

Globality and Locality in the Discourse of Advertising:
the Use and Function of Language Variation in TV Commercials

by

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Abstract

The main interest of this thesis lies in the analysis of television advertising with respect to language varieties, in this case regional dialects as well as foreign accents. With advertising being understood as a form of (public) communication, this thesis is part of sociolinguistics and contributes to the already existing research on advertising, which largely focuses on linguistic elements only. We encounter advertising everywhere in our daily lives, but very often do not perceive it consciously. The process of globalization has certainly led to a greater mobility on the part of the individual and a standardization of communication strategies, but it has also brought about a greater desire for localization, i.e. for the purpose of identity construction, which can be expressed through language use. Spaces or places and an individual's language are closely intertwined. The first part of this thesis addresses the theoretical framework and methodological approach; the second part comprises the analyses of the individual advertisements. The approach to analyze the advertisement texts is a discourse-analytic one and encompasses the different levels of each text as well as the frames it is embedded in. I also take into consideration the text-image relation. This thesis covers two major questions: Why are regional dialects and foreign accents used in television advertising and how does the power of images support or counteract the associations with the language variety in question? I argue that the use of different language varieties calls attention to language contact phenomena—phenomena promoted by globalization processes—and social de-/reterritorialization (Jaquemet, 2005). Despite giving the appearance of authenticity, and with the clear intention to reduce the complexity of the advertisement story, all advertisements make use of stereotypes (e.g. regarding geographic regions, ethnic groups or language). My thesis shows how society and advertising mutually influence each other.

Keywords: advertising, language variety, dialect, accent, globalization, localization, discourse analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

Globalization has had, and still has, a considerable impact on many spheres of people's lives: "Globalisierung bedeutet [...] einen tiefgreifenden Wandel im Verhältnis von Raum und Gesellschaft" (Noller, 2000:21) and an "Intensivierung und Verdichtung weltweiter sozialer Beziehungen" (Schroer, 2006:252). At the same time, it has to be emphasized that the "space of communication is completely deterritorialized" (Hardt & Negri, 2000:346f.), which brings me to giving a few thoughts on the relation between globalization, mass media, and ultimately localization. The boundaries of time and place no longer exist: "Ours is a brand new world of allatoceness. 'Time' has ceased, 'space' has vanished. We now live in a global village ... a simultaneous happening" (McLuhan & Fiore, 1967:63).¹ The new media allow for physical situatedness in one place (locality) and simultaneous presence in other spaces via internet, television or mobile phones (globality)—sometimes even all at the same time. The question now is, how this mobility in a number of different spaces (in addition to the global/standardized distribution of knowledge and information) affects an individual's identification with particular local places and how these conditions affect their language use.

In her article, Johnstone (2010) reflects upon how, even in the time of globalization and "homogenization", regional dialects and foreign accents continue to be socially relevant (also by serving as a source of identification with the local place) and worth investigating by researchers.² Her article shows that language variation is still of great importance, hence I choose to study exactly this in my paper. What is more, not only is it relevant to look at what effects globalization has on local movements and practices, but also how "local movements are made global" (Pennycook, 2010a:4), e.g. by considering that we live in an age of mass media, in which local information can be distributed via the World Wide Web and retrieved from every place on earth, be it news, films, or even advertising.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2007) argue that "the linguistic and the social should not be seen as independent entities" (497)—which inspired me to choose a transdisciplinary topic for my thesis. Especially advertisements struck me as worth investigating because they are one major form of communication in which (very often) culture and language are represented and reflected and which gain, as a result of globalization, increasing importance through their distribution in mass media. Until recently, advertising has not been investigated

¹ Blommært (2003) argues that globalization is in no way a universal phenomenon (cf. p.611), but rather it concerns what is perceived of as the Western countries.

² It is assumed that with globalization, the "use" of accents increases, whereas the number of people speaking dialects is usually said to decrease.

much with respect to language variations—by which I here mean regional dialects and foreign accents—, although it “offers textbook examples of how local linguistic forms are turned into symbolic capital in the authentication of products or geographical regions” (Androutsopoulos 2009:744). In this paper, I intend to make a contribution to fill this gap that has already been remarked by several researchers (Androutsopoulos, 2009; Birch & McPhail, 1997; Mai & Hintermeier, 2011), by looking at television advertisements. Television has been preferred over other media because vernacular speech is said to be a predominantly oral form of communication (cf. Eßer, 1983:38) and because the multimodality of television advertisements, especially with regard to imagery, will prove fruitful for the investigation with respect to the portrayal of globality or locality.

What is particular about advertising is its ubiquity: “In contemporary capitalist society, advertising is everywhere. We cannot walk down the street, shop, watch television, go through our mail, read a newspaper or take a train without encountering it. [...] advertising is always with us” (Cook, 1992:13). This brings us to assume that it “can tell us a good deal about our own society and our own psychology” (Cook, 1992:5). Paradoxically enough, “[w]e all assume we’re not affected in the slightest by advertising. We can see through those ploys, we tell ourselves; it’s everyone else—the audience, the unwashed masses who are vulnerable” (Perloff, 2010:319). In fact, however, we all are “vulnerable” and respond to advertising in one way or the other, whether consciously or subconsciously.

When dealing with situations in which different language variations are employed, it is relevant to look at the “Bedeutung, welche die Wahl einer Sprachform statt einer anderen für spezifische Gruppen von Sprechern hat und welche Rolle die Wahl für die Bedeutungskonstitution in einer konkreten Kommunikationssituation spielt” (Gumperz, 1994:613). As Bell (1984) showed, different language styles and variations can be employed to target a particular audience and evoke a desired behavior—especially in the field of advertising. This is the reason why I will try to analyze how advertisers play with people’s preconceptions, but also prejudices related to language variations, to gain their attention, interest, and ultimately their “trust” (which convinces them to purchase the product).

I take a discourse-analytic approach to investigate the data at hand, considering the different intratextual aspects of the advertisement texts as well as the frames in which they are embedded. My hypothesis is that the use of language variations as well as the mixing and switching between them in advertising is one of the many results of the effects of globalization on language and that therefore, advertising, more or less directly, gives attention to the phenomena of globality and locality. What is more, companies employ language variations to

appeal to the audience to purchase the product by drawing on their knowledge, attitudes and affections towards the language variation or standard in question. In the following, I will provide preliminary remarks to the larger framework of this paper, with regard to global and local processes, the effects of these processes on identity and language practices as well as technical innovations which resulted in a change of interpersonal communication. The next section will deal with the two language variations in question and what they entail, when they are used, and possible associations with them. I will briefly address the difference between interpersonal and mass communication before turning to a detailed description of advertising and research which has already been conducted on the topic of language in advertising. Then follow the analyses of the different advertisement texts and finally, I will provide concluding reflections and impulses for further research.

2. PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK

2.1 Positioning: Sociolinguistics

The subject matter of sociolinguistic research are the interactions between culture,³ society and language, including its variations. Gumperz (1994) defines the approach of sociolinguistics as an “unmittelbare Beobachtung und Analyse der alltäglichen Kommunikationspraxis menschlicher Populationen” (612). This branch of research “claims to contribute to an understanding of society through an understanding of language” (Blommært, 2003:613). One very important field of research is “die Frage nach den sozialen, situativen und funktionalen Bedingungen für die Wahl einer dialektalen oder mehr oder weniger hochsprachlichen Sprachform” (Linke et al., 2004:359), which I am intending to examine in this paper on the basis of an everyday form of communication, advertising. What makes sociolinguistic research so interesting and what I see as the rationale of this paper is the fact that linguistic reality is “ein dynamisches Neben-einander und Ineinander regional, sozial, [...] oder anderweitig bedingter Sprachformen” (Linke et al., 2004:337), which becomes evident in my data and is increased by processes of globalization. However, one easily falls into the trap of overgeneralization by “simply projecting locally valid functions onto the ways of speaking of people who are involved in transnational flows” (Blommært, 2003:615f.). This will be one major difficulty in my analysis, in which I will be connecting the use of language variations to aspects of globality or locality by looking at language as well as images in use.

2.2 Globality and Locality

As mentioned before, the boundaries of time and place no longer exist. Especially the new media allow for physical situatedness in one place and simultaneous presence in other spaces via internet, television or mobile phones—sometimes even all at the same time. The question now is, if this mobility (in addition to the global/standardized distribution of knowledge and information) leads to a blending of cultures, values and belief-systems, as well as a different use of the individual’s languages, respectively language variations. In spite of the geographical closeness of the European countries, many cultures differ significantly in their preference of values (cf. Hofstede, 2001), for example, or in their valuation of dialects. It can certainly

³ For this paper, ‘culture’ is defined for an individual as having been socialized in a particular group with a loose set of beliefs, values and shared knowledge about in- and out-group members, expressing these attributes through behavior during interactions with others and thereby constituting culture anew for every interpersonal encounter.

be observed that the younger generation—the so-called digital natives—spends more time with new media and thus have a different relation to places and spaces, simply because they do not know it any differently and it is normal for them.⁴ In contrast to the notion of globalization, we also have the “countermovement” of localization. This term is used to describe a retreat from the fast moving globalized life and a return to the values and customs of one’s home, for example the revivification of traditions in the form of a local dialect. A term describing a combination of both movements is *glocalization*. Undoubtedly, nowadays the “individual becomes a participant in a number of different areas—at a local and supra-local level” (Mæhlum, 2009:29). For Mæhlum, *glocalization* refers “to the tension between the local on the one hand, and the global on the other” (Mæhlum, 2009:28), which sounds rather negative on the first encounter. But a tension always has the potential to create something new or to further develop existing relations, as for example intercultural encounters or language contact phenomena.

Due to globalization, the notion of communication has changed: “In physischer Nähe zu anderen zu leben bedeutet nicht länger, notwendigerweise in ein wechselseitig abhängiges Kommunikationssystem eingebunden zu sein; umgekehrt heißt von anderen weit entfernt zu leben nicht mehr unbedingt, kommunikativ entfernt zu sein” (Morley, 1997:19). This new perception of proximity and distance not only applies to communication within a country or culture, but also to interactions across these boundaries and thus I think it is safe to say that globalization has facilitated communication in this respect and intercultural and/or multilingual interactions have become a common phenomenon. Along with the change in communication, the significance of language needs to be reconsidered:

“The globalized new economy values language [...] as a technical skill which facilitates [...] communication on several levels and] as a mark of authenticity [...]; in some ways these are merely two sides of the same coin, two ways of constructing who gets to define what counts as authentic and of putting into play the value of authenticity as a commodity in a globalized market.” (Heller, 2007:543)

To understand how this change came about, we need to start looking at the relation between language and society on a much smaller scale, namely already on the level of language varieties (cf. Blommært, 2003:608) because “[t]he new economy is [...] globalized, such that not

⁴ Although I cannot go deeper into the matter in this paper, it would be interesting to investigate in how far different social groups perceive themselves as belonging to an ethnographic culture, a European culture, or a global culture and how their media reception influences their interactional behavior and language use, thereby shaping their identity.

only is communication important, it also entails dealing with linguistic variety in all its many manifestations” (Heller, 2007:540).

2.3 Society and Identity

In order to make the connection from the debate about globalization to its effects on society, I will focus on the works by Jaquemet (2005) and Pennycook (2010, 2012), who both studied the influence of globalization on languages and language use and came to the conclusion that, contrary to established opinions, the effects should be regarded as positive for society.

Jaquemet (2005) takes a positive approach to the effects of cultural globalization on language and communicative environments—as opposed to many other linguists who were mainly concerned with linguistic imperialism, disorder and language death. By looking at ethnographic evidence from the Adriatic region, Jaquemet intends to reveal the manifestation of “global cultural flows” (2005:267) in “xenoglossic becoming, transidiomatic mixing, and communicative recombinations” (2005:274) and demands a new view on language. Jaquemet admits that language contact, borrowing and mixing have always taken place. What has changed in recent years is “the extraordinary simultaneity and co-presence of these languages produced through a multiplicity of communicative channels, from face-to-face to mass media” (2005:271), for which advertising is one example. Although I do not consider his point of view to be universally valid, he does take a challenging stand which is worth examining further and I will try to address it in the analyses of the television commercials. He states that nowadays, a language can no longer be ascribed to one people, one culture and one place only, but a deterritorialization has taken place which dissolves national boundaries. With people and communication technologies becoming more and more mobile (internet, mobile phones etc.), new communicative practices emerge. What is more, Jaquemet claims that a person’s “deterritorialized social identity [...] finds its expression in the [...] reconstitution of local social positionings within global cultural flows” (2005:262f.)—that is, a process of ‘re-territorialization’. This process has significant social implications, ranging from an “ideological hardening of the social boundaries” (2005:263), underlining the clear definition of in- and out-group, to a recombination of identities “based on multi-presence [in different sites and networks], multilingualism, and decentered political/social engagements” (2005:264). This de- and reterritorialization leads to a new form of interaction among groups of people which Jaquemet terms *transidiomatic*. A first step to a practice-oriented, interactional approach to communication was made by Foucault and Bourdieu and the “notion of *communicative prac-*

tice” (Jaquemet, 2005:264). Jaquemet takes their idea of communicative practice as a “triangulation of linguistic activities, indexicality, and semiotic codes” (2005:264) and applies it to his modern view of deterritorialized, transnational groups, calling it “*transidiomatic practice*” (2005:264; italics in the original).⁵ It describes “the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant” (2005:264f.), by mixing, translating or creolizing them.⁶

The implications of this very optimistic approach to cultural globalization entail “a serious reconceptualization of the connection between communication and shared knowledge. [...] The identification and establishment of common ground itself must be understood as a major challenge in the process of communication” (Jaquemet, 2005:273). With this statement, Jaquemet follows the more recent scientific understanding that shared knowledge is nothing that is inherited, but it has to be established anew in every interaction among the interlocutors:

“The ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use, are historically and culturally specific [...] If our knowledge of the world, our common ways of understanding it, is not derived from the nature of the world as it really is, where does it come from? The social constructionist answer is that people construct it between them. It is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated.” (Burr, 1995:3)

Pennycook equally pleads for a new view on language. He promotes the notion of language as a local practice by using the linguistic landscape of the city and hip hop as an example. “The local” (Pennycook, 2010a:9) is a constituent part of language practice. In this regard, Pennycook created the term *metrolinguism*, which is:

“the way in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language; it does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality and geography, but rather seeks to explore the contingencies of these categories; its focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction.” (85)

It can be deduced from this statement that he has a translingual model of language in mind that involves the specific languages people draw on, the different aspects of interaction and the discourses, beliefs and perceptions connected to a particular language use (cf. Pennycook,

⁵ By *idiomatic* Jaquemet is referring to the “‘usual way in which the words of a particular language are joined together to express thought’ (Oxford English Dictionary)” (265).

⁶ As examples for transidiomatic environment he mentions call centers and international companies, but the home may just as well belong to these environments as well, thanks to electronic technologies and devices.

2008:30.6).

In contrast to Jaquemet, who speaks of individuals possessing a “deterritorialized social identity” (2005:262) with a global perspective, Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver underline the importance of national identity, thereby tying individuals to a particular place: “National identity is constructed by each individual member and by the group as a whole; it changes over time as events and experiences are reworked, building and updating perceptions of the community. [...] National identities give people meaning in their lives, and are essential for maintaining self-respect, belonging and a sense of security” (2010:201). From my point of view, people have more than one fixed identity; they have “hybrid identities” (McMains, 2003:120). I would argue that Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver and Jaquemet are all right: individuals certainly do have a national identity, but it is not their only one. They may also have one connected to religion, another language or their job. Having multiple identities means being a member in multiple subcultures, a concept which is called “transculturality” (cf. Welsch, 2005).

What has to be kept in mind is that there is always an underlying ethnocentrism that could be described as a pair of cultural glasses through which a person perceives other people and cultures: “The farther away the environment and the more unlike his own, the more the observer will see it in terms of stereotype” (Whyte, 1978:365). This statement still holds true today, despite possible mixings of different cultures—there is always a distinction of what is part of the own cultural identity and what is not. As we will see later in the analysis, the same applies for different language groups (cf. Northern German/Bavarian in the Flensburger Weizen spot). Hofstede (2010) transfers this social ethnocentrism to business: “if there is one aspect of business that is culture-dependent, it is consumer behavior” (xiv). De Mooij (2010) speaks in favor of reflecting culture and cultural practices in advertising because even though products may be global, people are not. This explains why standardized advertising is often not as successful as adapted advertising: “Universals are always formulated in abstract terms, like happiness or love. But what makes people happy or how they express love varies not only by individual but even more by culture” (De Mooij, 2010:49). As for the commercials I intend to examine it can be said that they are not part of standardized advertising, but are focused on one national market.

In the past years, “language contact phenomena in advertising [...] have come to be] considered as powerful (because mass-mediated) tools in the construction of social identity, be it national, racial, or class identity” (Piller, 2003:173). In this light, I would like to investi-

gate the possibilities and advantages of using language varieties or a variation of them in the paper at hand.

2.4 Media and Technology

In the following, I provide an insight into the role of present-day technology and media and explain my reasons for choosing television advertisements.

Analogously to the omnipresence of globalization and the ubiquity of advertising I have mentioned earlier, there is an “inconspicuous omnipresence of the technical” (Bausinger, 1984:346). Communication, both personal as well as via media, has been liberated from the constraints of geography (cf. Morley, 1997:17), with the effect that what has always been distant seems near. Already in 1933, Arnheim described the television as “a means of transportation for the mind“ (1979 [1933]:164).

The role of communication, however, lies still in the “beständigen Ausformung, Aufrechterhaltung, Neuschaffung und Veränderung [... von] Entitäten” (Morley, 1997:23), e.g. stereotypes or speech communities. Researchers found out that it is fairly easy to strengthen already existing perceptions and attitudes with respect to a certain issue, but rather close to impossible to turn them around (cf. Maletzke, 1996:124). One very important and influential means to do this is the television, “zum einen, weil dieses Medium dem Zuschauer suggeriert, Augenzeuge zu sein, zum anderen, weil das Fernsehen in vielen Ländern von einem großen Teil der Bevölkerung extensiv genutzt wird“ (Maletzke, 1996:121).

Consequently, we have to ask what the relationship between television and reality looks like. Researchers have come to distinguish between two realities: “Die erste Wirklichkeit ist die durch direkte persönliche Erfahrung erlebte Umwelt (Erfahrungsumwelt). Die zweite Wirklichkeit ist die durch Medien vermittelte Umwelt (Medienumwelt)” (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:559)—the second one becoming more and more dominant. This crossing of time and space boundaries has positive and negative effects on people: the accumulation and broadening of knowledge and insights (cf. Maletzke, 1996:121) is certainly desirable, but at the same time people are confronted with ready-made facts, which may include stereotypes and prejudices and are not always able or even willing to verify or falsify presented opinions for themselves. Neither validity nor reliability of presented information are reflected or questioned because very often mass media are simply used as “Sekundärbeschäftigung” (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:577), which means they are not given a person’s full attention and concentration.

In a time in which the World Wide Web is the most frequently used medium and has integrated other communication channels, such as radio or television (in the form of live-streams, podcasts or media libraries), the importance of television, and therefore the impact television and its content, e.g. television advertising, has on people, could be contested. Kunczik and Zipfel (2005:59), however, are of the opinion that a television commercial is indispensable for a brand's publicity. I agree with this opinion, especially because advertisements which have been produced for the transmission on television are re-used on the company's own website and placed on different others.

After this lead-in about the relationship between language and communication under the influence of large-scale phenomena, to which I will return again later in the discourse analyses, the subsequent section provides more detailed information about different types of communication.

3. COMMUNICATION

Communication can take place on several levels: in a narrow apprehension of the term, i.e. on an interpersonal level, or in a broader apprehension, i.e. between institutions and individuals/groups. For my research, a broad perception is necessary. In order to communicate with one another, the participants need to engage in an interaction, which is why the terms *communication* and *interaction* are synonyms in Schugk's (2004:3) understanding. I am cautious in comparing these two terms because in the case of companies communicating with their potential target audience via television advertisements, there is no interaction in the traditional sense, since the companies are not receiving an immediate reaction from the addressees; nevertheless, the purchasing behavior could be interpreted as a reaction.

