8	40	39.38 2-109	2	111	1 111-111	0	-	-	15	9	7.06 1-31
Germany	2	77	46.66 44-110	6	9	6.1 2-20	5	8	4.69 1-23	24	7	5.2 1-23
France	0	-	-	1	8	-	0	-	-	9	3	1.7 1-5
Italy	3	4	2.51	1	24	-	0	-	-	2	29	33.94 5-53
Spain	0	-	-	1	8	-	0	-	-	1	106	-

In order to get some insight into the size of the advertisements that were completely in English we have calculated the mean of words, the standard deviation and the range. Table VI shows the results.

From Table VI it appears that both the range and the standard deviations are very large. This implies that the size of advertisements that were completely in English varies enormously in all the countries and in all the categories that have more than 2 advertisements that were completely in English. We find the largest advertisements that were completely in English in Germany and in the Netherlands. The advertisement that consisted of 109 words in Dutch newspapers is one of Motorola (telephone) and the one that consisted of 111 words in news magazines is one of Jack Daniel's (Whisky). The German advertisement of 110 words in newsmagazines was one of Euromanagers.

It is striking that there seems to be no direct relationship between the frequency of occurrence of advertisements that are completely in English and the size of those advertisements. In Spain we found only two advertisements completely in English. The one in the Spanish glossy magazine, one by Sisley (clothes) consisted of 106 words. If comple-

tely English advertisements occur relatively frequently like in Dutch, German and French glossy magazines, in German news and family magazines and in Dutch newspapers and news magazines the advertisements are smaller (range about 1-30). We have the impression that when it is common in a country to advertise completely in English some (unwritten) rules are being followed: for example no advertisements that consist of more than 30 words. In countries in which one is not used to advertising completely in English such rules do not seem to exist. In connection with this it is interesting to mention that the only mistakes in English that we found in the advertisements that were completely in English occurred in Italy and Spain, the countries in which advertising in English occurs less frequently. The advertisement by Goose & Gander (clothes) in an Italian news magazine contained a serious grammatical mistake: *My obstinate pioneer stand close to the earth*. The advertisement mentioned above by Sisley in a Spanish glossy magazine also had a grammatical mistake *be my bestest friend*. Besides some parts of this advertisement were spelled phonetically *,Izit Breakfast in the makin'*, something that we did not find in any other advertisement that was completely in English. Certainly, this is not a mistake, but it shows that in countries in which it is not common to advertise in English, there are not yet rules with respect to the type of English that may occur.

The last question that we would like to deal with is about the products that were advertised completely in English. It appears that we only find advertisements that were completely in English for a limited group of products (in order of decreasing occurrence): clothes, perfumes/make-up/creams, cigarettes, alcoholic drinks. The majority of advertisements in glossy magazines deal with clothes (53% in The Netherlands, 67% in Germany, 78% in France and 100% in Spain), followed by advertisements for perfumes/make-up/creams (27% in The Netherlands, 25% in Germany, 11% in France, 100% in Italy). The major part of the advertisements in German family magazines are for cigarettes (80%). In the Spanish, Italian and German news magazines the English advertisements are mainly for clothes (respectively 100%, 100% and 66%) and in the Dutch news magazines for alcoholic drinks (100%). In the Dutch newspapers we find completely English advertisements for clothes and cigarettes. The Italian newspapers also contain many clothes advertisements. Only in German newspapers people frequently advertised completely in English for quite another product: training colleges.

It is hard to say whether we deal with global or with life-style advertising here (cf. section 0). With regard to clothes, perfumes, make-up and cigarettes global advertising seems to be most plausible: the same advertisement occurs in a number of countries. Undeniably, life-style also plays a role in the products that are advertised completely in English. Apart from English, these products are definitely associated with a British/American life-style. Sometimes the connection with life-style is difficult: why for example advertises Valentino (clothes) with *Very Valentino* in Italy and France?

It is interesting to note that we have frequently met in our data examples of advertisements that were exactly the same except for the language used in a number of countries.

Naf-Naf (clothes) advertises completely in English in the Netherlands, but translates the advertisement in France. Motorola advertises in the Netherlands completely in English, in Germany both partly in English and completely in German, but in France only in French and in Spain only in Spanish.

2.2. Advertisements that were partly in English

In 2.1 we have shown that the proportion of advertisements that were partly and completely in English is almost the same for all the countries. The percentage of advertisements that are partly in English varies between 79% and 89%. For glossy magazines this percentage is always lower. There are some exceptions to this in the countries and categories which have hardly any advertisements in English. This could be due to the fact that the data for the category in that country is scarce, sometimes there are only two occurrences per cell.

In order to get more insight into the size of the English part of the advertisements that were partly in English we have counted the number of English words and the number of native words and calculated the percentage of English words. Table VII shows the mean of the percentage of English words (M), the Standard Deviation (SD) and the range.