One aspect communicators need to consider while creating the advertising text and the message related to it is the following: "bei der Encodierung von Botschaften [ist] eine situationsadäquate Form zu wählen, d.h. kommunikative Kompetenz muss vorhanden sein (im verbalen Bereich geht es hier z.B. um die Entscheidung zwischen Hochsprache und Dialekt, Sprache in Andeutungen usw.)" (Kunczik & Zipfel, 2005:46). This is relevant for my research because I will look at how noticeable the language variety is, whether it is easily comprehensible and how meaningful its usage is in the context of the advertisement. Unlike interpersonal communication, mass communication is usually described as being a one-way process and missing feedback from the part of the receiver (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996; Maletzke, 1963; Schugk, 2004). At this point, it is useful to define what mass communication actually is. It is

"jene Form der Kommunikation, bei der Aussagen öffentlich (also ohne begrenzte und personell definierte Empfängerschaft) durch technische Verbreitungsmittel (Medien) indirekt (also bei räumlicher oder zeitlicher oder raumzeitlicher Distanz zwischen den Kommunikationspartner) und einseitig (also ohne Rollenwechsel zwischen Aussagendem und Aufnehmendem) an ein disperses Publikum vermittelt werden." (Maletzke, 1963:32)

What follows this conception is that communication cannot take place if the receiver does not have the means, i.e. technical device(s), to receive the message (cf. Schugk, 2004:7). Kroeber-Riel and Weinberg (1996) have listed some differences between personal and mass communication. What researchers often forget to mention is that even though mass media have the potential to reach a large audience, this said audience has the possibility and power to select the input, especially considering the information overload, which mass media have generated.

Merkmale	Persönliche Kommunikation	Massenkommunikation
Umfang des Empfängerkreises	gering	groß
Homogenität des Empfängerkreises	groß	gering
Kontaktfrequenz	groß	gering
Kontaktintensität	groß	gering
Distanz Sender-Empfänger	gering	groß
Rückkopplung Empfänger-Sender	groß	gering

Table 1 *Differences between personal and mass communication (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:492)*

To make the connection to my topic, I now give a few thoughts to the medium television and how it can influence the recipient. Although the world wide web may have surpassed television by now, television has for a long time been the most influential mass medium in Germany: “Das Fernsehen ist zum Leitmedium des Massenkommunikation geworden. Der größte Teil des täglichen Medienkonsums (Primärkonsums) entfällt auf das Fernsehen: Jeder Bundesbürger sieht im Durchschnitt über zwei Stunden fern” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:4). Of all the ways in which television can influence its audience—and that holds true for other mass media, too—the major and most common one is the confirmation and reinforcement of existing opinions (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:571). Schugk (2004) comes to the same conclusion:

“Die modernen Massenmedien spielen auch bei der Vermittlung von Kenntnissen über fremde Kulturen eine zentrale Rolle. Insbesondere das Fernsehen ist es, welches mit seinem umfassenden Aussagenangebot einen großen Teil der Images und Stereotypen über fremde Kulturen maßgeblich prägt. Diese Wichtigkeit des Fernsehens lässt sich nicht zuletzt auf die stark visuelle Ausrichtung des Mediums zurückführen.” (66)

When Schugk speaks of “fremd”, I thereby understand not only foreign cultures, that are distant to an individual’s own culture, but also, and more generally, cultures that are unknown to them. When talking about stereotypes, what we usually mean are hetero-stereotypes, i.e. other-ascription (as opposed to auto-stereotypes, meaning self-description). Stereotypes are acquired during the process of socialization (through family, friends, institutions, media) and are a means of reducing complex realities, thus relieving the individual psychologically (cf. Schugk, 2004:63). Taken by itself, a stereo-type is nothing fundamentally negative,⁷ unfortunately, very often it turns out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy because the individual never actually came in contact with the other culture themselves and do not reflect that what they

⁷ Schugk is of the opinion that stereotypes contain a true core at the very least or are even highly applicable (cf. 2004:68).

are being presented is also another individual's subjective view: "es sei eben gerade das Bewegtbild, das den unreflektierten, stereotypisierenden Art der Informationsverarbeitung Vorschub leiste, indem es wie kein andres Kommunikations-medium den Rezipienten zu geistiger Passivität verleihe" (Frey, 1999:21). How stereotypically images are used in television advertising will be another important part of my data analysis.

Language varieties, too, can be marked with stereotypes, which will be addressed again later when looking at the language varieties in each television advertisement. But first, the following section serves to familiarize the reader with definitions and characteristics of dialects and foreign accents in particular.

4. LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE VARIETIES

I align myself with other researchers (e.g. Pennycook 2010a:2), who argue that language is a social activity, not merely a system. Language more than simply a string of words, particularly in communication and interaction with others. This means that an individual, consciously or subconsciously, makes choices about linguistic variables during the interaction with another person to convey a certain meaning. Beside pure information, language also conveys culture-specific knowledge and values, for example. In the case of advertising, foreign languages or particular dialects are employed to provoke associations and feelings with the addressees which convince them of the quality of the product and prompt them to buy it. The language varieties important for my undertaking are limited to (regional) dialects and foreign accents.⁸ In this part I provide definitions of the terms dialect and accent, look at different traits attributed to them as well as their role in today's everyday interaction and consider in how far they (can) serve as a source for identification.

Globalization and migration have even increased this variation to the end that a large number of language varieties can be found in a comparatively small space (cf. Boyd & Fraurud, 2009:687). Another effect of the increased mobility is "daß der einzelne seine kommunikative Kompetenz erheblich vergrößern mußte" (Eßer, 1983:31). Especially in the professional realm, the mastery of at least one foreign language is expected. We must not forget at this point, however, that each language and each variety is attributed a certain value: "In other words, a condition of hegemony develops in a particular market, regardless of whether it is a local or global market, whereby one variety attains a certain social authority, legitimacy and prestige, while other varieties are situated lower in the hierarchy" (Mæhlum, 2009:21).⁹

Kelly-Holmes (2005) calls the use of foreign languages in advertisements "fake multilingualism" (184; based on Haarmann's idea of "impersonal bilingualism" (1989)) because, in her opinion, the portrayed multilingualism is not an authentic reflection of everyday language use in a multilingual society, but rather a construct employed by companies to attract more attention and thus achieve greater economic success. If we transfer Kelly-Holmes' assumption to the use of language varieties, we have to acknowledge that it is a reflection of everyday language use in society, although they might not be used as much as shown in a compact advertisement. As Gumperz put it: variability is fundamental in communication (cf.

⁸ Language varieties are not restricted to dialects and accents, but also include register (cf. Berruto, 2009) but these do not play a role here.

⁹ An example for this hierarchy is the high value of so-called "BBC-English" and the lesser valued Midlands English (cf. Coupland & Bishop, 2007:80).

1994:613).

So how do we define a language variety? “Sehr oft handelt es sich dabei um phonologisch-phonetische Eigenschaften, um Besonderheiten des Wortschatzes und um spezifische Formen kommunikativen (Sprach-)Handelns (also z.B. des Gesprächsverhaltens); aber auch die syntaktische und morphologische Ebene der Sprache können relevante Unterschiede aufweisen” (Linke et al., 2004:345).¹⁰ As already mentioned, what is generally perceived as the standard of a particular language, is also simply one variety. It is, however, the “als überregionales Verständnismittel legitimierte und institutionalisierte Variante einer Sprachgemeinschaft. [...] Der Standard wird in den Schulen gelehrt, sein Gebrauch verschafft in der Regel Prestige und begünstigt den Erwerb sozialer Privilegien” (Dittmar, 1973:134). This high social value judgment of the standard Dittmar refers to here, is opposed to the generally lesser valued and more prejudiced perception of dialects: “Accented speakers are frequently rated to be from a lower social class” (Birch & McPhail, 1997:95) or the dialect is perceived as ordinary, even vulgar (cf. Eßer, 1983:32).

The linguistic landscape of a nation, or in some cases even beyond state borders, always consists of a number of different varieties. Berruto (2009) describes German as a “pluricentric language” (228): the German language has an “unmarked form (general German), nationally marked forms (e.g., Austrian German), regionally marked forms (e.g., Northern Germany), and forms marked sub-regionally by the area of a single state (*bayrisch* referring to Bavaria) or the region of a dialect (*schwäbisch* ‘Swabian’)” (Ammon, 2003:5; italics in the original). Most of the German speaking population is switching between these different forms, also called codes.¹¹ One could therefore describe all people who speak a regional dialect and the standard variety as being bilingual, even though in a diglossic sense. The underlying definition of a dialect in this paper follows the understanding prevalent on the European continent, according to which linguists define *dialect* “in the traditional meaning of ‘geolect’ – that is, as a variety that has a specific geographical basis. A dialect is thus to be understood as a language system that is found within local, regional or otherwise defined territorial boundaries” (Mæhlum, 2009:23).¹² Eßer (1983) lists several arguments because of which a dialect is to be regarded as “deficient” (55) in contrast to the standard:

“1. Dem Dialekt als schichtspezifischem Statussymbol eignet ein geringer Prestigewert.

2. Der Dialekt selbst ist ein in zweierlei Hinsicht beschränktes Sprachsystem:

¹⁰ See also Berruto (2009) and Auer (1989).

¹¹ See Gumperz (1994:623) for an explanation of situational and metaphorical code-switching.

¹² For information on the different apprehensions to the term *dialect* in German and Anglo-Saxon linguistics, see Berruto (2009:230) and Anders (2010:17).

- a. er ist in seiner kommunikativen Reichweite räumlich begrenzt,
- b. er kann weite Bereiche des Lexikons, die dem Hochdeutschen zur Verfügung stehen und die zur Orientierung in einer modernen Gesellschaft notwendig sind, nicht abdenken.” (Eßer, 1983: 130f.)

Although Eßer certainly has a point, one also needs to consider the positive aspects, namely that a dialect very often serves as a source for identification and that there is a highly emotional attachment to the dialect (cf. Henn-Memmesheimer, 1989:40): “Es gibt Gegenden – vor allem den alemannischen und bayerischen Raum – , wo der Dialekt die hauptsächlich verwendete Sprachvarietät ist. Er ist Alltagssprache der gesamten Gemeinschaft, alle gesellschaftlichen Gruppen verwenden ihn. Er wird so positiv bewertet, daß Nichtdialektsprecher Schwierigkeiten haben, sich zu integrieren” (Henn, 1989:41). One could therefore say that Bavarian, just as any other dialect, forms as subculture. During the identification process, an inevitable distinction between the in-group and the out-group takes place: “So trägt der Dialekt dazu bei, ein Gruppen-identitätsbewußtsein zu schaffen” (Eßer, 1983:126) as well as solidarity among the in-group members. Due to the individual’s strong bond to their own dialect, they may have an aversion to other dialects, e.g. to their sound, the people who speak them or what is generally attributed to them.

Commonly, the use of dialects is said to have decreased since the era of industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century. However, Eßer (1983) has noticed a renaissance of dialect use in the past decades, which sheds light on the perception of standard versus dialects in a time of advancing globalization: “nämlich als Gegensatz von Ratio und Emotion, von Technik und Natur” (Eßer, 1983:66). More explicitly, the dialect use functions “als Protestmittel und Verteidigungsform gegen die Entfremdungstendenzen in einer technisierten, außengesteuerten und unüberschaubar gewordenen sozialen Realität” (Eßer, 1983:65), which is affected by rapid changes in all areas of life. Furthermore, “erfährt der Dialekt heute in vielen Regionen eine Aufwertung als gefühlsnahes, heimatverwurzeltes und damit regionale Identität stiftendes Ausdrucksmittel, was sich z.B. in der vermehrten Verwendung dialektaler Formen in ursprünglich rein standardsprachlichen Textsorten wie Radionachrichten, Heiratsanzeigen, Werbeanzeigen etc. zeigt” (Linke et al., 2004:359). Yet, in other cases, some people have rediscovered the dialect more as an “interessantes exotisches Sprachfossil” (Eßer, 1983:67) than as a form of communication with personal significance. For Johnstone (2010) it is clear that the “renewed attention to the local is not a nostalgic response to globalization but an inevitable result of globalization” (387) which only became possible thanks to mobility, new communication technologies and the mass media (cf. p.386, 401).

Another language variety, which often appears in advertisements is the foreign accent. What is meant by a non-native speaker's accent is the "[i]diosyncratic pronunciation of a foreign language, especially due to the articulatory or phonotactic characteristics of one's native language" (Bussmann 1996:3) and it belongs to the paraverbal features of a message (cf. Mai et al., 2009:257). Kolly (2013:40) comes to the conclusion that native speakers (NSs) are very sensitive when it comes to listening to a foreign accent; occasionally it goes so far as that what is said can only be understood "mit zusätzlichem kognitiven Aufwand" (Mai et al., 2009:257). It is therefore not recommended to use a "broad" accent or dialect for advertising purposes because the audience might direct their attention to other information which is easier accessible.¹³

In their study on the effect of accents in advertising, Mai et al. (2009) found out that the participants listening to advertisements extrapolated the social, ethnic and geographic background from the speaker's accent (p. 258). In the course of this extrapolation, the speaker is socially devaluated because the foreign accent activates stereo-types connected to the language (cf. Mai et al., 2009:257), but on the other hand, it also activates the so-called country-of-origin effect, which is an advertising term referring to a country's ascribed competence in producing a particular product, e.g. Italy and pasta. What has yet to be confirmed, is, for example, "ob der französische Akzent auch die sprichwörtliche 'französische Lebensfreude' und damit eine positives 'Live-in-Image' transportieren kann" (Mai et al., 2009:263).¹⁴ This is one aspect I would like to come back to when analyzing the Schöffhofer beer advertisement (cf. pp.32-36).

When listening to a person speaking in a particular language variety, the viewer automatically attributes their conceptions, stereotypes, prejudices or expectations regarding this variety—developed through socialization and experience—to the spokes-person. Based on all these characteristics, the viewer either forms a positive or negative attitude towards the spokesperson, and therefore also to the advertised product. As could be suspected, "people tend to be more persuaded by spokespersons who are considered to be homophilous, i.e., similar to themselves" (Birch & McPhail, 1997:98). People's knowledge about and their attitude towards particular dialects is investigated in perceptual dialectology (e.g. Beinhoff, 2013; Hundt & Anders, 2009), which inquires after "allgemein emotionalen Kennzeichnungen", "Kennzeichnungen der Sprache der Sprecher" and the "Beschreibung von einzelnen Di-

¹³ What is more, a "broad" language variety is also not necessary because few features suffice to identify a speaker regionally or ethnically with the help of personal experiences or knowledge (cf. Purnell et al., 1999).

¹⁴ For a similar understanding of the effect of accents on an audience see Birch & McPhail (1997:91f.).

alektmerkmalen” (Hundt & Anders, 2009:499).

Having already addressed the importance of language choice and the choice of individual language varieties in advertising, I will now provide information about other important aspects of advertising, such as images or storytelling, and give an overview of the research that has already been conducted on language in advertising.

5. ADVERTISING

5.1 Characteristics

Stöckl (2004) defines an advertisement as a standardized text with relatively stable speech acts (cf. p.311f.): 1) naming, presenting, and positively evaluating a product, 2) describing the effects of the product, 3) portraying and positively evaluating the company, and 4) prompting the customer to buy and test the product.¹⁵ These speech acts are disguised in such a way that the audience does not realize they are being influenced. In other words: “*Man will manipulieren, aber nicht in den Ruf des Manipulierers kommen*” (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:581; italics in the original). Basically, advertisers manipulate the audience “indem sie Spontaneität und Authentizität vorspiegeln sowie den Eindruck von Ehrlichkeit und Vertrautheit entstehen lassen” (Polajnar Lenarčič, 2012:143f.). Schulze (2002) compared advertising to a staging (cf. p.975), which he characterizes as follows:

“Zentrales Element jeder Inszenierung ist die soziale Konstruktion semantischer Besonderheit. Diese besteht aus mehreren Komponenten: in der Außergewöhnlichkeit der verwendeten *Zeichen* [...]; in der Wichtigkeit der mit den Zeichen verbundenen *Bedeutungen* [...]; im *Herausheben* der Inszenierung als *besonderes Ereignis* im ununterbrochenen Strom von Zeichen und Bedeutungen der Alltagskommunikation.” (Schulze, 2002:979; italics in the original)

The most commonly used method to feign authenticity for the recipients is storytelling. Oftentimes, a reason for using this method lies in the problem of a missing unique selling proposition (USP) or distinguishing feature of a product in an oversaturated market. Heiser (2004) identified different sub-genres for narrating a story, for example slice-of-life, humor, sex sells or a testimonial (cf. Heiser, 2004:48-71). What advertising actually does with storytelling is that it “unterbreitet ausgearbeitete Erlebnisvorschläge, in denen Bilder, Personen, kulturhistorische Bezugnahmen, Gefühlskombinationen und sprachliche Kurzformeln für komplexe Erlebniskonfigurationen komponiert und mit dem Produkt assoziiert werden” (Schulze, 2002:985). These associations can only be understood by the audience because they are rooted in the world knowledge of the recipient (cf. Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:63), to which I will return in the section about frames and contexts (cf. section 6.2). The story functions as an emotional anchor (cf. Heiser, 2004:118) between the product or brand and the recipient: “Der Sympathiewert von Emotion und Unterhaltung überträgt sich auf den Kommunikator, das Produkt oder die Dienstleistung“ (Heiser, 2004:119). In accordance with Kroeber-Riel and Weinberg (1996) and their observation of advertisements as a means of mani-

¹⁵ Whenever I will be discussing the speech acts within the advertisement texts in the analyses, I will be referring to this classification by Stöckl (2004).

pulation, Heiser (2004) sees it as an advantage of storytelling in advertising “dass sie keine Form der direkten Ansprache und des ‘Verkaufens’ ist, sondern durch emotionale und unterhaltende Mittel Plausibilitäten erzeugt. Im Moment der Rezeption fühlt sich der Zuschauer frei von direkten Überredungs- und Überzeugungsversuchen“ (120). Notwithstanding, the purpose of advertising is and will remain the increase in publicity and sales.

Advertisements differ from other forms of communication in that they are multimodal in themselves: television commercials, for example, can consist of text, image and music. They are highly interesting because they can be examined in many different ways for a number of different purposes (e.g. language, content, imagery). One could argue that the use of a foreign language adds yet another feature to these modes because it evokes associations just the way music or images do (cf. Myers, 1994:96). Cook (1992) complains that whenever advertisements are analyzed, researchers usually focus on only one of these modes. In this paper, I shall try to consider the other modes as well, especially when they contribute significantly to the understanding of my research questions.

5.2 Problems

As already hinted at in the introduction, mass media have produced an abundance of information. This, in turn, has led to a tougher competition for getting the audience’s attention (cf. Schulze, 2002:978; Schierl, 2005:312). Very often, the television audience perceives commercial breaks as interruptions and zaps to other channels in the hope of avoiding them. Research has shown that the surplus of information amounts to 98% in Germany (cf. Kroeber-Riel, 1993:7), which means that the information actually getting through to the audience is vanishingly low. This information overload also alters people’s reception behaviour: “Bevorzugt werden solche Informationen, die sich auf den ersten Blick aus der Informationsflut abheben und besonders schnell aufgenommen und gedanklich verarbeitet werden können. Das sind in erster Linie Bildinformationen” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:7). What is more, companies (respectively advertising agencies) need to find ways to distinguish their products from the wide range of similar products. A possible solution for this problem could be the following: “Standardized goods can be made special by being marketed as local, authentic, and in some ways unique products with limited distribution. Whether by appealing to exoticism, familiarity, or rarity” (Heller, 2010a:350). Essentially what this implies is an emotional added value or other “unique” characteristics, about which I will be more specific in the analysis section.

5.3 Functions

First and foremost, advertising has an appellative function (cf. Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:67): prompting the target audience to buy a product. Kroeber-Riel and Weinberg (1996) differentiate between four different functions, namely “Zeitvertreib und Unterhaltung, emotionale Konsumerlebnisse, Informationen für Konsumenten-entscheidungen, Normen und Modelle für das Konsumentenverhalten” (582). Depending on the type of product or on the image a company wants to convey, an advertising strategy is chosen. However, there is still a chance that sender and recipient understand the function of an advertisement differently. Cook (1992) distinguishes between “reason ads” and “tickle ads” (10). This means, that an advertisement either appeals to an individual’s reason, by giving a number of rationales for buying a product, or to their emotion or humor, by creating an exciting world around the product the person can identify with.¹⁶ Nowadays, most advertisements belong to the second category and my corpus shows this too.

5.4 Language

One way for the companies to create authenticity is by drawing on language: “language as authenticity is one way to assert consumer power in a world where producers are competing for markets, and for producers it offers a way to add value to their product” (Heller, 2010a:356). Value can be added because by using a certain language or language variety, a company “versucht, das Image (Prestige), das der jeweiligen Varietät und ihrer Sprechergruppe gesellschaftlich zukommt, für sich zu nutzen und als sozialen, regionalen etc. Marker auf das werbende Unternehmen oder das beworbene Produkt umzulenken” (Efing, 2012:169). Apart from prestige, other connotations such as sympathy or associations with the people of the language group play a role as well. When speaking of dialect use in advertising, it is interesting to note that we are never dealing with an actual portrayal of a dialect: “das angedeutete Dialektale beschränkt sich zumeist auf die phonetische [...] und prosodisch-intonatorische, seltener auch auf die lexikalische Ebene” (Efing, 2012:174f.) to ensure an understanding of the message on the part of the audience.

5.5 Images

At this point, I would like to say a few words about the function of images. By not only talking about a product and making claims about its advantages, but also by showing it in action,

¹⁶ See also Schulze (2002:975) for a distinction between objective and subjective facts.

advertisers follow the “Technik der ‘visuellen Beweisführung’” (Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:64): “Die Geschichte subjektiviert das Material aus Perspektive der Hauptfigur. Der Rezipient macht seine Erfahrung aufgrund seiner sinnlichen Anteilnahme. Daraus leitet sich die Beweiskraft der Geschichte ab, denn die Hauptfigur hat die Handlung durchlebt und die Thesen der Story bewiesen” (Heiser, 2004:118). Kroeber-Riel (1993) has observed that from the 1960s until the 1990s, there has been a shift in television advertising from verbal to visual arguments to emphasize a product’s qualities. This means: “Die Sprache übernimmt in zunehmendem Maße nur noch Hilfsfunktionen” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:5). Although I cannot agree with Kroeber-Riel’s opinion it is true that the persuasive impact of images is often neglected in research (cf. Schierl, 2005:310), despite their ability to evoke emotions and establish a connection between recipient and product (cf. Kroeber-Riel, 1993:12). Wiedemann (2005) asked “Warum glauben wir eigentlich an eine Authentizität der Bilder?” (444). The answer to this question is obvious: we believe in the reality of signs, even though we know that there are ways and means to alter and change images in the media (the best known example being Photoshop).

What is more, research has shown that information communicated via images is easier to comprehend than text (cf. Schierl, 2005:312) and also better memorized and remembered (cf. Kroeber-Riel, 1993:26; Schierl, 2005:316; Stöckl, 2004:246f.)—this phenomenon is called “picture superiority effect” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:26). A reason for this is that images convey emotions more powerfully than words (cf. Kroeber-Riel, 1993:42) and afterwards, these emotions as well as the emotions the recipient felt while watching an advertisement play a role in the decision making process about which product to buy.

already mentioned, the method of storytelling in advertising creates fictional realities and images are especially convenient for rendering these authentic. Kroeber-Riel (1993) is convinced that “erwachsene Betrachter die verschiedenen Wirklichkeitsebenen mehr oder weniger auseinanderhalten können und vor allem die reale Welt der fiktiven Welt sowie die unmittelbar erlebte Welt von der durch die Medien (sprachlich und bildlich) vermittelten Welt unterscheiden (können)” (38). I am inclined to mitigate this view because although people are certainly mentally capable of distinguishing these two realities, the reality of an advertisement is staged so authentically that they take it for real—and that is exactly what companies and advertising agencies aim at.

5.6 Research Overview

So far, a lot of research has been done on advertising with respect to advertising language itself (e.g. Cook, 1992; Myers, 1994), the use of foreign language display in combination with the depiction of cultural stereotypes (e.g. Gerritsen et al., 2007; Haarmann, 1989; Hornikx et al., 2007, 2010; Kelly-Holmes, 2000, 2005; Martin, 2007, 2008; Piller, 2001, 2003) and the persuasive function of the portrayal of culture-specific values (e.g. de Mooij, 2010; Heller, 2010b; Hoeken et al., 2003; Hornikx & O'Keefe, 2009). Hornikx and O'Keefe (2009) remarked that the “processes of globalization may have eroded the salience of cultural values—or even cultural value differences themselves”, so “the plain implication is that even the currently observed small persuasive advantage of culturally adapted value appeals may well diminish in the future” (21). This phenomenon is therefore worth investigating in the future to either verify or falsify it.

I am only aware of little research that investigated actual language contact in advertising, such as code-mixing or –switching (Martin, 2008; Piller, 2003; Vizcaíno, 2011). Their findings have shown that the use of a foreign language in an advertisement activates the addressee's associations and stereotypes with the appertaining language and culture. Due to a concept called “cultural competence hierarchy” (Kelly-Holmes, 2000:71), we subconsciously associate a product with a culture that we believe has a high competence in producing it, for example wine with France, pasta with Italy and cars with Germany.

The only research in the field of language variation that has been conducted in relation to advertising—as far as I am aware of—has been conducted by Bell (1990, 1992) and van Gijssel et al. (2008). This is why I decided to undertake a qualitative study in language variation in English and German advertising. Androutsopoulos (2009) stated that “[l]ocal forms are in most cases not the default language in media discourse” (753). If, however, local forms are used in an advertisement, the “dialect is often confined to the narratee, i.e., the person using or promoting the product [...], while the voiceover or concluding slogan, which feature voices of institutional authority, are in standard language” (Androutsopoulos, 2009:744f.). As research suggests, a reason for the rather rare use of language variation in advertising may be the fact “dass akzentbehaftete Sprecher generell eine geringere Werbewirkung erzielen als akzentfreie Sprecher” (Mai et al., 2009:256).¹⁷ Even though I will not be doing impact research, I may have to object this opinion in the course of my data analysis.

¹⁷ Mai et al. are referring to conclusions by Tajfel and Turner (1986) on the social identity theory of intergroup behavior.

In the next section, I will give a brief overview over the theoretical framework underlying this paper, that is to say, the field of semiotics, frames and discourse analysis.

6. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

6.1 From Semiotics to Semantics

The basis of my analysis are signs. “Als Zeichen werden alle Mittel verstanden, die dazu benutzt werden, in der Kommunikation etwas mitzuteilen” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:28). From this definition, every object could be read as a sign as long as there is a recipient attributing meaning to it (cf. Sachs-Hombach, 2003:78). Important for my analysis are linguistic and visual signs. Semiotics consists of three different levels, namely syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics: “Die Syntaktik beschäftigt sich mit den Eigenschaften und formalen Beziehungen der Zeichen selbst – die Semantik mit dem Inhalt (mit der Bedeutung) der Zeichen, also mit dem, was durch die Zeichen mitgeteilt wird – und die Pragmatik beschäftigt sich mit den Wirkungen der Zeichen auf ihre Benutzer, auf Sender und Empfänger” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:29). Signs are highly culture-specific (cf. Henn-Memmesheimer, 2008:178) and an individual acquires visual literacy alongside the language acquisition during socialization. In his work about the combination of language and images in mass-mediated texts, Stöckl (2004) explains that some “Gesamttexte sind [...] reziproke Verknüpfungen beider Teiltexthe [language and image], in denen der kommunikative Mehrwert gerade in der Bimodalität liegt” (112). In my eyes, television advertisements are a fitting example for “Gesamttexte”, although these advertisements are not just bi-, but multi-modal.

6.2 Frame Semantics and Contextualization

Advertising texts never exclusively refer to themselves and to the image of a brand and company: “Die Bedeutungen der benutzten Wörter [...] sind reich an Konnotationen, wecken Assoziationen und rufen komplexe Wissenszusammenhänge (Frames) auf” (Ziem, 2012:83f.). As we encounter an advertising, we do that “through knowledge of thousands of earlier ads” (Cook, 1992:4) as well as the frames Ziem mentioned. Frames enable the recipient “auf der schmalen Basis gegebener (Sinnes-)Daten eine äußerst detailreiche und in sich differenzierte ‘Veranschaulichung’ des Gesamtsettings zu haben” (Ziem, 2005:2). The information can be of linguistic as well as visual or auditory nature. The recipient deduces the larger context of an advertising text with the help of their experience-based and socially shared knowledge.¹⁸ It necessarily follows that frames are culture-specific and that communication via advertising in an intercultural setting may provoke irritation or misunderstanding.

Let us now turn to Gumperz’s (1982) concept of contextualization, which “draws on

¹⁸ See also Stöckl (2004), pp.221f.

prior work [...] on *frames* by Goffman (1974)” (Auer, 1996:21; italics in the original). It is concerned with the way interactants contextualize (non-)linguistic information in a conversation. The contextualization cues range from prosodic, lexical or syntactic elements to formulaic expressions, the choice of a particular variety or body language (cf. Gumperz, 1982:131; Janich, 2012:222) and are linked to an individual’s background knowledge or “schemes” (Auer, 1986:27), which refer to e.g. turn-taking, topics, or interpersonal relations. In doing so, Gumperz “goes beyond the more general description of (hierarchies of) frames, towards an empirical analysis of how these frames are made to work as contexts for actual linguistic utterances” (Auer, 1996:21). Here again, contextualization cues are highly culture-specific. With respect to my topic, an example for contextualizing the interactants’ relation may be the choice of a dialect versus a standard variety. In this case, we need to focus on the “Bedeutung, welche die Wahl einer Sprachform statt einer anderen für spezifische Gruppen von Sprechern hat und welche Rolle die Wahl für die Bedeutungskonstitution in einer konkreten Kommunikationssituation spielt” (Gumperz, 1994:613). With respect to linguistic diversity, Gumperz (1982) explains that it “serves as a communicative resource in everyday life in that conversationalists rely on their knowledge and their stereotypes about variant ways of speaking to categorize events, infer intent and derive expectations about what is likely to ensue” (130). When analyzing my advertising texts, I attempt to address the social and conversational frame in which the interaction is taking place, prosodic elements, more accurately the foreign accent, and the choice of language variety in form of dialect versus standard use.

6.3 Discourse Analysis¹⁹

To begin with, a definition of the term *discourse* is required. A discourse consists of texts that are related to each other, or as Busse and Teubert (1994) put it, discourses are texts which are connected in a “gemeinsamen Aussage-, Kommunikations-, Funktions- oder Zweckzusammenhang” (14). A discourse analysis then, not only deals with a number of given texts²⁰, but also with the context of these texts:

¹⁹ As discourse analysis is a transdisciplinary field with multiple approaches, I am positioning myself within the Anglo-American paradigm, which is characterized by a “deskriptiv-fallspezifische Mikro-orientierung“ (Angermüller, 2001:9) and the semantics and pragmatics of given signs.

²⁰ For the purpose of this paper, a *text* is defined as follows: “Das Ensemble von Zeichen ist vom Produzenten als Kommunikationsinstrument intendiert, das heißt es ist mit einer Handlungsabsicht und als Resultat einer bestimmten kommunikativen Auswahlstrategie in bezug auf den/die Rezipienten entstanden“ (Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:58). Language, images, sound, music etc. can all function as signs in this communication process and therefore I will be referring to advertisements also as advertisement texts later on.

“Although the main focus of discourse analysis is on language, it is not concerned with language alone. It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation; through what medium; how different types and acts of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other. When music and pictures combine with language to alter or add to its meaning, then discourse analysis must consider these modes of communication too.” (Cook, 1992:1)

Here again, a recipient is needed whose function it is to ascribe meaning to text and context by drawing on their already existing knowledge (cf. Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:57), namely contextualizing and/or framing the different cues.

Spitzmüller and Warnke (2011) provide an example of a framework for a linguistic discourse-analysis: it is called DIMEAN (“Diskurslinguistische Mehr-Ebenen-Analyse”²¹) (cf. p.28). DIMEAN presents a comprehensive and rather differentiated “methodologisches Integrationsmodell” (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011: 199) for undertaking a discourse analysis which focuses mainly on linguistic aspects, but also takes into consideration visual text structures, for example. It will therefore serve as the basis for my data analysis later on. With particular regard to the topic of this paper, Spitzmüller and Warnke expand on the linguistic aspects of discourse analysis:

“Auch stilistische Register und Varietäten wie ‘Standardsprache’, [...] ‘Dialektismen’ etc. verstehen wir als Kommunikationsformen. Gegenüber anderen disziplinären Interessen am Diskurs sehen wir in der Berücksichtigung von Variation einen der besonderen Vorteile der linguistischen Diskursanalyse. Es gehört zu den grundlegenden Erkenntnissen der Linguistik, dass Sprache sozial, historisch und situativ variabel ist.” (2011:185)

This statement underlines the importance of language variations and encourage me in my decision to analyze the use and function of dialects and foreign accents.

Based on the theoretical framework and the information about language use in mass communication in a globalized world I have elaborated on so far, I will present my approach for analyzing the data in the next section before beginning with the actual analyses.

²¹ A translation of the name of the model could be “discourse-linguistic multi-level analysis”.

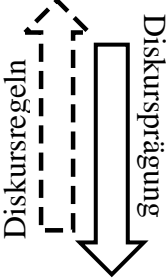
Transtextuelle Ebene	Diskursorientierte Analyse	[...]	
		<i>Ideologien, Gouvernamentalität, Mentalitäten</i>	
		<i>Historizität</i>	
		<i>Indexikalische Ordnungen, Sozialsymbolik</i>	
		<i>Diskurssemantische Grundfiguren</i>	
		<i>Frames, Topoi</i>	
		<i>Intertextualität</i>	
Akteure		Medialität	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Handlungsmuster</i> - <i>Kommunikationsformen</i> - <i>Medium</i>
		Diskurspositionen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Soziale Stratifizierung, Macht</i> - <i>Diskursgemeinschaften</i> - <i>Ideology brokers</i> - <i>Voice</i> - <i>Vertikalitätsstatus</i>
		Interaktionsrollen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Rezipientenrollen</i> - <i>Produzentenrollen</i>
Intratextuelle Ebene	Textorientierte Analyse	Visuelle Textstruktur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Text-Bild-Beziehung</i> - <i>Typographie</i> - <i>Materialität</i>
		Makrostruktur: Textthema(ta)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Metaphernfelder</i> - <i>Lexikalische Felder</i> - <i>Isotopie- und Oppositionsdiskurs</i>
		Mesostruktur: Themen in Textteilen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Themenentfaltung</i> - <i>Textfunktionen</i> - <i>Textsorte</i>
	Propositionsorientierte Analyse	Textuelle Mikrostruktur: Propositionen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Syntaktische Muster</i> - <i>Rhetorische Tropen und Figuren</i> - <i>Metaphernlexeme</i> - <i>Deontische Bedeutung</i> - <i>Implikationen, Präsuppositionen</i> - <i>Sprechakte</i>
	Wertorientierte Analyse	Mehrwort-Einheiten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - [...] - <i>Okkasionalismen</i> - <i>Schlagwörter</i> - <i>Schlüsselwörter</i>
		Einwort-Einheiten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Nomina continuativa</i> - <i>Nomina appellativa, Nomina collectiva</i> - <i>Nomina propria</i>

Table 2 DIMEAN model (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011:201)

7. ANALYTIC PROCEDURE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Now, I would like to explain under which aspects I intend to analyze my data.

So far, linguistic and visual signs have been analyzed and interpreted in-dependently from each other. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) criticize this procedure and demand for a multimodal approach to the study of communication practices. In my paper, I shall therefore try to bring these two modes together. On the intratextual level, Spitzmüller and Warnke's DIMEAN model (2011) allows for a combination of analyzing linguistic as well as visual signs. At this point, I will refer to Sachs-Hombach's (2003) levels of image analysis to ensure a more detailed analysis of the visual signs. With regard to linguistic signs, my focus clearly lies on code choice, the different varieties used and whether they occur on a phonological, lexical or semantic level. Analogously to Kroeber-Riel's (1993) division of semiotic levels, Sachs-Hombach (2003) distinguishes between syntax, semantics and pragmatics of an image. First of all, looking into the syntax of an image is an "Untersuchung der formalen Eigenschaften [...], die Zeichen unabhängig von ihrer Bedeutung und ihrer Verwendung besitzen" (103). This also entails the relation among these signs. On In terms of the semantic meaning of images, Sachs-Hombach differentiates between two conceptions: "*Eine Bildsemantik im formalen Sinne beschreibt die Beziehungen, die zwischen Bildschemata und ihren Anwendungsbereichen besteht. [...] Eine Bildsemantik im interpretativen Sinne erfasst die Sinnebenen, Sinnrelationen und Sinngehalte von Bildern*" (2003:128; italics in the original). And as a last point, the pragmatics of an image refers to the choice and usage of particular images and their meaning within larger contexts:

"Während die Bildsemantik vor allem die wahrnehmungsbasierten Aspekte der Bildbedeutung untersucht, betrachtet die Bildpragmatik den Einsatz von Bildern als eine spezielle Form des kommunikativen Handelns. Auf allgemeinsten Ebene beschreibt sie die Handlungs- und Rezeptionszusammenhänge, die den Bildstatus konstituieren. Eine Bildpragmatik im engeren Sinn untersucht die semantisch relevanten externen wie internen kontextuellen Vorgaben, die sich aus den konkreten Bildtypen und -medien, aus den jeweiligen Bildfunktionen und -umgebungen sowie den spezifischen kognitiven Kompetenzen ergeben." (Sachs-Hombach, 2003:163f.; italics in the original)

Concerning the analysis of visual cues, another reference is made to Burger (2005), who defines several dimensions of a text-image-relation in television (for a selection see p.31), some questions are equally valid to describe the text-image-relation in other texts. Cook (1992) states that it is important to look at all the elements of an ad equally to call it a (full) discourse analysis. Unfortunately, I virtually do not have the means to do so in this thesis and will

therefore confine myself predominantly to the language and images used in the advertisements, while still trying to grasp the one or the other sound element. Transferred to the advertising data this means I will be examining:

Overall text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - text type - text function - storytelling
Intratextual level	Linguistic cues: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - nonce words - catchwords/catchphrases, slogans - language variations - code-switching - speech acts - presuppositions - implications
	Visual cues: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - syntax, semantics, pragmatics - text-image-relation
	Acoustic cues: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - music - sounds
Interactants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - form of communication - medium - producer - recipient
Transtextual level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - contextualization - frames

Since I have already talked about the interactants and advertising as a text type in previous sections, I will not repeat myself about these elements in the analysis section of my paper.

Based on my data examples and the discourse-analytic approach I chose, I formulated several research questions, which will guide my analysis:

- 1) What is supposed to be communicated with the use of language varieties? How is this implemented on the textual and visual level?
- 2) Which contextualizations and frames are established by the use of varieties?
- 3) Does the use of varieties contribute to the affirmation of already existing stereotypes or associations connected to these varieties and if so, how?
- 4) How and to what extent are the two phenomena globality and locality referred to?

In a next step, I constructed a hypothesis, which I hope to verify in the course of the analysis:

The use of language variations in mass communication underlines the processes of language contact, language mixing and social de-/reterritorialization, which have been

facilitated and promoted by globalization. Communication in advertising therefore reflects the phenomena globality and locality directly or indirectly.

Companies make use of different language varieties (often in combination with a distinct, locatable scenery and costumes) to prompt the recipients to buy a product or service by calling on their knowledge about and attitude towards the language variety in question and thereby evoking positive emotions towards the advertised product or service.