Table VII shows very high standard deviations and ranges. This means that the percentage of English words of an advertisement that was partly in English varies enormously. The advertisements with the largest English part occur in all countries in the glossy magazines. There are advertisements in which 91% of the words were English. These are

Table VII The number of advertisements that were partly in English (N), the mean of the percentage of English words and the range of those percentages.

Categories Countries	Newspapers			News magazines			Family magazines			Glossy magazines		
	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range
The Netherlands	85	15%	13.2 1-50%	18	19%	23.07 2-75%	4	8%	5.6 2-14%	30	28%	22.48 2-85%
Germany	20	8%	8.18 2-30%	49	11%	7.1 1-27%	16	29%	24.12 7-86%	56	27%	21.6 3-91%
France	8	8%	7.4 1-24%	3	6%	3.0 3-9%	3	12%	9.0 2-19%	25	22%	21.5 1-62%
Italy	21	6%	6.19 1-25%	22	18%	22.96 1-75%	2	20%	24.74 3-38%	6	40%	32.30% 2-75%
Spain	2	7%	1 7-7%	1	5%	-	9	7%	10.71 1-35%	3	41%	31.07 6-66%

usually advertisements that are completely in English, except for one important aspect: the places where the product can be bought and/or how more information about the product can be obtained.

A second remarkable point is that the mean of the percentage of English in the advertisements in glossy magazines in Spain and Italy is much higher than in the other countries, but this does not hold for the range. We found a similar pattern in advertisements that were completely in English (cf. 2.1). In countries in which advertisements in English hardly ever occur such as in Spain and Italy the English part of the advertisements is generally relatively large.

The differences in percentage of English words between the other three categories and between the countries do not show a very clear pattern. We find the second largest percentage of English in the Netherlands in newspapers and newsmagazines⁴ and in Germany, France, Italy and Spain in family magazines. These data are not at all in line with the hierarchy mentioned in 2 (newspapers > glossy > news magazines > family magazines). In section 3 we will come back to this.

The data of Table VII neither confirm the hierarchy mentioned in (1) (the Netherlands > Germany > France > Italy > Spain). In some categories the Dutch magazines have a higher percentage of English words and a higher range, for example in newspapers and in news magazines, but the differences usually are not very large, moreover they do not hold for other categories (for example family magazines and glossy magazines). We do not have an explanation for this. There seems to be a relationship between the comprehension of English in a country and the number of advertisements that are partly and completely in English, but not with the percentage of English words of those advertisements.

Table VII gives some insight into the percentage of English in the advertisements that were partly in English. However, it does not give insight into the actual size of the English part of the advertisements. In order to get some grip on this we have composed Table VIII which shows the number of advertisements that were partly in English (N) with the mean (M) of the number of words, the Standard Deviation (SD) and the range.

There are no great differences between the countries and the categories in the mean number of words. The Netherlands usually seem to have more English words than the other countries (news magazines, family magazines, glossy magazines), followed by Germany with a higher mean of English words in the newspapers.⁵

⁴ The Dutch news magazines differ quite a lot from each other in the mean (M) of the percentage of English words. This is 40% in *de Haagse Post*, 23% in *Vrij Nederland* and 14% in *Elsevier*.

⁵ There is a remarkable difference in the mean of the number of words between *Bild* (M=6), *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (M=14) and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (M=11).

Tabel VIII The number of advertisements that were partly in English (N) with the mean (M) of the number of words, the Standard Deviation (SD) and the range.

Categories Countries	Newspapers			News magazines			Family magazines			Glossy magazines		
	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range	N	M	SD range
The Netherlands	85	9	10.6 1-58	18	10	7.0 2-31	4	11	7.6 5-22	30	8	7.1 1-64
Germany	20	10	12.9 2-47	49	8	7.7 1-27	16	8	6.6 2-24	56	6	5.4 1-27
France	8	3	2.1 1-7	3	4	4.3 1-9	3	4	2.5 1-6	25	6	4.6 1-18
Italy	21	5	4.5 1-19	22	9	16.1 1-82	2	3	2-5	6	8	4.2 2-13
Spain	2	2	1 2-2	1	3	-	9	3	2.5 1-8	3	4	2.0 2-6

The data of Table VIII are in line with the hierarchy mentioned in 1 which hypothesized that in the Netherlands and Germany the number of English words would be greater than in France, Spain and Italy. The difference between the last three countries is not very clear, although it seems that the partly English advertisements in Italy consist of more English words than those in Spain and France (cf. newspapers, news magazines, glossy magazines).

The amount of English words is of course an important factor in determining the 'Englishity' of an advertisement, but the same goes for the positions of the English parts. In order to investigate this we distinguished three positions:

- a. English words in headlines;
- b. English words within the text;
- c. English words around the name of a product and/or its logo.