Before turning to the analysis section of this thesis, I would like to make one more comment on food advertising. Food is very culture-specific and therefore food advertising is (most likely) culturally loaded. In my corpus, eight out of twelve texts deal with food, i.e. beer and curry sauces. Since six of these advertisements alone are for beer, I think that a comparison between these advertisement texts will be insightful regarding the possible ways in which beer can be promoted and why so.

Dimension	Aspekt	Fragestellung
formale Relationen	intradiegetisch / extradiegetisch	Ist der Sprecher eines Textes Teil der Bildwelt oder nicht?
semantische Relationen	konvergent / divergent	Beziehen sich Text und Bild auf den gleichen Gegenstand oder nicht?
pragmatisch- funktionale Relationen	Textfunktion zum Bild / Bildfunktion zum Text	Welche Funktion hat der Text im Hinblick auf das Bild und umgekehrt?

Table 3 *Text-image relation in television (cf. Burger, 2005:420-443)*

8. ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS

8.1 Schöffelhofer Weizen

This particular Schöffelhofer television advertisement could already be declared a “classic”: it was first broadcasted in 1996 and since then is known as the “Harald-Spot” (Radeberger Gruppe, 2009:8).

The advertisement Schöffelhofer created to promote their beer can be categorized under the sub-genre “sex sells” (Heiser, 2004:55). It is about a love affair between a man and a woman. A man comes home and finds a letter on the steps to his apartment. As he starts reading, the audience hears a female voice-over reading the letter with a French accent. The letter, however, contains a game with which the woman, the author of the letter, has the man remember and relive the events of the past night they spent together, the most important one being the intimate experience with the beer, Schöffelhofer Weizen. In this example, the beer is linked to eroticism, trusting that “diese positive Aufmerksamkeit sich auf die Wahrnehmung des Produktes überträgt” (Heiser, 2004:134). The product promises sexual attractiveness and the story told gives proof of this (cf. Heiser, 2004:56). The function of telling this kind of story is to convey an “emotionales Konsumerlebnis” (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582) to the recipient.

The advertisement text consists of two levels: an intradiegetic story—which I described above—and an extradiegetic level, with one speaker on each.²² Within the story, a female speaker reads out her own letter in German with a foreign accent, namely French. It can be deduced that is a letter due to the connection of visual and linguistic elements: the recipient sees a man looking at a sheet of paper and hears the standardized opening line *Liebe/r + name* (“lieber ‘arald”, line 1).²³ The accent can be determined due to several phonological elements:

- the unspoken [h] at the beginning of a word (“‘arald”, line 1; “‘ast”, line 3),
- [ç] pronounced as [ʃ] (“di:sch”, line 9),
- what is pronounced as [e] in High German is pronounced more like [ə], which comes close to the original French pronunciation of the vowel (“oben”, line 7; “bauchnabel”, line 13).

²² For a detailed description of narrative levels see Gérard Genette. *Die Erzählung*. München: Fink, 1994. My understanding of extra- and intradiegetic levels follows Demarmels (2008:196).

²³ All lines in brackets refer to the lines indicated in the transcript of each advertisement in the appendix of this paper.

What is more, in lines 12 and 13 we find a grammatically incorrect use of the German definite article *die*. Again, this can be traced back to French, where *beer* has a feminine sex (*la bière*) and the speaker simply transferred it to German. The extradiegetic narrator appears only at the end of the text and uses the standard variety of German. All he says is the name of the product and the claim of the company.

In terms of speech acts, the Schöfferhofer advertisement contains the naming and presenting of the product and the description of its effects. The product is already introduced at the beginning of the story in visual form—the man finds the letter rolled-up and put in an empty Schöfferhofer Weizen bottle—and presented more prominently when the man opens the fridge to find a bottle of Schöfferhofer and a Schöfferhofer beer glass. But it is remarkable that the product is verbally named only in the last shot of the advertisement. In my opinion, the statement “Prickelt länger, als man trinkt” (line 15) is not only the company’s claim, but also describes the effects of the product, namely a pleasurable experience which satisfies the desire for beer as well as sexual and/or other desires.

As already mentioned in section 4, language varieties are always connected to certain attributes and prejudices, whether we are aware of it in a given situation or not. Why did Schöfferhofer decide to use a speaker with a French accent? The answer lies in the stereotypical associations with the French, their language and culture: the melodic and sensual sound of the language, Paris as the city of love, and Frenchmen as hedonists and sensualists. Schöfferhofer takes up these connotations concerning sensuality and sexuality and tries to use them to their advantage. To be able to identify the foreign language accent, the recipient needs the above mentioned linguistic signs. I would not consider the name Harald to be a very common name, at least for a man of the protagonist’s age, so it might be that this name was chosen to include another cue (the unuttered [h]) to facilitate the listener’s association process. As we will see in the following, the visuals of the advertisement at hand underline the reference to eroticism.

The images in this advertisement are needed for the recipient to fully decode the message of the advertisement. They complete what is written in the letter and show what the protagonist is told to do. In terms of visual signs there are the already mentioned rolled-up letter in an empty Schöfferhofer Weizen bottle, a white satin dress hanging down from a ceiling lamp, the beer itself and a woman dressed in underwear (shown from shoulders to just below her hips). The entire television spot is set in a soft, sun-bathed light, which sets the cosy mood along with the saxophone and piano music. All these signs taken together tell the story of a shared romantic night in the apartment and show what is left of it, i.e. the woman’s dress,

the beer and the memories connected to this romantic encounter. Willems and Kautt (2003) state that advertisements dealing with eroticism usually make allusions to sexual intercourse, show scenes in which individuals remove their clothes or in which erogenous body parts are portrayed. They also identified numerous characteristics of an eroticized body in advertising, among them being slenderness, symmetric facial features, smooth skin and many more (cf. p.412). The story takes place on the day following the romantic encounter, so the recipients need to combine and contextualize the cues they are given to understand the story, i.e. the dress hanging down from a lamp, or the protagonist sniffing at the dress and thinking of the woman.

The portrayal of the woman's half-naked body is in fact just a flashback in the protagonist's memory. Since she writes in her letter "die bier / die so schön prickelt in mein bauchnabel" (lines 12+13), the navel is the centre of attention and therefore a close-up on the woman's centre of the body is sufficient to establish the connection to capture the recipient's imagination of Schöfferhofer Weizen in the navel and the sexual connotation. Furthermore, due to the close-up, the woman's body becomes "'sinnlich' faßbar" (Henn-Memmesheimer & Geiger, 1998:61) for the recipient, and allows for a greater identification with the protagonist. Strikingly, the emotional experience of consumption (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582) is also effective in the case of lack of interest in the product or non-involvement with the story: "Die Abbildung von erotischen Personen oder schönen Landschaften sind Beispiele für emotional anregende Motive: Der Konsument reagiert auf solche Motive aufgrund ihres Aktivierungspotentials weitgehend automatisch, also selbst dann, wenn ihn die Werbung vom Inhalt her nicht interessiert und berührt" (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:583). Nonetheless, a company should not employ sexual references impetuously: without a relevance on hand positive associations cannot be made on the part of the recipient. It is self-evident that the sex appeal should have "einen Zusammenhang zur Botschaft [...] und dramaturgisch so eingebettet sein muss, dass er mit dem Produkt oder der Botschaft untrennbar verbunden ist" (Heiser, 2004:135).

The last shot of the Schöfferhofer advertisement, the packshot, combines all important and previously shown signs (letter, dress, beer) and serves as a last attempt to convey the message of the advertisement. In addition, the claim, which is also uttered verbally, is displayed on the image. The decision for the standard variety can most likely be ascribed to the integrity, reliability and competence associated with the standard in contrast to a regional variety or a foreign accent (this proves to be a recurring pattern).

Who, now, is the target audience of the Schöfferhofer Weizen advertisement? Gener-

ally, a beer is said to be a men's drink and the fact that the protagonist of the advertisement is a man supports this conception. What is more, the large majority of advertisements is "traditional" in the sense that love and attraction are always related to heterosexual love and desire, hardly ever does it refer to homosexuality. And since the eroticized object is a woman in this case, it can be deduced that the advertisement is addressed to male beer consumers.

According to the Radeberger Gruppe (2009), *tingling* ("prickeln", lines 13+15) has a double meaning and communicates "zum einen das Prickeln des Weizenbieres, zum anderen das emotionale Prickeln zwischen Mann und Frau" (8). What spontaneously comes to mind when hearing the word *tingling* is usually not an association with beer, but with champagne or sparkling wine. When thinking of beer one might think of friends getting together to celebrate, to relax or to have an after-work beer. In this case the product is used in the context of a romantic encounter and at the same time upgraded by being compared to champagne, a high-class product. With this strategy, Schöffelhofer renders the beer a product of indulgence. Although *knistern* would be the more common metaphorical expression to describe the attraction between individuals in German, in view of the depicted eroticism and the overall strategy of putting a product in the context of another use, the unusual expression *prickeln* makes sense as well.²⁴

Another outstanding aspect of the advertisement is the fact that Schöffelhofer is one of few German breweries which do not use regional references to promote their beer. A look at the company magazine provides an insight into why the company chose this path:

"Da Schöffelhofer nicht in Bayern gebraut wurde und somit aufgrund des Herkunftsprinzips nicht mit bayrischen Wahrzeichen werben durfte, beschlossen die Markenverantwortlichen [as of 1992], aus dieser scheinbaren Schwäche eine Stärke zu machen. Sie trafen eine mutige Entscheidung: eine komplett neue Positionierung von Schöffelhofer – weg vom bayrischen Flair. Schöffelhofer sollte sich deutlich von den Wettbewerbern abheben und Weizenbier ein völlig neues Image geben. So wurde eine im Biermarkt völlig neue und bis heute einzigartige Idee geboren: Schöffelhofer wurde der Champagner unter den Bieren. [...] Das Ziel: eine erstklassige Ausstattung mit Premium-Charakter zu entwerfen, die – angelehnt an hochwertigen Champagner – die Eleganz des Bieres betonen sollte." (Radeberger Gruppe, 2009:6f.)

This statement can be supported by Henn-Memmesheimer and Geiger (1998) who are of the opinion that one can gain attention "gerade durch die ausdrucks- oder inhaltsseitige Unerwartetheit der Zeichenkombinatorik und nicht durch die Bestätigung von Texterwartungen" (59). Schöffelhofer exploits this unexpectedness in terms of eroticism. Often, it is used "ohne kon-

²⁴ For more examples of paradigm shifts see Heiser (2004), p.127f.

textuelle Deckung, z. B. bei Gegenständen wie Autozubehör, [...] um Blicke (und Emotionen) zu fangen” (Willems & Kautt, 2003:83). In addition, Willems and Kautt noticed: “[i]n den meisten Fällen wird eine erotische Geschichte erzählt, ohne daß zugleich signalisiert wird, wer und was die Akteure ‘eigentlich’ sind, woher sie kommen usw.” (2003:415), which entails an idealisation and romanticizing of a one-night stand, an infidelity or an affair (cf. Willems & Kautt, 2003:415). In the case of the Schöffelhofer Weizen advertisement, the recipient effectively does not know how the protagonist and the woman are related to each other, but this is irrelevant for the story and for the success of the advertisement. All that is important is the attention of the audience and their positive attitude towards the product as a result of a positive perception of the story.

Although the main aim of the advertisement is to promote the product and the story ultimately leads to the beer, what persists most in the memory is the connection between the beer and the sexual attraction. Concomitant with this connection is the fact that the advertisement contributes to the affirmation of the stereotypical image of the French and sexuality.

In terms of the question regarding the phenomena globality and locality it can be said that Schöffelhofer intentionally abstains from establishing a connection to a particular local place to stand out in the mass of beer commercials. Leaving the association with romance aside, the decision for a French woman could also serve as an example for the increase of intercultural partnerships in today’s mobile world.

8.2.1 Bud Light “Voice Modulator”

Due to the surplus of beer, each brewery faces the problem of having to find a unique selling proposition to attract the customers’ attention. Heiser (2004) came to the conclusion that “[w]er nicht viel zu sagen hat und sich nicht sonderlich von anderen Produkten abhebt, tut dies am Besten mit Humor” (133). Bud Light follows this strategy in many of its advertisements, as is the case in the two examples at hand.

At first glance, this Bud Light advertisement does not seem to advertise beer, but the “Sexy Accent” voice modulator, which is introduced by the C.E.O. of the Bud Light Institute.²⁵ The recipient sees a man in a washroom sticking the modulator on a tooth, which permits him to suddenly speak English with a French accent. Suddenly, all the women in the bar seem to find him attractive. The voice modulator then flies into another man’s mouth and brings him success with women, too.

The story is set on three levels: 1) as in the first example, there is an extradiegetic speaker at the end of the advertisement, who names and positively evaluates the brand, 2) on the intradiegetic level, the C.E.O. of the Bud Light Institute appears and informs the audience about the voice modulator, and 3) the scene in the bar presenting the voice modulator follows on the metadiegetic level.

As the “Sexy Accent” voice modulator already indicates, the story of the advertisement is of the genre “sex sells”, which means the product “verspricht sexuelle Anziehungskraft und die Geschichte ist ein Beweis für seine Wirkung” (Heiser, 2004:56). The function of this story then, is to entertain the recipient and at the same time to establish an emotional connection with them (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582).

The extradiegetic and intradiegetic level form a frame around the metadiegetic story. Both speakers in the frame use the standard variety of American English, although the use of the verb *to hook up* indicates a tendency towards a colloquial form of English. The two men equipped with the voice modulator speak a French-accented English, as can be deduced based on the following features:

- the grammatically incorrect pronunciation of *chicken*: [tʃ] > [ʃ] and [ɪn] > [ɛn] (line 8),
- the melody of the voice (line 7, 8, 11).

A third man, who compliments the first one on his accent, speaks a very colloquial form of American English, which is indicated by his choice of words (“dude”, “whack”, line 9).

²⁵ The Bud Light Institute is an invention of the company and part of the storytelling in many Bud Light television advertisements, presenting the audience new “inventions” or findings every time.

Interestingly, the company deliberately addresses the topic of the attractiveness of foreign accents and even constitutes it as common knowledge (line 1). Despite cultural differences in the perception of the attractiveness of accents, the French accent, as mentioned already in the analysis of the Schöffelhofer advertisement, is generally said to sound very erotic—even across different cultures—, as the name “Sexy Accent” voice modulator already implies. In contrast to the Berlitz advertisement (section 8.9), in which a foreign accent is depicted as causing problems in communication, the accent in this advertisement is clearly portrayed as being helpful in the interaction and the key to impress women. As can be seen in lines 7 and 8, the content of what is said is more or less irrelevant, only the sound of the accent matters. In the Schöffelhofer advertisement, the speaker was a woman, in this case the recipient listens to men speaking with a French accent. In an impact study, it would be interesting to inquire whether the perception of accents is equally attractive with male and female speakers. Bud Light certainly seems to claim so and hopes to transfer the positive attention to the perception of the beer.

To make the connection to the visual cues of this text, it can be said that the French accent makes anyone attractive, regardless of their physical appearance: although M3 is rather chubby, the voice modulator turns him into an object of female desire. In contrast to the casual outfits of the men and women in the bar, the C.E.O. of the Bud Light Institute wears a tie and a white coat as is typical of doctors or lab technicians. A person wearing such a coat radiates reliability, authority and a connection to science. This impression is increased by the furnishing of his office: bookshelves, an open book and laboratory appliances on the desk, a globe and a flip chart. In this way, a clichéd and hyperbolic image of a scientist is created and used for another purpose: namely in the pseudo-scientific context of matchmaking. The Bud Light Institute does research to find new ways and means to improve its customers’ lives. The last shot (still 8) underlines this idea by showing more alleged scientists and experimental subjects on the premises of the Institute. The C.E.O. and his appearance are supposed to authenticate the attractiveness of foreign accents in a funny way and make the advertisement appear even more amusing.

As already mentioned, despite the indication of the company in the first shot, the story seems to center exclusively around the voice modulator, especially because of the close up in the second still. However, there are some clues regarding the sender of the text: except for Keith Geurts, every character in the metadiegetic story holds a Bud Light in their hands and the company’s logo is fixed to the walls of the office and the bar.

This advertisement does not directly promote the beer, but the experience that is con-

nected to it and the image of the company. Bud Light aims at entertainment and fun, oftentimes from a male perspective, a circumstance which is certainly also interesting to examine in terms of gender theory. This and the following Bud Light advertisement, which pursues the same textual strategy, therefore seem to be targeted at straight males.

All in all, the elements employed in this advertisement—the bar, the beer, informal conversations, the flirting—seem to be all fitting and authentic in the context of dating. The French accent functions as a reference to Frenchmen, who are said to possess an expertise in the field of dating and sex.

8.2.2 Bud Light “Foreign Accent”

The story is set on two levels: as before, an extradiegetic speaker at the end of the advertisement positively evaluates the brand. The actual story that is told takes place on the intradiegetic level. This story is about a group of male friends—each with a different ethnic background—who are at a bar with the mission to flirt with women and possibly even to go one step further. One of the men knows the key to success: faking a foreign accent. After his friends’ attempts have failed, he intends to show them how to impress a woman himself, but also fails pitilessly because he has been beaten at his own game by another man and the seductive powers of a Bud Light. According to Heiser (2004), one function of the closing appeal is to explain the story (cf. p.171), which is the case in this advertisement: the recipient cannot identify the sender or the purpose of the advertisement until towards the end of the text. Yet again, Bud Light hopes that the audience will transfer the positive attention gained by the reference to the attraction between men and women to the positive perception of the beer. The story of the text has the function to entertain the audience and to show the emotional experience the recipient could have as a result of the consumption of the product (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582).

The text cannot be read without the humor that dominates it. The six men in this text all fake a foreign accent, but it appears they all fake an accent which fits their physical appearance, or in other words, their ethnic background. They approach several women in the bar by simply greeting them or by giving them a compliment. The East Asian man’s greeting leaves a negative impression on the part of the woman: imitating a Chinese or similar intonation, he is rather barking at the woman (lines 6+8) than seducing her. M2 and M4, a man of South East Asian and a man of African-American descent, think they are paying the women

they address a compliment by comparing particular body parts of theirs to something else, but are rather offending them (lines 4+9). These three flirting attempts therefore have the reverse effect on the women and in addition make M2, M3 and M4 look rather stupid.

M1, whose initial idea it was to impress women with foreign accents, claims to be a “master” (line 10) at this game only moments before the situation takes an unexpected and even more amusing turn: the woman he makes sexual advances to is already heaving a drink with a South East Asian man (M5) who apparently used the same strategy to catch the woman’s attention. The reason why M1 ultimately fails is not because his accent is less attractive than M6’s accent, but because M6 apparently offered the woman a Bud Light, which M1 did not. The physical appearance of M5 and the woman (still 6) make the scene seem even more comical: she is a tall, blond and good-looking woman, whereas he is quite a bit shorter than her and his Asian origin, his glasses and the fact that his shirt is buttoned all the way up remind of a computer “nerd”. Once again, the man’s physical appearance is of secondary importance compared to the accent, but even more so to the beer.

Simultaneous to the packshot an extradiegetic voice names the product, describes its effects (“endless refreshment”, line 14) and prompts the recipient to buy the product in the standard variety of American English. The catchphrase “keeps it coming” (line 16) refers to the promising properties of the beer and implies that the continuous consumption of the beer will keep up the consumer’s attractiveness. This shot is followed up by an additional scene in the bar in which M6 makes blatantly obvious advances and with that makes the recipient laugh one more time.

When remembering this advertisement at a later time, the recipient will think of the emotions they felt when watching the advertisement and in this particular case the laughter will attribute a positive connotation to the advertisement and ultimately to the product. The attached scene (still 8) can therefore be described as a subtle way to connect to the audience. In this advertisement, the beer is portrayed as the key to successfully flirt with women. Drawing on Heiser (2004), the story told in this text serves as an example of the usage and benefit of the product (cf. p.242). “Das Produkt bewirkt eine Situationsveränderung“ (Heiser, 2004:162), which in turn prompts the recipient to buy the product because they are shown their desire to be just as successful. This is why the story is not primarily about the description of the beer or its ingredients, but about the experience that is associated with it.

The advertisement refers to the phenomenon of globalization in two ways: through language and mobility. Although the allusion to globalization is somewhat overdone, as are most of the signs in the advertisement, it contains true facts. With the group of friends por-

trayed in the advertisement, Bud Light tried to cover as many geographical regions as possible and chose men with an African-American, South East Asian, East Asian and Caucasian ethnic background. This wide array of ethnicities in a circle of friends may not often be the case, but it is the outcome of people's mobility and illustrates the fact that the number of international or intercultural encounters, which can eventually result in friendships, is growing. What is more, modern-day technologies facilitate the communication process, which enables the individual to make and stay in contact with people from all around the world.

As stated above, the men fake the foreign accents they are using. The ability to imitate a foreign accent implies that a person needs to have at least basic knowledge of the sound of a particular language. This again requires some kind of access to the language on the part of the individual, be it through school, family and friends or the internet. All these possibilities, however, necessitate a certain interconnectedness of the different parts of the world or their inhabitants, a certain globality, which allows linguistic, cultural or further exchange.

8.3 Paulaner Weißbier

In contrast to the previous beer advertisements, this one relies on local patriotism. The Paulaner advertisement is only one of many “*gschichten ausm Paulanergarten*” (line 1) broadcasted on television and dealing with intercultural encounters.²⁶ The spot is situated in the Paulanergarten, a traditional beer garden in Munich, where an English-speaking business man and a local, Max, try to enjoy a Paulaner Weißbier while repeatedly being disturbed by the Englishman’s cell phone. The story could be taken from real life because it features characters and situations the audience can identify with and therefore the advertisement falls in Heiser’s (2004) sub-genre “slice-of-life” (49f.). The function of telling this story is first and foremost to entertain and divert (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582), since a story is announced at the beginning of the text. Nonetheless, it also suggests norms and models for consumer behaviour (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582): consumers buy products based on criteria such as, for example, utility, authenticity, conviction (e.g. organic products) or liking (e.g. sympathizing with the image of a particular brand or product). Regarding this specific advertisement, the audience is being presented the mentality of a region, Bavaria, namely spending the evening in a beer garden, enjoying an after-work beer—in this case a Paulaner Weißbier—and relaxing with friends or coworkers.

What is special about this text is that the audience is confronted with different languages as well as language varieties. Here again, we have an extradiegetic frame narrator from the off and speakers within the intradiegetic story. The narrator opens with the words “*gschichten ausm paulanergarten*” (line 1), so that the recipient can anticipate what will come next. In terms of language variety, this utterance can be classified as colloquial (*aus dem* > “*ausm*”, line 1), if not dialectal (*Geschichten* > “*gschichten*”, line 1) due to contractions. Then, the intradiegetic story begins and the recipient listens to the business man who is talking on his phone in English. After hanging up, just as he is about to take a sip from his beer, his cell phone rings again. This time, Max takes the phone and answers in English, giving a reply which is usually heard when calling someone who has their phone turned off (see line 3). But before hanging up again, he says goodbye in the Bavarian manner: “*pfiaiti*” (line 4). Finally they can enjoy their beer and the business man proposes a toast in English (“*cheers*”, line 5). After clinking glasses, there is a switch back to the extradiegetic narrator who pre-

²⁶ Paulaner created a character called Max (played by actor Jürgen Tonkel), who is a regular guest in the Paulanergarten and meets people of Greek, Indian, Italian or Japanese origin. These encounters deal with cultural differences or language problems in a humorous way and always end in them having a Paulaner Weißbier together.

sents the Paulaner slogan in what appears to be standard German.

As mentioned above in section 4, the different varieties of a language cannot clearly be distinguished from each other, but are located on a continuum (cf. Eichinger, 1985:158f.). This is why the first line of the advertisement text is difficult to classify. The goodbye *pfiami*, short for *Bfiagood* meaning “Gott behüte (den Angesprochenen)” (Eichinger, 1985:192), is unambiguous and can clearly be assigned Bavarian dialect. It is actually quite rare that an advertisement includes lexical features of a dialect because the companies want to ensure the comprehensibility of the advertisement and its message, with the result that the language variety used is not an authentic dialect but more a colloquial variety with a regional touch. But basic knowledge of the Bavarian dialect is generally widespread in Germany, e.g. concerning single words like greetings or prosodic elements so that *pfiami* is not problematic in this situation. Within Bavaria, the dialect is highly prestigious and widely used (cf. Eichinger, 1985:155). Outside of Bavaria on the other hand, the status of the dialect is extremely ambivalent: according to studies in perceptual dialectology, it is ranked very high among the most popular as well as among the most unpopular German dialects (cf. Plewnia, 2013:44) due to its connotations.

From line 3 to line 4, Max switches from English (with a slight German accent) to Bavarian. What are the reasons behind this switch? For one thing, what the recipient encounters here cannot be described as proper code-switching, but what Holmes (1992) calls “metaphorical switching” (48). In this case, there are no external reasons for a switch, as for example a change of interlocutor, situation or topic. “By switching between codes with such rapidity [...the speaker] effectively draws on the different associations of the two codes” (Holmes, 1992:49). This strategy is also often referred to by other researchers as code-mixing. “Each of the codes represents a set of social meanings, and the speaker draws on the associations of each, just as people use metaphors to represent complex meanings. The term also reflects the fact that this kind of switching involves rhetorical skill” (Holmes, 1992:49). It can therefore be argued that the English utterance in line 3 indicates a certain familiarity of the speaker with telecommunication technologies and that Max uses the Bavarian expression to identify himself as being from a particular region. And for another thing, *pfiami* is “eher auf private, nichtöffentliche, insbesondere auch familiäre Kontakte beschränkt. Nur in Ausnahmefällen wird sie gegenüber nicht bairisch-sprechenden Partnern benutzt” (Eichinger, 1985:192). The use of *pfiami* therefore stands in stark contrast to the standardized, formulaic response given in the line before and establishes a more intimate relation to the caller, even though the latter is unknown.

In my opinion, the “ahh”-sound in line 6 can be considered a speech act describing the effects of the product, namely quenching a person’s thirst and simultaneously expressing the great taste of the beer. Furthermore, it is inserted to convey the sensory experience of drinking a Paulaner Weißbier:

“Wenn eine modalitätsspezifische Vermittlung der Eindrücke nicht möglich ist, dann ist als nächstes an Bilder anderer Modalität zu denken, die in der Lage sind, die sinnlichen Eindrücke zu vermitteln. Beispiel: Um anzuzeigen, wie gut etwas schmeckt, kann man visuelle Bilder (genießerische Mimik) oder akustische Bilder (Schlecken, Schlürfen, Schmatzen, Zungenschmalzen) einsetzen, die eng mit den Geschmacksbildern assoziiert sind und diese Bilder im Gedächtnis aktivieren.” (Kroeber-Riel, 1993:50)²⁷

The second speech act of the text is the catchphrase at the end, which is conveyed both verbally and in writing to stress its meaning and which positively evaluates the company by using the structure of a climax: “gut (.) besser (.) paulaner” (line 8). Re-placing the superlative *am besten* in this comparison, Paulaner confidently puts itself above other breweries.

Janich (2013) points out the country-of-origin effect often used in television advertising: “der Dialekt betont sprachlich die spezifische regionale Herkunft eines Produkts und ist im Fernsehen daher häufig mit einer regional eindeutig lokalisierbaren Kulisse und möglicherweise mit anderen volkstümlichen Requisiten verknüpft” (230). The Paulaner Weißbier advertisement proves to be a convincing example for this concept. The first shot locates the setting of the advertisement in Munich: the recipient sees a sign saying “Paulaner München” and the Frauenkirche in the background. It follows the scene in the beer garden itself, with ale-benches, beer tables and a waitress wearing a traditional dirndl. The visuals of the text give proof, so to speak, of the locality indicated by the dialect. A beer garden is a place for social gatherings, where people come together to eat, drink and enjoy themselves and the one portrayed in the advertisement seems to show this in the background—all in all, the recipient finds a predominantly authentic depiction of a Bavarian beer garden. It seems that the disturbing ringing of the cell phone, which represents constant availability in the modern, technologized world, collides with the rather traditional and relaxed atmosphere of the beer garden.

One frame the Paulaner Weißbier advertisement is linked to is that of the Bavarian beer culture, especially the wheat beer culture. Eichinger (1985) makes the reader aware of the “wohlfundierte Überzeugung der Werbeagenturen, daß sich gerade der Einsatz des Bairischen absatzfördernd auswirkt. In erster Linie sind es die bayerischen Brauereien, die ihre

²⁷ The same applies for the Flensburger Pilsener advertisement (cf. line 18).

verschiedenen Biersorten auf bairisch anpreisen” (187). The Bavarian dialect is supposed to lend the advertisement authenticity and yet what we mainly come to find are “künstlich erzeugte [...] Demonstrationen bayerischer Lebens-art und bairischer Sprache” (Eichinger, 1985:188). Paulaner is one of the breweries which strongly uses signs tied to the geographical region and its culture. It therefore contributes to the adherence of the notion that—because of the high number of beers originating from Bavaria—beer is a popular drink and has a high standing in this region.

A second frame is the one around the debate of English as a—maybe the—global language. First of all, it is generally assumed that every person living in an industrialized country has at least some knowledge of English, which is needed in a world where one is surrounded by English music, TV shows and movies, Anglicisms or English loan words. With regard to the advertisement text, the sentence in line 3 is a sentence every cell phone user has already come across multiple times and which they can recite by heart; and this is exactly what Max is doing in the story. There is some dissent on the issue of whether to rate the prevalence of English as a positive or a negative actuality. Some time ago, the use of English was perceived to “eliminate competition and impose the tastes and habits of the English-speaking world on the rest of the planet” (Heller, 2010b:105). This is also frequently referred to as “English imperialism”. In recent years, researchers have found the development to be more complex and they were beginning to see the ubiquity of English more in terms of an enrichment for other languages (cf. e.g. Bhatia & Ritchie, 2008:10f.), resulting, for example, in language contact phenomena as mixing or switching. Kelly-Holmes (2000) states that the English language is used “as a symbol of anational identity, of globalism, of youth, of progress and modernity; at one and the same time, it can bear the properties of pan-Europeanness/Americanness/globalism” (76). Exactly this progress and modernity, however, not only applies for lingua francas like English, but also for regional varieties:

“Within the frame of modernity the use of dialect does not exclusively express affiliation with traditional values and ways of living. In many local communities today the local dialect is one among several codes available from a wider selection of choices [...] Because of our increased freedom to choose and combine different forms of expression, there is no longer a contradiction between being “modern” and at the same time using a dialect.” (Mæhlum, 2009:30)

When having the opportunity to choose between different codes, e.g. the code spoken in the realm of the family, with friends or at the workplace, each code has a certain significance for the individual speaker and is used depending on the situation and context. In my eyes, the Paulaner advertisement is a fitting example for what Jaquemet (2005) calls “*transidiomatic*

practice” (264; italics in the original). the two interactants come from different linguistic backgrounds, at least one of them has more than one language available and they seem to have no difficulty in communicating. Despite the various languages the two speakers have at their disposal, I think—in a transferred sense—the beer can be described as the “actual” lingua franca in this text, which does not require (many) words. The shared appreciation of the beer, indicated by the “ahh” (line 6) the English man utters with pleasure and the approving “YES” (line 7) by Max, suffices to understand what the other one thinks.

In this advertisement, Paulaner brings the phenomena globality and locality together. Although the company is a traditional Bavarian beer brewery based in Munich and always ties its beers to local or regional settings in their advertisements, the advertisement series this text is part of refers to obstacles in intercultural and multilingual communication, even though in a humorous way. The quality and taste of the beer are claimed to be so widely known that people from all over the world want to try it. These foreign people are tourists, business men or people with a migratory background. These groups are one example for people’s increased mobility already addressed in section 2.2. The wheat beer therefore functions as a bridge between (more or less) authentic Bavarian beer culture and “global cultural flows” (Jaquemet, 2005:267).

8.4 Flensburger Pilsener

Flensburger is another example of a company advertising its products with relation to a specific region. The story that is told on the intradiegetic level of this advertisement is set at a beach during sunset. Three men are sitting on a canopy swing as another man and a woman approach on a quad bike. This man, a tourist, asks where to find the re-gionally brewed beer, describing its ingredients. The three men on the swing stay silent, although there is a crate of said beer next to the swing and each of them holds a bottle in their hands. The tourist looks confused, turns to the woman who, in the meantime, put a flirty smile on her face, and turns back to the three men who still stay quiet. Eventually, he and the woman leave again, whereupon the three men on the swing start mocking the tourist. Finally, the recipient hears an extradiegetic narrator off camera, “der die zentrale Werbeaussage formuliert oder wiederholt” (Janich, 2013:229), by naming the beer and its special ingredients.

The advertisement is given the title “Neulich in Westerhever 2.0”, which on the one hand precisely locates the setting in a village in North Frisia and on the other it prepares the reader that a story will be told, thereby classifying it as a “slice-of-life”-like story (cf. Heiser, 2004:49f.). The function of this story (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582) is to provide the recipient with information on why to choose this beer over others, namely because of the extraordinary ingredients. Additionally, Flensburger implicitly provides a way for the recipient to emotionally connect with this beer because only connoisseurs and insiders know how to gain the pleasure of enjoying Flensburger Pilsener—whereby the target audience is already defined.

When we examine the text for advertising speech acts, we find that the first speech act is the description of the product (lines 3-12) by the tourist in search of the beer. Although it is just a sound, I would argue that the “ahh” in line 18 illustrates the effects of the product, namely quenching a person’s thirst and expressing their satisfaction. And in the last shot, as is often the case, the product is finally named (line 19). What is more, the product is positively evaluated in writing (“Genuss erleben, Flensburger Pilsener”).

Beer is not a niche product; there are uncountable different beer types and breweries. Consequently, every company has to invent new ideas to make itself stand out of the mass. Flensburger’s advertising strategy is to use the region of origin, Schleswig-Holstein, as the main source of identification, for example by using the maritime scenery for locating the advertisements’ setting or by using the regional dialect—or a variety which is meant to resemble it. An example how the local affiliation manifests itself verbally is the word “küsten-

gerste” (lines 5+17). *Küstengerste* is not the botanical name for a certain type of barley, it is actually a made-up word simply describing local brewing barley, which thrives “unter dem Einfluss des gehaltvollen, ty-pisch norddeutschen Meeresklimas” (Heyen, 2013). The company chose the name for psychological reasons, so that hearing the word lets “im Konsumentenkopf Filme ab-laufen” (Rohwetter, 2014:28) and activates associations and emotions with particular regions or landscapes, in this case a maritime landscape.²⁸

Unlike in the Paulaner advertisement, the regional colour of the language in this text is merely recognizable on the phonological and intonational level. In other words: “[b]etween dialect and standard there is an intermediate variety [...], representing the way in which a standard language is regionally/locally spoken under the influence of a local dialect: the *Umgangssprache* or Substandard German” (Berruto, 2009:230; italics in the original). Although this is certainly one form of colloquial language, I have to object that it is not always a regional variety, which influences the colloquial language, it can also be influenced by elements from youth language or language specific to a certain social stratum. The regional variety spoken in Schleswig-Holstein is Low German. This variety is imitated by means of prosodic features like the speech rate or the lengthening of sounds. Although the following phonological features are employed to support the perception of the dialectal variation, they are not unique to Low German, but rather elements of colloquial language:

- [t] > [d] (“hadde”, “dolles”, “Audo”, line 14; “mussde”, line 16),
- abbreviation of a word (*ein* > “n”, line 14),
- dialectal variation of *ja* (“joa” as a modal particle, line 14; as an affirmation of a positive statement, line 16),
- attached question particle “ne” (line 16).

There is a noticeable difference in the speech of M1, M2 and M3. M1’s utterance comes closest to what is intended to be Low German, M3’s utterance less so and M2’s remark shows no indication of dialectal influence at all.

Studies investigating the perception of dialects have revealed that 34.9% of all participants described North German²⁹ as a likeable and friendly dialect (cf. Plewnia, 2013:44). When it comes to describing the character behind the dialect, Northern people are generally said to have, among other traits, a calm, rather distant attitude and a dry wit (cf. Hundt & Anders, 2009:499). These attributes all appear in the Flensburger advertisement. The dry wit, for

²⁸ Flensburger even had the word registered as a trademark (cf. Rohwetter, 2014:28).

²⁹ North German is not a dialect of its own, but in this case the term comprises all dialects of Northern Germany which, to laypeople, may sound largely similar.

example, starts building up from the beginning onwards, but only fully shows near the end of the advertisement. Willems and Kautt (2003) state the following about humor in advertising: “Der entscheidende einschlägige Funktions-vorteil von Komik und Humor besteht darin, kognitive Irritation und zugleich Sinn und Unterhaltung (Spaß) zu generieren” (98). When the tourist inquires about where to find the beer, the three men on the swing, who turn out to be locals, unitedly do not speak with him: a crate of Flensburger Pilsener is right next to the swing and as the tourist turns his head to the woman one can hear bottles clinking. In the next shot the three lo-cals all have a beer in their hand, still staying silent. After the tourist has left, they do not talk about what just happened and instead make comments about the tourist and his quad bike. This behaviour shows a tacit understanding between them and how like-minded they are. In fact, it shows that the three men have the same background and therefore a similar perception of situations and people. What is more, the use of a dialectal variety identifies them as belonging to the same social group.

Another stereotype is the seemingly distant attitude towards others, i.e. non-locals. The tourist, distinctly recognizable as one because of his ignorance concerning where to buy the beer and his Hawaiian shirt, tries to establish a friendly and casual relationship to the locals by calling them “kollegen” (line 1) and addressing them informally with “euch” (line 2) instead of *Ihnen*, thereby putting himself on a par with them. In stark contrast to this, the behavior of three locals can be described as impolite. According to Watzlawick (1967), a person cannot not communicate (cf. p.51). So despite them not saying a word in the beginning, their body language speaks volumes: they are frowning, have their arms folded and the corners of their mouths are pulling downward—all in all, they make quite an unfriendly and grumpy impression. All these signs signify a mutual understanding among the locals for reticence and an un-willingness to interact with the tourist. In terms of identification, there is a clear distinction between the “we”, the in-group, and the “other”, the out-group.

The visual signs also play a major role in the portrayal of the beer itself, or rather its ingredients. When the tourist names the *Küstengerste*, the camera is pointed to a barley field bordering the beach. An incidence of light shines on the field and looks very much like a halo. What is more, the recipient hears a singing which reminds of a heavenly choir. The halo and the singing are repeated when the tourist talks about the water from a glacial well and the recipient sees a glacier feeding into the sea. The visual glorification of the ingredients is a way to give evidence of the singularity of the Flensburger Pilsener and have the audience

experience the taste of the beer.³⁰ But not only the scenery gives proof of the locality of the beer, the sound of the sea and the sea-gulls support this evidence.

Flensburger has a consistent brand concept: the Flensburger jingle, the typical popping open of the bottles and the relation to Schleswig-Holstein in form of setting, sounds, language variety, and attitude of the characters are recurring elements. These elements of local color are employed to lend the story, and ultimately the product, authenticity. With the embodiment of the relaxed and distant attitude Friesians are said to have this advertisement text, too, contributes to the adherence of the stereotype. The characters, the supposed dialect and the scenery provide cues which in their entirety are intended to create an authentic image of the region (which in turn contributes to the positive perception of the product, the beer) because “Authentizität ist nicht einfach gegeben, sondern wird inszeniert“ (Burger, 2005:441). The presented Flensburger Pilsener advertisement propagates a pronounced attachment to its geographical roots, that is a defined local place. The tourist, as an example of a product of increased mobility in a globalized era, breaks the peace of the portrayed balance between man and nature, nature meaning the landscape as well as the dialect (cf. Eßer’s quote in section 4 about dialect versus standard (1983:66)). The advertisement could therefore be considered a critique of globalization.