In a large number of advertisements we find the English words on two or three of the positions mentioned above. Therefore the percentages of the positions of the English words in a certain category and in a certain country in total are more than 100%. The vast majority of English words in advertisements that were partly in English also occur in the headlines. This holds for the glossy magazines of all countries, the family magazines of all countries except Spain, the news magazines of all countries except the Netherlands (range of percentage 50%-100%, mean 72%). There are in this respect no great differences between the four categories of magazines, but there is a difference

between the countries. In those countries that do not have many advertisements in English such as Spain and Italy, the English words mostly occur only in the headlines. It seems that if English is used in advertisements in countries in which it is not yet common, the headline is the place to put these English words in. From there on the English words can conquer other positions, such as around the logo and within a text.

It is striking that in all countries and in all categories English words are used to attract the possible reader of the advertisement. Although some of those headlines are extremely simple (*I love you* (Jewellery by Posy in France), *First* (perfume by Van Cleef in France), *Women to women* (Perfume by Donna Karan in France) *Club Europe* by British Airways in Italy), there are also more complex examples (*Global Information Solutions* by AT & T in Italy and *Artist X has a brush with life* by Boss in Germany). The question arises whether the target groups of the advertisement in all countries understand these headlines and have the right associations with it. We will investigate this in the second and third part of our project.

The last aspect that we would like to discuss here are the products that were partly advertised in English. For the glossy magazines the products that were advertised are the same as those in the advertisements that were completely in English: clothes (the Netherlands 33%, Germany 35%, France 32%, Spain 50% and Italy 50%) and perfumes/make-up/creams (the Netherlands 34%, Germany 51%, France 32% and Italy 33%). In the other three categories a variety of other products were advertised partly in English. No clear differences were found between the categories and the countries with respect to the products that were advertised partly in English. We have found: computers, cars, watches, theatre, audio/video equipment, cigarettes, travelling, alcoholic drinks, training colleges.

The rationale of those advertisements that were partly in English is certainly not global advertising. In that case the advertisement would have been written completely in English. Lexical gaps in a certain language is a serious reason for using English words in an advertisement. We see this especially in advertisements for computers, audio/video equipment, cars, travelling, but also life-style factors certainly play a role in using English words in these advertisements. English words like *picture control* and *turbo drive* in an advertisement for audio/video equipment are nearly unavoidable. This is in contrast to the headliner *Philips invents. Philips Invents for you* in the same advertisement.

Lexical gaps certainly are not the only reason for advertising partly in English as it appears from the fact that we find mistakes in the English parts. A Dutch photographer advertises with a variant of a well known film: *Two hundred fifty four weddings and a photographer* (instead of Two hundred and...) and in the last lines of an advertisement by Mexx (clothes) an important grammatical mistake has crept in: *If everything should be XX, the world would be a better place.*

3. Conclusions

In this paper we have shown that advertisements that are partly or completely in English occur in all the five countries of our survey (cf. Table V). However, the extent and the size of the occurrence of those advertisements differ from country to country. The hierarchy that was presented in 1.1 (the Netherlands > Germany > France > Italy > Spain) was roughly confirmed, but not in detail. The Netherlands, Germany and France showed the highest percentage of pages with advertisements in English compared to pages with advertisements (cf. Table IV). Furthermore those countries had the highest percentage of advertisements that were completely in English (cf. Table V) and contained the largest amount of words (cf. Tables VIII). The results of our study show that there is indeed a direct relationship between the 'supposed' comprehension of English and both the extent to which English advertisements occur and the number of English words that those advertisements contain.

The question why there is such a difference between the Netherlands and Germany on the one hand and France, Italy and Spain on the other is not easy to answer. Without a doubt cultural factors play an important part. The two former countries have for example lower scores for uncertainty avoidance (respectively 53 and 65) than the three latter (respectively 86, 75, 86) (Hofstede 1980). This could explain why a smaller percentage of the population of those countries comprehends English. High scores for uncertainty avoidance correlate with fear of foreigners and of foreign elements. English can be considered such a foreign element.

The hierarchy mentioned in 1.2 (newspapers > glossy magazines > news magazines > family magazines) was not at all confirmed in our study. There are not more advertisements in English in media for the higher social classes than in those for the lower classes and the 'Englishity' of the advertisements is for the former not higher than for the latter. Given the fact that in all the countries the glossy magazines have the largest amount of advertisements in English compared to the number of pages with advertisements on it (cf. Table IV), the largest amount of advertisements that were completely in English (cf. Table V) and the highest percentage of English words in advertisements that were partly in English (cf. Table VII) we might have to conclude that factors such as education and profession of the reader do not determine whether or not advertisements are written in English. It is the supposed glossy life-style of the reader that plays a key role in the use of English words in advertisements. Maybe this is a ray of hope for the opponents of Franglais, Italianglais, Espanglais, because a glossy life-style is restricted to a certain age group, i.e. to those people that are in their thirties and forties. It is plausible that English loses its attraction for this group when they grow older. On the basis of the glossy magazines data alone, we can therefore not conclude that English is infiltrating into the original language of the countries that were investigated.

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