³⁰ Another visual sign is the flirty attitude of the woman, but since I cannot determine a logical connection to my other objects of study, I will disregard this aspect.

8.5 Flensburger Weizen

Advertisements are never just a means for a company to promote their products, they “sell more than products; they sell values, ways of life, conceptions of self and ‘Other’” (Hogan, 2005:193). One way of presenting this distinction between in- and out-group is by means of language variation and the portrayal of stereotypes in intercultural³¹ advertising (cf. Kelly-Holmes, 2000:68), which is the case in this Flensburger advertisement.

The action of the advertisement takes place on the intradiegetic level. An extradiegetic speaker appears at the end of the advertisement to perform the—as we have seen—common speech acts of naming the product (line 5) as well as positively evaluating the company (line 6). The evaluation is provided in form of a catchphrase, expressed in speech and writing to underline its importance. The catchphrase does not contain any adjectives which actually describe or evaluate the brewery, but its wording implies that exactly that is not necessary: the brand name speaks for itself so that no further explanation is needed. Another speech act is the description of the product (lines 2+3).

What is striking in this text is the combination and clarity of regional references. The recipient sees two men sitting on an ale-bench on the beach, a beer crate next to each side of the bench, the one next to the Bavarian bigger than the other one. The Northern German asks the Bavarian why he only drinks this one particular type of beer and the latter answers that it is because of the bigger size of the bottles. How does the recipient know that the man on the left is Bavarian and the other one Northern German? It is because of the combination of visual and linguistic signs: on the one hand, we have a (stereo-)typical portrayal of a Northern German, dressed in white and navy blue and wearing a captain’s hat. On the other hand, the recipient sees a second man who is dressed in typical Bavarian attire, with lederhosen and a Tyrolean hat, who looks rather displaced—or “deterritorialized” to speak with the words of Jaquemet (2005:262)—in the maritime setting. In addition, each man speaks their regional dialect, which is a sign of “linguistic locality” (Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson, 2006:79). All these cues contribute to a clear distinction between in- and out-group.

The reason for these bold cues and the contextualization with two fairly different regional cultures are easily comprehensible. First of all, the relation to the geographical origin of the company (the federal state of Schleswig-Holstein) is established through the setting and the Northern German character. Second of all, as already mentioned in the Paulaner advertisement, wheat beer is a beer type which is primarily associated with Bavaria. Since

³¹ In this paper, the term *culture* underlies a narrow definition, referring, for example, to the culture of a regional group or a speech community.

Flensburger is obviously not a Bavarian brewery and does not have a tradition of brewing wheat beer, a bridge is made to the region with the higher cultural competence (cf. Kelly-Holmes, 2000:71) by means of a representative of this culture, as a strategy to enter a new market and to be taken seriously. The exaggerated portrayal of both characters or cultures turns the advertisement into a very humorous, but also self-ironic one, which shows the company's awareness of said stereotypes. This text is yet another example for the adherence of cultural stereotypes.

At this point, I would already like to insert an interim conclusion regarding the different beer advertisements. Although I do not dare to make wide generalizations based on this comparatively small number of examples, I find it striking that all advertisement texts follow the same pattern, i.e. consist of an intradiegetic story and an extradiegetic speaker who performs the same speech acts. Half of the texts use the identification with a particular local place or region and the corresponding dialect or what is supposed to be a dialectal form as a gimmick. Interestingly, but certainly only applicable for the texts in this corpus, the other texts which do not draw on localizations use sexual attraction in combination with a foreign accent to advertise the beer. Furthermore, most texts employ humor to promote the beer. What do these findings reveal about the strategy behind beer advertising? One can buy beer in different containers or with different ingredients and flavours, but there are hardly any other distinctive features to it. This forces breweries to think of other unique selling propositions which attract enough attention to outperform the competition. Judging by the data examples at hand, a combination of a language variety and a reference to eroticism or a defined geographical area, often accompanied by humor, seems to be a popular and successful solution.

8.6 Homepride Sauces

The Homepride television commercials “Bindu & Riz” and “Dilip” were part of a big-ger product campaign to advertise curry sauces by way of drawing on Asian or more specifically on Indian characters’ competence to sell the product to the audience. In “Bindu & Riz”, a woman (named Bindu) prepares a meal for her husband and son, using the Homepride korma sauce. The “Dilip” advertisement follows the exact same course of action, speech acts and camera shots, only that this time it is a man of Asian descent, called Dilip, who prepares a curry dish for his family, and presenting it to the audience.

The advertisement text is divided into an extradiegetic frame and an intradiegetic story in form of a testimonial (cf. Heiser, 2004:58f.). The information content in a testimonial is generally high, which is reflected in the speech acts of this text: a presenter names, describes, demonstrates and positively evaluates the product in action so to say. The presenter talks right into the camera, thereby directly addressing the audience in front of the television screen. In this case, the presenter is a woman with an Indian ethnic background wearing a sari, a traditional South Asian gown. For each testimonial, the characters are introduced and a localization is made (stills 2/3).³² Both means are employed to increase the impression of authenticity of the person giving the testimonial and the testimonial itself, respectively. The product is not only praised verbally in each of Bindu’s utterances (lines 3-7), the quality of the product is also conveyed visually. Typical of food advertisements are, for example, aesthetic close-ups and a fine arrangement of the ingredients and/or the product. These are so-called “Surrogatbilder” (Doelker, 2001:31), i.e. hyper-realistic views of the product: “So ‘schmeckt’ die Pizza auf der Tiefkühlpackung dem Auge besser als hernach der Inhalt der Packung dem Gaumen. Als magische Kommunikation – TV-Bild gleich Wirklichkeit – ist die naive Form des Fernsehkonsums anzusprechen. Diese magische Komponente wird mit zunehmender Aufgeklärtheit der Medienkonsumenten nicht überwunden” (Doelker, 2001:31). Similarly, the Homepride advertisement intends to convey the tastefulness of the sauce. Bindu holds the product up and presents it to the recipient. In the next shot, there is a close-up on the sauce in the making, which is supposed to give proof of the creaminess of the curry. After that, the recipient sees the prepared meal nicely arranged on a plate. At the end of each advertisement, we have a description of the company (line 11/11) as well as an implicit prompt to buy the product: “also available in ...” (line 12/12). The function of the testimonial is undoubtedly to provide information and persuasive arguments with which to convince the recip-

³² First-mentioned stills or lines refer to the “Bindu & Riz” transcript, the second ones to the “Dilip” transcript in the appendix.

ient of the quality and advantages of the product.

An important aspect I have not mentioned yet, but which plays a major role for the message of the advertisement, is the language variety used in these texts. Given that first impressions are mostly of visual nature, people tend to be prejudiced against other people's physical appearance. Based on the visual perception of the character in the advertisement—the Indian ethnic background and the sari—the recipient is tempted to expect the presenter to speak English with a foreign (Indian) accent. But this expectation is challenged: both presenters fluently speak a British regional dialect: Bindu speaks Cockney, a dialect spoken in London, and Dilip speaks Glaswegian.³³ This raises the question what this unexpected combination of linguistic and visual signs signifies. It is not only a means to catch the audience's attention, but it fulfills a dual purpose: the fact that the presenters fluently speak a British dialect and even use culture-specific exclamations such as “cracking ruby” (“Bindu & Riz”, line 8) and “stone stuff” (“Dilip”, line 8; each describing the great taste of the sauce) reveal their affiliation to and identification with a particular local place. The advertisement was intended for a British audience and so the dialects serve as a potential source of identification for the recipients with the presenters.³⁴ The presenters' names and looks, however, function as a reference to a different place, namely India and the melodies at the beginning and end of each advertisement also have an oriental touch to them. Curry and korma sauces are associated with the Indian cuisine and having a presenter with an Indian ethnic background praise the Homepride curry sauce is a clear and comprehensible reference to the “cultural competence hierarchy” (Kelly-Holmes, 2000:71). These associations are evoked to convince the audience of the authenticity and quality of the product. The company itself also makes a claim to authenticity, namely with the slogan “authentic flavours from all around the world” (line 11/11). Furthermore, the authenticity of the presenter is a key element of testimonials (cf. Heiser, 2004:58)—a strategy which proves to be successful in this case. The voice-over on the extradiegetic level is, again, a standard variety, in this case the standard variety of British English.

Moving on to the transtextual level of the texts, these Homepride advertisements are located within certain frames. The two advertisement cannot be read without the context of colonialism and migration resulting thereof. India used to be a British colony and today is a

³³ To a non-native speaker of English, the dialect Dilip speaks sounds more like a foreign accent. But the advertisements were broadcasted to a British audience who were most certainly able to easily identify the dialect.

³⁴ At this point it would be interesting to know according to which criteria the dialects were chosen for the advertisements because Glaswegian is said to be a rather denigrated dialect in Great Britain (cf. Coupland & Bishop, 2007:80) and Cockney is associated with London's working class and “[s]tereotypes assigned to speakers of this accent may range from ‘good-natured to ‘not well educated’” (Beinhoff, 2013:4).

member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. As is the case for many former colonial powers, e.g. France or Great Britain, people from the (former) colonies immigrate to the colonial powers in the hope of a more prosperous life. With globalization boosting people's geographic mobility even more, migration increases too. This is the reason why Great Britain has such a multicultural society; especially in metropolises like London this can be perceived in concentrated form. The recipient does not have any information on the presenters' presumable background, e.g. their place of birth, but they seem to portray examples of a successful integration into the British society. The dialect allows Bindu and Dilip, the two presenters, to be perceived by the audience as a member of their (speech) community, a member of the in-group.

As mentioned before, when seeing a person with a different ethnic background in an advertisement, a recipient is likely to have prejudiced expectations concerning this person's language and way of speaking. Pennycook (2012) has observed this behavior and complained about the fact that passing "as a native speaker is regulated by all those external judgments that have nothing to do with language, and everything to do with skin colour" (95). Nowadays, as a consequence of the already repeatedly addressed mobility, it is virtually impossible to judge a person's ethnic background or nationality by their appearance. However, this is a coping strategy for many people to reduce the complexity of a given situation. With respect to identity and mobility Johnstone (2010) observed: "as people move around the globe, identities assigned at birth and assumed to be primordial become less relevant, or relevant in different ways. Social effort is required to produce the identities that were once thought to be inherent. Among these are identities associated with places" (400). In other words, globalization processes dissolve what has been the main source of identification for a long time: an individual's geographic origin. One way of producing an identity associated with a particular place is through language (as we can see for example in this advertisement), that is through "reterritorialization" (Jaquemet, 2005:263). So in effect, despite the general opinion of leveling cultural and other differences, globalization also gives rise to localization processes. In spite of their current localization and identification with specific places in Great Britain, the protagonists in these advertisement texts have not abandoned their cultural or ethnic origins, as is made evident with the typically Indian dishes they pre-prepare and their clothing.

There are now two points of view from which one can look at these advertisements. One could critically evaluate the message of the advertisement texts and argue that Homepride takes up the social debate about globalization, migration, and language acquisition, to support the idea of "linguistic freedom", as I just did. Or one could also consider the

advertisement as a purely humoristic one which takes up the stereotypes associated with each group (Indians and speakers of Cockney and Glaswegian), combines them and uses them for the sole purpose of gaining attention and promoting the product. But since the company intends to convey a certain kind of authenticity of the testimonial and quality of the product, such a superficiality would rather harm the company's image and I therefore deem this second option rather unlikely.

8.7 Windows

Windows created an unusual and surely controversial story to advertise their product. The story is about a young woman who is supposed to enter an arranged marriage. She is sitting with her parents and possible future parents-in-law to talk about the potential husband, although she disapproves of the potential husband (and maybe even the entire idea of an arranged marriage). Fortunately, she finds a way out of this intricate situation with the help of her brother—but more importantly, with the help of Windows software.

In comparison with the other advertisements, this one clearly focuses on the product. It can be matched with several of Heiser's (2004) sub-genres: 1) "slice-of-life" (pp.49f.) because the story appears to be fairly realistic, 2) "lifestyle" (pp.52f.) because the advertisement conveys a certain standard of living and the product is an identification mark of this lifestyle, 3) "product-is-hero" (pp.64-66) because the product has a strong visual presence and occupies a central role within the advertisement. What is more, the product "kann eine Situationsveränderung bewirken. Es findet eine Transformation statt, die eine Situation verbessert, den gesamten semantischen Raum verändert oder die Verschlechterung der Situation verhindert" (Heiser, 2004:65). That is to say, the advertisement contains a claim for success through the possession of the product. Similarly to the sub-genres, the functions of storytelling (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582) are multifold and comprise providing information, entertainment, an emotional experience as well as a model for consumer behavior.

The advertisement boldly contrasts traditional customs with new morals and technology on both the linguistic and visual level. On the one hand, the recipient sees a woman, the mother of the potential husband, dressed in a sari and talking in a way which notably shows her affiliation with the Indian culture. Her English reveals an Indian accent and is marked by Indian words and slang words:

- "ji" (line 1) is a term used to show respect for individuals as well as objects,
- "beta" (line 5) means 'child',
- "puja" (line 19) is a prayer ritual performed by Hindus ,
- "uthar ither" (line 8) means 'here and there',
- "hore de hore" (line 17; actually *hore the hore*) means 'what is more',
- "disco shisco" (line 6) and "drink shrink" (line 15) are slang expressions,
- what would be pronounced as [r] is realized as [ɾ] ("prince", line 1+13; "your", line 3; "uthar ither", line 8; "salary", line 13; "charity", line 14; "drink shrink", line 15; "hore the hore", line 17; "evryday", line 19),

- what would be pronounced as [ð] is realized as [d] (“de”, line 16; “dese”, line 20; “dem”, line 21).

The circumstance that particular language varieties or accented speech is valued differently has already been addressed several times so far and becomes clear again in this text. In their report on the influence of migration on people’s identity and language Mirdal and Ryyänen-Karjalaine (2004) stated: “the existence of core and peripheric regions [...] creates a hierarchy in varieties of languages – for example, British English is considered ‘better’ than a Pakistani variety of English” (34) or respectively an Indian variety of English as in this advertisement.

The bride-to-be, on the other hand, stands for a younger generation with modern standards, which is indicated by her affinity with new technologies as well as her negative stance on arranged marriage. Although the recipient does not hear her speak, one can tell by her (and her brother’s) style of writing messages that the language is quite colloquial, but typical of the communication via mobile phone or in social networks:

- abbreviations (*sister* > “sis”, still 3; *thanks* > “Thanx”, *brother* > “Bro”, still 14),
- contraction (*how is* > “howz”, still 3),
- the use of emoticons (stills 4+14).

Although the viewer might suspect that the advertisement serves to promote Microsoft Windows products, these assumptions only clear up in the final sequence of the advertisement, when a voice-over names the product (using a standard variety of English) and the brand logo and slogan are displayed on the screen. The recurring focus on the mobile phone as well as the superimposition of the mobile phone displays on the image can be described as a speech act, namely the portrayal of the product. The last shot of the advertisement contains a catchphrase which positively portrays the product (“life without walls”, still 17).

“Landestypische Realia [...] bilden [...] Erscheinungen ab, die für die fremde Kultur als besonders charakteristisch gelten” (Bratschi, 2005:115)—clothing, objects, landscapes or food. To be able to understand the commercial and to guarantee its success, the addressee needs a certain knowledge of the foreignness. Both mothers in the Windows advertisement wear saris, that is traditional dresses that are associated with India, among other South East Asian regions. In combination with the Indian-accented English of the potential husband’s mother these cues indicate an attachment to traditions and origins, respectively. The catchphrase “life without walls” at the end of the text clearly expresses the company’s view on traditions: the younger generation should challenge them (maybe even break with them),

which are subject to prejudices of backwardness, lack of competence and urbanity on the part of the individual. Arranged marriages are one example for outdated³⁵ customs and therefore chosen as the topic around which the story is constructed. The message of the advertisement then is to take matters into one's own hands with the help of Windows products, which allow for an unhindered communication and personal freedom, thereby taking down the "walls" of tradition—following the wording of the company's catchphrase.

What is particular about the visuals in this advertisement text is the fact that the audience not only looks at their own television screen, but also at screens within the story of the advertisement, namely cell phones, a laptop and a television. The camera work follows different point of views, but due to the superimpositions of the mobile phone displays, the viewer largely sees the young woman, her brother and what is displayed on their mobile phones. After the brother has recognized the potential husband-to-be in the disco, he sends a video of him to his sister. The young woman connects her mobile phone to the laptop, which in turn is connected to the television screen, on which the video is then shown. Meanwhile, the mother of the potential husband keeps talking about her son, not noticing the video shown behind her. As she sings her son's praises listing his qualities, the said son acts in the opposite way:

what the mother says		what the potential husband does
"so much money he gives to charity" (line 14)		spends money for his own pleasure
"he never drink shrink" (line 15)		drinks alcohol
"he's so religious, evry day he does puja" (lines 18+19)	→	seems to mock the ritual by making a movement of the hands in such a way as is usual for a puja, but using it as a dance move
"dese modern type girls / he doesn't ever look at dem" (lines 20+21)		dances with girls and kisses them

Speaking with Burger's (2005:426) words, image and text strongly diverge. This situation is a fitting example for the reality of signs: what we perceive with our eyes is true (i.e. what the audience sees in the video), but words can lie (what the mother says about her son).

The technological devices in the advertisement open the floor for a debate about Jaquemet's idea of a "deterritorialized social identity" (2005:262) mentioned in the framework. The younger generation has grown up with new media, such as mobile phones or the World Wide Web, and it has become a common phenomenon for people to physically be in

³⁵ Outdated according to Western standards, that is.

one place with friends and simultaneously check the mobile phone for new messages in social networks, to just give one example. Technical devices, like the Windows applications advertised in this example, allow them to be in different spaces at the same time, anytime and anywhere. The way in which the Windows products are presented and linked to the catchphrase at the end of the advertisement paints an exaggerated, self-aggrandized picture of the company. If one were to develop the thought behind the company's message further, it reminds of Immanuel Kant's famous ideas of the Enlightenment on man's emergence from his self-imposed immaturity. The products quasi help the individual to lead a self-determined life, similarly to the young woman portrayed in the story, who manages to emerge from her immaturity, that is she prevents the arranged marriage. However, it is important to note that the entire advertisement needs to be seen in a jesting way, so that the company does not seem as arrogant after all.

8.8 Baden-Württemberg³⁶

Again, this advertisement is only one of a larger image campaign by the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. In each television advertisement, a person born in Baden-Württemberg talks about their achievements, accomplishments or contributions to society, thereby proving that the inhabitants of Baden-Württemberg are intelligent, successful and full of ideas. The protagonist in the example I chose is even a public figure: Renate Lingor, world champion in women's soccer. It is difficult to match this advertisement with one of Heiser's strategies of storytelling because Lingor solely talks about soccer, which is certainly not unique to Baden-Württemberg. Although it does not strictly follow the rules of a testimonial (Heiser, 2004:58f.), it could still implicitly be regarded as one because the speaker's monologue is addressed to an imaginary inter-viewer or directly to the audience and the federal state makes use of a celebrity to attract the audience's attention. The function of this story (Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996: 582) is to entertain and amuse the recipient, but also to convey the emotional relation of Lingor and Baden-Württemberg.

In this advertisement there is only one speaker, namely Renate Lingor. She appears on camera, but her voice only appears extradiegetic in the form of a voice-over, which indicates that it has been added after shooting the television spot. In the beginning, Lingor geographically locates herself by saying that she started playing soccer in Karlsruhe (where she was also born), from which follows that the language variety she speaks is South Franconian German (the dialect spoken in and around the city of Karlsruhe). The recipient can tell the difference to High German based on a number of features:

- what would be pronounced as [s] in standard German is pronounced as [ʃ] (“weltmeischer”, line 4; “isch”, line 6),
- what would be pronounced as [t] in standard German is pronounced as [d] (“under”, line 7),
- loss of sounds:
 - procope: *das* > “s” (line 2); *es* > “s” (line 6); *ist* > “isch” (line 6),
 - syncope: *angefangen* > “angfang” (line 2) ,
 - apocope:
 - [t] (“un”, “sin”, line 4),
 - [x] (“no”, line 6),

³⁶ I will maintain the German spelling of Baden-Württemberg because I view it as a fixed brand or company in this thesis.

- [ə] (“leut”, line 7),
- [n] (“vorstelle”, line 7).

We also encounter a person of a high(er) social status who speaks dialect and who is used as a symbol of collective identity. By using South Franconian German, Lingor identifies herself with the federal state and represents a role model for the audience. The language variety thus refers to a defined region and simultaneously has a representative function for the other dialects spoken in Baden-Württemberg.

The only time the recipient encounters standard German is at the end of the advertisement when the claim appears in written form: “Wir können alles. Außer Hoch-deutsch.”. This last image fulfills several functions. On the one hand, it finally solves the question about the sender of the advertisement and its intention. On the other hand, the claim is the only speech act in this example: it is a positive evaluation of the federal state, or rather a deliberate claim of perfection. Androutsopoulos (2009) comes to the conclusion that “[t]he meanings of localness in advertising [...] are complex and multi-layered, and despite enduring traditional stereotypes, local speech is sometimes coupled with high social status and recontextualized as a symbol of collective or corporate identity” (745). These elements can all be found in the Baden-Württemberg advertisement. The stereotype connected to people from Baden-Württemberg is that they only speak dialect, never High German. The federal state, the sender of the advertisement, addresses this stereotype by using it to its own advantage: without the statement referring to High German, “Wir können alles” would sound rather arrogant. What is more, it even turns the hetero-stereotype into an auto-stereotype, which shows that the people, or at least a fair number of them, cope with this prejudice in a humorous and witty way.

According to the advertising agency, this campaign has the following goal: “Baden-Württemberg soll für potenzielle Investoren, in- und ausländische Arbeitskräfte, die eigene Bevölkerung und Besucher zum attraktivsten deutschen Bundesland werden” (Scholz & Friends). This statement also implies the target audience for the advertisement: the addressee is anyone who can contribute to the economic success of the federal state or who simply enjoys the various merits Baden-Württemberg has to offer.

The scenery of the story —a soccer field in front of an industrialized apartment block—gives no indication of where it is set. Only the dialect, the mention of the city of Karlsruhe and the fact that it is an advertisement for Baden-Württemberg are clues that it could actually be situated in Karlsruhe.

On the level of visual signs, the recipient sees a group of women who are wearing

nice gowns or suits. The one in the middle, Renate Lingor, is holding a soccer ball. They start playing, still wearing dresses and pumps, using all their physical strength and even falling and rolling in the mud. The recipient can see with how much fun and ambition these women are playing soccer. The images have the function to show that despite their “girlish” looks, these women show complete commitment, even if that means to literally get their hands dirty and thus undermine the cliché that women do not know how to play soccer “properly”.

This advertisement is embedded in two overlapping discourses, namely soccer and gender. Soccer is generally perceived to be a male domain. In addition to promoting Baden-Württemberg, this advertisement also promotes women’s soccer by negating the common prejudice that women do not play as well as men do. In the voice-over, Lingor discusses exactly this problem, i.e. how people picture women’s soccer, “grad die männer” (line 8). She mocks men by turning around the standard phrase often heard from them *Was verstehen Frauen schon von Fußball?* into “was verstehen männer schon vom fußball?” (line 11). As a soccer player and even having won the world championship, Lingor is in the rightful position of saying this.

To conclude this analysis, and to return to the “actual” message of the advertisement, I would like to add that this advertisement text promotes a local space by embedding it into global processes: by inviting people to move to Baden-Württemberg (cf. the quotation by Scholz & Friends on the previous page), the sender of the advertisement calls upon people’s work- or other related mobility—a result of globalization. Although the federal state attaches great importance to regional distinctions, it does not seem to close itself to new influences from “outside”.

8.9 Berlitz

Berlitz is a language school and their advertising strategy is often based on the depiction of language problems in interactional situations. This also applies for the Berlitz advertisement in my data corpus: a story is told about the consequences of misunderstandings in interaction. A German Coast Guard officer shows a newly recruited employee around at his new workplace and explains all the important monitoring and radar equipment to him. He leaves the newcomer alone and immediately after the latter receives a distress call—in English, the language of communication in shipping. Unfortunately, his English skills are insufficient for the requirements and consequently a disastrous misunderstanding arises.

English is a language with countless different varieties, which range from standard (British English or American English) over regional (Cockney or Boston dialect) to foreign-accented varieties (Italian-accented or German-accented). Each variety stands out due to grammatical, prosodic or phonetic features. In the case of German-accented English, the commonly associated—and in this advertisement stereotypically used—phonetic features are:

- /w/ is realized as [v] (“what”, line 21),
- /ð/ is realized as [z] (“sis”, “se”, line 17),
- /θ/ is realized as [s] (“sinking”, line 21).

The fact that the German coastguard cannot correctly pronounce the <th> sound is not the actual problem. The problem is that he does not hear the phonetic difference between the <th> and the <s> sounds and therefore confuses the word *sinking* with the word *thinking*.

Research on language attitudes has shown that “the perceived beauty of a given accent is highly related to the overall positivity associated with a social group” (Rakić & Steffens, 2013:50). Especially in comparison with melodic languages as for example French, German is usually said to sound rather harsh. A German-accented speaker is ascribed the traits and qualities of the national stereotype: prestige, intelligence and reliability (cf. Beinhoff, 2013:33, 245). Clearly, this is not the case in the Berlitz advertisement. The only stereotype which Berlitz draws on is the prejudice that Germans cannot pronounce the English <th> sound (/ð/ or /θ/).

The advertisement deals with a “slice-of-life”-story (Heiser, 2004:49f.) and the function of the product, in this case a service, within this story is to provide an example which highlights “die Anwendung, die Wirkung oder den Nutzen eines Produkts und einer Dienstleistung” (Heiser, 2004:242). Instead of giving a lengthy talk about the importance of

“proper” mastery of foreign languages, a story is made up to explain it, and therefore the story is a way of reducing complexity. The function of the story is two-fold: it is informative and entertaining to watch (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582). The company’s slogan “Language for Life” reflects the notion of lifelong learning as well as the advantage of speaking foreign languages. The choice of an English slogan is evidence of the international orientation of the company. The text in the second last frame of the advertisement can be identified as a speech act which prompts the recipient to test the service, i.e. the company. Advertising often operates with exaggeration and that is also the case in this example. The exaggeration of the situation is so prominent that it seems almost comical to the recipient. Normally, the new coast guard officer would never have been hired without a language test beforehand, so the disaster in the story would never have happened. What is more, the message of the story seems to be that knowing proper English is very important because it is not simply a job skill, but because lives may depend upon it.

Another point I find to be rather exaggerated is the music that begins to play after the newly hired coast guard officer’s last utterance (line 21): the recipient listens to Ludwig van Beethoven’s “Symphony No. 9 in D minor”, or to be exact, to the final movement “Ode to Joy”. This triumphant-sounding piece of music is catchy and very famous (the instrumental version being the European Anthem), but what is its relation to the service or the company? Friedrich Schiller’s poem “Ode to Joy” conveys the message of the brotherhood of man and Beethoven transposed it in his symphony. A possible reason for Berlitz to choose this particular piece of music could be to communicate that it is a company well acquainted with a number of different languages—and with it a number of different cultures—and which brings people with different backgrounds together and encourages them to engage in joint language learning and intercultural exchange.

The situation portrayed in this advertisement is tragicomic: a coastguard receives a distress call, but misunderstands it. Although one could discuss the importance of understanding the speaker’s actual words, the coastguard should at least be able to figure out the problem from the context. It is such an absurd mistake, that the recipient is left behind with a half-desperate, half-amused impression. However, behind the amusing surface of the advertisement lies a deeper purpose. As already implied, the advertisement text is embedded in the discourse around second language acquisition (SLA). For a long time, every second language (L₂) learner’s goal was to attain language skills comparable to that of a NS in terms of vocabulary, grammar and style. Slowly but surely the NS-like aspiration begins to fade because L₂ learners become more confident in speaking with an accent or because they deliberately want

to keep their accent to show their identification and affiliation with their L₁. In view of globalization and the fact that curricula call for an increased learning of foreign languages, more and more people speak more than just their native language. This results in a higher frequency of foreign accents because accents are hardly ever entirely unlearned. In contrast to this development, the viewer of the advertisement is given the impression that Berlitz still clings to the NS ideal by purposely ridiculing a person speaking English with a rather strong foreign accent.

Related to the topic of SLA is the debate on English—which has already been taken up in the context of the Paulaner advertisement in section 8.3—, especially as an L₂. As part of globalization and the internationalization of markets and cooperations, English has become the dominant business language and thereby a “technical skill” (Heller, 2007:543)—a necessary requirement for many jobs, as for example in this case. Berlitz seems to promote this view of language as a commodity, which does not take into account the fact that language is also always a source of identification and bears emotional value for each individual speaker. In reality, every interactant speaks a slightly different form of English, i.e. with a different accent. Berlitz, however, only seems to view accents in the sense of poor L₂ skills. The company takes up the topic of foreign-accented speech, illustrates a potential misunderstanding that can result from accented speech and finally uses it as an opportunity to come to people’s support with their service.

In her article, Beinhoff (2013) discussed the relationship between globalization and English and asked: “Is the worldwide spread of English as the most taught, learned and used foreign language caused by globalization or has the increasing amount of English use rather made globalization possible?” (12). In my eyes, it is impossible to answer this question, but it opens our eyes to the discussion about the complex processes and developments of globalization and how closely they are intertwined with language.

8.10 Renault Mégane

Unlike other car advertisements, in which the audience sees the car driving in a city or countryside to show the respective car in action, this Renault advertisement is set in a studio. It is another example for a testimonial (cf. Heiser, 2004:58f.): a man presents the Mégane to the viewer by naming the car's special features, looking directly into the camera. The function of this kind of storytelling (cf. Kroeber-Riel & Weinberg, 1996:582) is to provide information about as well as emotional experiences attached to the car to sway the recipient. The presenter is French, but switches between a standard variety of French and French-accented German. At the end of the advertisement, a voice-over names the company and the catchphrase.

First of all, it is remarkable that a French car maker uses a foreign language in their television commercial, since France is generally known to be very particular about its language and for the restrictive use of foreign languages in the public sphere—a phenomenon Weinreich (1963) calls “language loyalty” (99). It can be assumed that the use of the German language originates from the ethno-cultural association of cars with Germany: “the language in question is associated with a particular product category, or a culture that has expertise in the relevant area” (37), as Kelly-Holmes (2005) points out with reference to the cultural competence hierarchy. However, the share of French predominates and subtitles in French are provided throughout the commercial due to the law.³⁷

In the advertisement text, the switching between German and French is no actual code-switching, but again a “metaphorical switching” (cf. Holmes, 1992:48) because of missing external reasons for a switch. The actor begins and closes the television advertisement in German, thereby creating a frame which opens the floor for a Franco-German context. Nonetheless, he maintains a clear affiliation with French because of the intonation and his accent when saying [i:] (line 20) instead of [iç]. The German words the presenter uses are limited to short and basic words like articles, conjugations of the verb *sein*, adjectives, prepositions, pronouns, and particles. In half of the cases, he mixes the correct German articles with technical data or a description of specific features in French—and by correct I mean in correlation to the sex of the noun in French (lines 1, 4, 15, 18). For example, in line 1 the speaker talks about the Renault Mégane, the car. In French, *car* is feminine (*la voiture*) and so *eine* is the grammatically correct indefinite article. The adjective *grosse* in “grosse bonne note” might in fact stand for both the French and the German adjective, here again bridging the two languages and using them as if they were one.

³⁷ The Loi Toubon (1994) dictates that a French translation has to be provided for every word of a foreign language when used in a public context, such as advertising.

The most interesting—definitely the most clever—wordplay occurs in a scene towards the end of the commercial: “i:sch bin ein berliner [...] berline renauld mégame” (lines 27-29). The French noun *berline* means ‘limousine’ and when pronounced, sounds exactly like the name of the German capital. The reference to John F. Kennedy’s famous line “Ich bin ein Berliner” is certainly intended. At this point, the speaker makes a clear connection between the French car and Germany, with Berlin standing for the entire country, drawing again on Germany’s cultural competence for building cars of high quality.

Renault’s advertisement contains three out of four of Stöckl’s (2004) speech acts. In the first shot, the product is named and then portrayed and positively evaluated throughout the whole text. The verbal description of the utility and conveniences of specific features of the car is supported by the images used in the advertisement, e.g. gestures pointing towards a component or close-ups with the camera. Drawing back on Cook (1992:108f.), we do have a list of technical data presented by an actor in this commercial, but in combination with a certain *joie de vivre* on the side, as for example the pleasure of the sound system. This might be a hint at the relation the Germans are said to have to their cars: the car is not only a means of transportation for the owner but more of a highly valued part of their life. The reduced carbon dioxide emission and the fact that the driver cannot get lost thanks to the GPS device count among the effects of the product. Last but not least, a speaker from the off positively evaluates the company (line 30).

What is special about car advertising is “[d]espite a sprinkling of technical data in the long copy of car ads, ‘you’ are rarely sold a car alone [...] ‘you’ are also sold yourself in an attractive persona, role or environment” (Cook, 1992:108f.). The “sprinkling of technical data” is mostly characteristic for advertisements destined for a German audience, who like to be well informed about the product they are supposed to buy. But “[d]ie Kaufentscheidung über ein Auto wird [...] nur bedingt durch den Werbespot beeinflusst” (124), Heiser (2004) noticed. Cars are a big financial investment, so before taking an economic risk, potential buyers are interested in informing themselves about the range of products available and compare before finally making a decision. Television advertisements cannot provide detailed information about all the different features of a car in only about 30 seconds—also because this would not be entertaining to watch for the recipient. Most car advertisements therefore try to establish an emotional connection between the audience and the car. Despite the fact that the Renault advertisement at hand is set in an interchangeable studio and that the recipient is confronted with a long list of technical data, an emotional relation is established by means of the presenter and his likable manner: he even “reveals” personal information about himself,

namely that he is a music lover.

But to fully understand the text and the message of this advertisement, it is important to know that it is actually a persiflage of a television advertisement by the German car manufacturer Opel broadcasted in France.³⁸ The Opel advertisement is set in a similar, white studio and a German presenter describes the car's special features, showing the motor and the sound system, repeatedly stressing the German art of engineering and the quality of the car. Renault's claim "La qualité version française" alludes directly to Opel's continuing statements about the ethno-cultural stereotype of Germany standing for reliability, solidity, and quality (cf. Jaffe & Nebenzahl, 2006:83). With this claim, Renault shows their awareness of the general notion of the German sovereignty with regard to quality cars and at the same time claims this characteristic for their new version of the Mégane. Even though the actor (who represents the company in this spot) comments on this claim with a sighing "jajaja" (line 32), this comment gives the impression of a rather confident company who proves that French car manufacturers are equally capable of producing high-quality cars as German manufacturers. One could therefore assume that Opel belongs to the target audience as well because the Mégane advertisement is a direct reaction to the Opel Corsa advertisement.

Two years later, another advertisement for the Renault Mégane is released, which, again, targets the more or less jocular dispute with Opel (Renault French Touch "Les Allemands"). This more recent television advertisement features the same presenter and also seems to be set in the same studio. But this time it is constructed in the form of a behind-the-scenes situation. The speaker mixes French and German, makes direct references to Germans (lines 3, 11, 18) and uses Opel's slogan "Das Auto" to advertise the Mégane ("das voiture", line 6). Once again, it follows an enumeration of the car's special features and a scene with music. But in this text, the presenter even openly apologizes to his German friends ("amis allemands", line 18, a formulation which also needs to be taken ironically) for offering such an excessively equipped (line 20) car at a reasonable price.

These two television commercials address and continue the seemingly never-ending battle between France and Germany in wanting to outperform the other. We are dealing with a product for which Germany is known to possess the cultural competence. Renault presumes this to be shared knowledge and this time claims the authority and know-how for themselves, thereby challenging Germany's "supremacy". The advertisement unmistakably sides with France and emphasizes the expertise of this geographically defined space. Nonetheless, glob-

³⁸ The advertisement of the Opel Corsa Série 111 can be found under the following URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=26FgHKKpTqE>.

ality is indicated due to the fact that the advertisements at hand refer to an advertisement by a German car manufacturer and that the car industry itself operates on an international level and thus creates plenty of competition, of which the described “quarrel” between France and Germany is one example.

Returning to the linguistic aspects of this text, it has to be considered that the two neighbouring countries have always had a special relationship due to historical events and—at least along the border—language contact and bilingualism have been and are common phenomena. If a big company like Renault is indirectly promoting bi-/multilingualism, it is only a logical consequence that the mass of people who watch this commercial will have to think about the reasons for and intentions of the use of a foreign language in such a public matter. Ideally, they will even reflect on their own language competence and behavior and recognize the importance and usefulness of speaking more than one language.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND OUTLOOK

In this last chapter, I would like to summarize my findings, link them to the framework of this thesis as introduced in the beginning and provide an outlook on possible further research related to this topic.

As I hope to have shown in the course of this thesis, advertising and social life are intertwined and influence each other: “[r]epresentations of society in advertising have their basis in the social order, but at the same time, the social order is constantly being re-created by reference to model discourse such as advertising” (Piller, 2001:156). Therefore, advertising is “something of which we are part, and which is part of us (whether we like it or not)” (Cook, 1992:182). It is a part of us because we are confronted with advertising every day and because the majority of advertisements depict familiar, daily situations we can identify with. Companies and advertisers work on creating stories and situations which are as authentic as possible to convince the recipient, even if this means to create an entirely fictitious world within the advertisement. Commenting on the function of advertising, Cook (1992) states: “advertising can be seen as urging people to consume more by making them feel dissatisfied or in-adequate, by appealing to greed, worry and ambition. On the other hand, it may be argued that many ads are skilful, clever and amusing, and that it is unjust to make them a scapegoat for all the sorrows of the modern world” (16).

Heiser (2004) remarks that “Werbespots gerne öfter gesehen werden und mit je-der neuen Rezeption der Spaß am Erkennen und Erleben der Bilder zunimmt” (119). This shows that advertisements are not only manipulative forms of communication, they are also a form of entertainment. As we have seen in the analyses, television advertisements rely heavily on imagery because images are particularly suitable for conveying emotions, giving proof of what is claimed verbally and lending the commercial a realistic touch. Visual signs serve to support the identification of linguistic cues by means of the setting or the characters’ physical appearance. Although the combination of linguistic and visual signs is intended to increase the authenticity and reliability of an advertisement, it usually amounts to a depiction of stereotypes. However, some advertisements use unforeseen combinations to attract the audience’s attention, as is the case in the Homepride spots. Apart from the images, the other very important factor in television advertising is language. Companies not only choose to work and play with one language and its special features, but also with different languages and language varieties. All advertisement texts share their structure, which consists of an intradiegetic story embedded in an extradiegetic frame, and the use of language variation. With the ex-

ception of the Paulaner advertisement, the extradiegetic speaker uses a standard variety to underline the company's integrity and the intradiegetic speakers use non-standard varieties ranging from colloquial over dialectal to foreign-accented language. These serve to activate knowledge—be it stereotypical or empirical—about the language variety in question as well as their speakers and establish spatial or societal con-texts. The use of a particular language variety

“ruft [...] bestimmte Assoziationen und Werte (Traditions- und Ortsverbundenheit, Bodenständigkeit, Authentizität) auf, die auf das beworbene Produkt übergehen sollen, oder betont die regionale Herkunft des Produktes oder Unternehmens [...]. Da als Reaktion auf die Globalisierung auch die Regionalisierungstendenzen zunehmen, scheint es durchaus möglich, dass vor dem Hintergrund dieser Werte Dialektwerbung zukünftig zunehmen wird. Auffällig ist, dass Werbung, die Dialekt verwendet, fast ausnahmslos Nahrungs- und Genussmittel bewirbt.” (Efing, 2012:175)

Efing's observations coincide with my findings in this thesis. The widely accepted idea of globalization leading only to uniformity in all areas of life, from languages over clothes up to lifestyle, is no longer tenable. However, this does not mean that global processes or circumstances are not addressed in the advertisement texts. Most cases make reference to both global and local phenomena. A reason why especially food and drinks are promoted using dialects is because they are often associated with a particular place and so the country-of-origin effect applies. For some of my data examples, this term would need to be adapted to region-of-origin effect because in the case of Paulaner and Flensburger the product, wheat beer, is associated with a specific region of Germany, namely Bavaria. Whereas the frames of the food advertisements are mainly clear and comprehensible (Flensburger, Paulaner, Homepride), the discourses other advertisement stories refer to are not related to the product, e.g. Windows and arranged marriages or Baden-Württemberg and gender. In even other advertisements, a change of the contextual situation takes places, as is the case with Schöffelhofer wheat beer and the allusion to champagne.

To link my findings back to the theories about globalization and localization I introduced in the beginning, I would like to point out again the increase of global social relations and interactions in the personal as well as the public sphere. Modern communication technologies and people's mobility have brought about a dissolution of national, cultural and ethnic boundaries, i.e. a deterritorialization. A person's identity can be reterritorialized by bringing local practices and “global cultural flows” (Jaquemet, 2005:263) together. The most fitting data example for a de- and re-territorialization is the Windows commercial, which depicts a

young woman's simultaneous presence in different places and spaces: the own living room as well as the World Wide Web. The text also shows how language is used differently depending on the medium of communication and the interactants. This development has a decisive impact on languages and their usage. For the researchers Jaquemet (2005) and Penny-cook (2010, 2012) these effects are almost exclusively positive. By using all the different languages that are available to oneself in everyday interactions and via different channels, the individual mixes and creolizes the languages, which ultimately leads to innumerable new communicative practices (cf. Jaquemet, 2005:264f.). Throughout the globalization process, language varieties continue to be relevant as a source of identification and the meaningfulness of language and its codes and styles changes towards a diversification. Yet, some languages or varieties gain importance, whereas others lose their importance. Languages "may offer potential for moving across physical and social spaces" (Mirdal & Rynänen-Karjalaine, 2004:34), but it depends on which language it is. The language which probably offers the most advantages to its speaker is English. In the past decades, English has become the dominant language of the public sphere, as business language (see the Berlitz advertisement), in youth language or due to borrowings and Anglicisms.

In her study on the perception of accents Beinhoff (2013) comes to the conclusion that "[a]ttitudes are a dominant factor in perceiving communication partners and very often they determine whether communication is successful or not" (259). In this case, the characters and speakers in the advertisement are the communication partners and the success of the advertisement depends on the recipient's attitude towards the speaker's dialect or foreign accent, which is oftentimes shaped by stereotypes or prejudices against a specific social group or region. Related to that is the question of the intended and unintended function of acting with words (cf. Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011:50). The company chooses a particular language variety based on its relation to the product or the company, but the effect on the audience may be different because they do not understand the logical connection or simply have a negative attitude towards the variety. Interestingly, advertising hardly ever breaks with preconceptions so that stereotypes are confirmed and already existing perceptions and attitudes are strengthened (e.g. the Bavarian beer culture, the connection of erotic adventures with Frenchmen and France or the inability of the inhabitants of Baden-Württemberg to speak High German). Androutsopoulos (2009) found an explanation for the use of stereotypes in advertising: "as media contexts are complex and ambivalent, resorting to stereotypes of localness may offer producers and audiences a relieving reduction of complexity" (742). What is more, most advertisements which make use of stereotypes also employ humor, as if to show that the exagger-

ated portrayal of people and places is really nothing more than a stereotype and is not equivalent to reality.

Although the advertisements presented here are quite different from each other and created for a specific market, they confirm my hypothesis and are all part of one discourse, namely the discourse on the interconnectedness of language and the factors which determine it, in this case spatial factors and the question of localization and identity. Due to the limited number of analyzed texts, the findings of this paper are of course not generalizable enough to make assumptions about the correlation between spaces or places and language use, but nevertheless they do indicate a certain tendency of localization as advertising strategy, be it in a regional or the global sphere, and shed light on the importance of an increased use of language varieties for identification purposes. Future research should therefore also investigate other forms of advertising and advertisements for other products to provide evidence for this. In addition, empirical studies with a focus on persuasion strategies and the attitudes of the addressed audience towards the language varieties used could be insightful (e.g. following the concept of audience design by Bell (1984)). Although a tendency towards a holistic view on advertisements is recognizable, researchers should attempt to consider all modes of an advertisement text. What is more, advertising as an independent and “proper” form of communication should be taken more seriously in the future as advertisements could even be considered an art form due to the abundance and density of signs, which are all logically connected and embedded into larger frames and discourses.

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ADVERTISEMENT URLS

Baden-Württemberg:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gDGuSj_Xolo [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Berlitz:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gmOTpIVxji8> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Bud Light “Foreign Accent”:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1_lx13fdU8 [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Bud Light “Voice Modulator”:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2tOepGpowzk> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Flensburger Pilsener:

<http://www.flens.de/#/exklusiv/neulichinwesterhever> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Flensburger Weizen:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5KuPi0LAmtI> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Homepride Bindu & Riz:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0z1MXdMQG0Q> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Homepride Dilip:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pg5mKLyKTXA> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Windows:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z2LmvHwNyPo> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Paulaner Weißbier:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vvWNg8B9VSE> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Renault Mégane:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zi92hPpA45E> [Retrieved June 13,2014]

Renault French Touch “Les Allemands”:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Hfvj1SWQEk> [Retrieved June 13, 2014]

Schöffelhofer Weizen:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4pm-TsQoak&list=PLR3rHwKxGVg1Tb5q_-21DGPH9LUD274cQ&index=9 [Retrieved June 13,2014]

APPENDIX





The manner of transcription has been taken from Polajnar Lenarčič (2012) and translated and modified for the purposes of this paper.






Transcription key taken from Wong & Waring (2010:xv; selection as needed):

.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
:	prolonging of sound
=	immediate latches between utterances by different speakers
[]	simultaneous or overlapping speech
>word<	quicker speech
<u>word</u>	stress (the more underlining, the greater the stress)
WORD	loud speech
(.)	micro-pause: 0.2 second or less
(1.0)	length of a silence in seconds
((word))	non-speech activity
()	inaudible talk
\$word\$	smiley voice

1 Schöfferhofer Weizen





Company: Schöfferhofer Brauerei	Broadcasted 1996
Product name: Schöfferhofer Weizen	
Length: 0:37	Speakers: female voice-over (fVO), male voice-over (mVO)





Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
			  (man plays on a saxophone)
1 2 3	fVO: lieber 'arald (0.5) 'ast du lust auf ein spiel?		
4 5 6	(0.5) fVO: geh links (0.5)		

7 8	fVO: schau nach oben (0.5)		
9 10	fVO: und woran erinnert di:sch das? (1.0)		
11	fVO: genau (.)		
12 13	fVO: die bier die so schön prickelt in mein bauchnabel		
14 15	mVO: schöfferhofer weizen (.) prickelt länger als man trinkt	Prickelt länger, als man trinkt.	

2.1 Bud Light “Voice Modulator”





Company: Bud Light	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Bud Light	
Length: 0:30	Speakers: Keith Geurts (KG), 3 men (M1, M2, M3), voice-over (VO)

Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3	KG : everyone knows that foreign accents are attractive (.) that’s why the bud light institute made the sexy accent voice modulator	Keith Geurts C.E.O., Bud Light Institute	 Keith Geurts C.E.O., Bud Light Institute
4 5 6	KG: now [you can say practically anything] M1: [bla bla bla bla] KG: and be hooking up in no time	“Sexy Accent” Voice Modulator	 “Sexy Accent” Voice Modulator
7 8	M1: and my favorite food is erm shicken		 (women laugh)
			


9	M2: dude (.) that accent is whack		
10 11	M3: ((laughs)) but i'm jus big-boned		
12	KG: goodness (.) gracious		
13 14	VO: from the great place that never lets you down make it a bud light		

2.2 Bud Light “Foreign Accent”

Company: Bud Light	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Bud Light	
Length: 0:30	Speakers: 6 men (M1, M2, M3, M4, M5, M6), woman (W), voice-over (VO)






Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3	M1: ok guys (.) american chicks lo:ve de foreign accent (.) go		
4	M2: you have the thighs of a sherpa		
5 6 7 8	M1: say hi M3: HI M1: no not hi hi (. HI M3: hi hi HI		
9	M4: \$she has your eyes\$		

(hen clucks)

10 11	M1: watch the master do it boys hello (.) you're so very <u>sexy</u>		
12 13	W: sorry (.) i'm with someone M5: bu:d light		 (sound of beer bottles clinking)
14 15 16	VO: endless refreshment from start to finish bud light (.) keeps it coming	Keeps it coming PLEASE DRINK RESPONSABLY.	
17	M6: we make sandwich (.) i am m:eat		 <small>© 2013 Anheuser-Busch, Inc. Bud Light® Beer, St. Louis, MO</small>

3 Paulaner Weißbier







Company: Paulaner Brauerei GmbH & Co.KG	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Paulaner Weißbier	Advertising agency: kempertrautmann GmbH
Length: 0:20	Speakers: British (B), German (G), voice-over (VO)







Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1	VO: geschichten ausm paulanergarten		
2	B: yes. (.) yes? (.) yes.		 <p>(hangs up)</p> 
			 <p>(cell phone rings)</p>
3 4	G: the person you have called is temporarily not available (.) pfiati		


<p>5 6 7</p>	<p>B: cheers ahh G: YES=</p>		
			<p>(sound of beer glasses clinking)</p>
<p>8</p>	<p>VO: =gut (.) besser (.) paulaner</p>	<p>GUT, BESSER, PAULANER.</p>	

4 Flensburger Pilsener

Company: Flensburger Brauerei	Broadcasted 2014
Product name: Flensburger Pilsener	
Length: 0:50	Speakers: tourist (T), three men (M1, M2, M3), voice-over (VO), n.n.




Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
			 <p>(Flensburger-jingle)</p>
1 2 3 4 5	T: morgen kollegen (.) kann mir einer von euch vielleicht sagen wo ich dieses bier von hier finde (1.0) das mit reiner küstengerste gebraut wird		
6	(0.5)		
7 8 9	und diesem coolen wasser (.) aus der gletscherquelle (0.5)		 
10 11 12	und das ich mit meinem Daumen (.) ((moves finger)) öffnen kann		 <p>(sound of a bottle popping open)</p>

13	(15.0)		 <p>(sound of beer bottles clinking)</p>
			
14	M1: mann der hadde joa n dolles audo		
15	M2: und unser bier kannte er auch		
16	M3: joa nur schade dass er schon wieder los mussde ne?		 <p>(typical Flensburger-sound of bottles popping open)</p>
17	VO: gebraut mit küstengerste aus schleswigholstein=		

18	n.n: =ahh	Genuss erleben. Flensburger Pilsener.	
19	VO: flensburger pilsener	(seal in the top right corner: 125 Flensburger Brauerei)	



5 Flensburger Weizen

Company: Flensburger Brauerei	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Flensburger Weizen	
Length: 0:21	Speakers: Bavarian (B), Northern German (NG), voice-over (VO)

Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3 4	NG: öhm sech ma alois weso dringst du egendlich bloß die halw inliter flensburger wejen B: na (.) weil's hoald grosser is NG: ach so		 (sound of the sea)
			 (typical Flensburger-sound of bottles popping open) (sound of beer bottles clinking)
5 6	VO: flensburger weizen eben ein flens	Eben ein Flens. www.flens.de	 (Flensburger-jingle)

6.1 Homepride “Bindu & Riz”

Company: Homepride	Broadcasted 1996
Product name: Home Pride Curry Sauce	Advertising agency: Y&R
Length: 0:31	Speakers: mother (M), father (F), son (S), voice-over (VO)






Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1	VO: meet my friends bindu and riz	Homepride CURRY Sauces	
2 3	M: homepride's new korma sauce makes a deliciously creamy curry	Bindu and Riz, London.	
4 5	M: they've improved the balance of spices so that's even more mouth-watering		
6	M: and you get that full rich flavour in just twenty minutes		

7	M: it's the best tasting korma this side of watford		
8	F: cracking ruby		
9	S: ((laughs))		
10 11 12	VO: homepride curry sauces (.) authentic flavours from all around the world (.) also available in london	Homepride CURRY Sauces	

6.2 Homepride “Dilip”





Company: Homepride	Broadcasted 1996
Product name: Homepride Cook in Sauce	Advertising agency: Y&R
Length: 0:31	Speakers: man (M), voice-over (VO)


Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1	VO: meet my friend dilip	Homepride COOK <i>in</i> SAUCES	
2	M: arh homepride curry sauce		






3	M: cooks so well in the oven	Dilip, Glasgow	
4 5	M: and it only takes a couple of minutes to prepare so you got more time to spend with your family		
6	M: ahh curry and a bevvy		
7 8	M: as we scots say stone stuff		
9 10 11 12	VO: homepride cook in sauces (.) authentic flavours from all around the world (.) also available in glasgow	Homepride COOK <i>in</i> SAUCES	



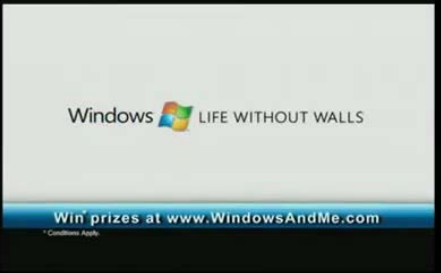
7 Windows

Company: Microsoft	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Windows	
Length: 1:02	Speakers: mother (M), girl (G), brother (B), voice-over (VO)

Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3	M: oh ji prince is such a handsome boy you see (.) your girl is very lucky i tell you		
4	G: ((feigned laughter))		 (cell phone rings)
5 6 7 8	M: and my beta is so decent no disco shisco types home to office (.) office to home never goes uthar ither	Windows Mobile: Hey sis, howz the guy? (emoticon rolling its eyes) Send Picture	 



9	B: ahh.	<p>Windows Mobile</p> <p>Send Video</p>	 
10 11 12 13	M: She 's so intelligent he always come first in class (.)\$ you know (.) prince gets six-figure salary package	<p>Windows Mobile</p> <p>You have 1 new email Subject: Problem solved</p> <p>Windows Media Center</p>	 
14	M: and so much money he gives to charity		

15 16	M: also he never drink shrink totally total mh		
17 18 19 20	M: hore de hore he's so religious evryday he does puja dese modern type girls		
21	M: he doesn't ever look at dem		
22	M: ha ((startled))		
		Windows Live (winking emoticon) Thanx Bro	

<p>23</p> <p>24</p>	<p>M: one more son I have</p> <p>VO: turn life your way</p>		
<p>25</p>	<p>VO: with windows on pc, internet and mobile</p>		
		<p>Windows VISTA MOBILE LIVE</p> <p>LIFE WITHOUT WALLS</p>	

8 Baden-Württemberg





Company: Bundesland Baden-Württemberg	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Bundesland Baden-Württemberg	Advertising agency: Scholz & Friends Group GmbH
Length: 0:30	Speakers: Renate Lingor (RL)


Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3	RL: also ich bin die reate lingor und (.) s kicken anfang hab ich in karlsruhe (2.0)	Renate Lingor Weltmeisterin	
4 5	un jetzt sin wir frauen weltmeischer (3.0)		
6 7 8	She s isch immer no komisch(.) was sich die leut under frauenfußball vorstelle (.) grad die männer\$		
9	(5.0)		

<p>10 11</p>	<p>aber \$he was verstehen männer schon vom fußball?!</p>		
		<p>Baden- Württemberg</p>	 <p>Baden-Württemberg</p>
		<p>Wir können alles. Außer Hochdeutsch. www.baden-wuerttemberg.de</p>	<p>Wir können alles. Außer Hochdeutsch.</p> <p><small>www.baden-wuerttemberg.de</small></p>

9 Berlitz




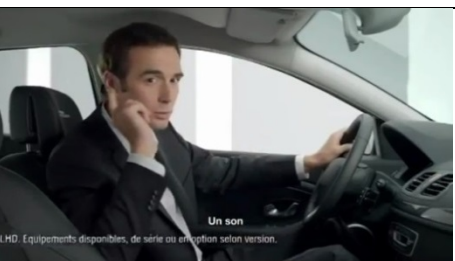


Company: Berlitz	Broadcasted n.a.
Product name: Berlitz	
Length: 0:40	Speakers: boss (B), new employee (N), voice-over (VO)

Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3 4	B: das hier ist mein sektor das hier ist das wichtigste gerät des küstenwächters das gerät und das gerät überlebens (.) radar		 (slaps on N's back)
5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	N: ((takes a deep breath)) (2.0) ((beep)) ((signal noise)) VO: mayday mayday ((signal noise)) hello can you hear us CAN you hear us can you= =((signal noise)) () over ((signal noise)) we are sinking WE ARE sinking		
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	N: hallo (1.0) sis is se german coast guard VO: ((signal noise)) we're sinking we're sinking ((signal noise)) N: what are you (.) sinking about		
		Improve your English	 (Beethoven's <i>Ode an die Freude</i> , Finale)

		Berlitz Language for Life	 (Beethoven's "Symphony No. 9 in D minor", final movement)
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10.1 Renault Mégane


Company: Renault	Broadcasted 2011
Product name: Mégane	
Length: 0:52	Speakers: man (M), voice-over (VO)



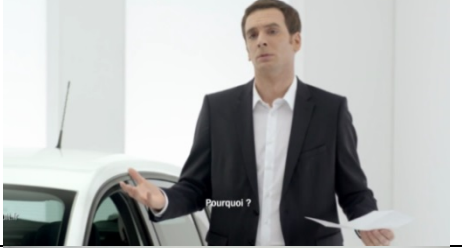


Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1 2 3	M: das ist eine renault mégane (.) sehr gut voiture	Ceci est une Renault Mégane, très bonne voiture.	 <small>Ceci est une Renault Mégane, très bonne voiture.</small>
4 5 6 7 8 9	mit ein motor de cent-dix chevaux <u>und</u> motorisation éco deux (.) eine taux de rejet co deux de cent-dix grammes (.) das ist moins d'impact (.) sur l'environnement (1.0)	Equipée d'un moteur dCi de 110 chevaux / et d'une motorisation Eco 2. / Un taux de rejet de CO2 de 110 grammes par kilomètre / qui contribue à réduire l'impact sur l'environnement.	 <small>Equipée d'un moteur dCi de 110 chevaux</small>
10 11 12 13 14 15	die coffre (1.0) quatre-cents-cinq litres (.) seh::r spacieux mais aussi eine boîte automatique à <u>double</u> embrayage edc	Le coffre, / 405 litres. / Très spacieux. / Mais aussi / une boîte automatique à double embrayage EDC,	 <small>Très spacieux. Cinq étoiles obtenus en 2008 sur Renault Mégane 1.5 dCi - Expression L1H. Equipement</small>
16 17 18 19	eine son (.) bose. avec <u>eine</u> cd-radio mp3 avec <u>eine</u> commande au volant (1.0)	Un son / Bose ® / avec un Radio CD MP3 / et des commandes au volant.	 <small>Un son LHD. Equipements disponibles, de série ou en option selon version.</small>
20	ja i:sch bin mélomane	Oui je suis mélomane.	
21 22 23 24	ach ja ? carminat tomtom live aussi jamais perdu <u>nein</u> (.) jamais? he	Ah oui, Carminat TomTom live aussi. Jamais perdu non, jamais !	 <small>Ah oui, Carminat TomTom live aussi.</small>

25	sécurité <u>cing</u> étoiles euro n cap	Sécurité, cinq étoiles EuroN- cap.	
26	grosse bonne note.	Très bonne note.	
27	M: i:sch bin ein berliner	Je suis dans une berline,	
28	(1.0)	berline Renault Mégane	
29	berline renault mégane		
30	VO: renault (.) la qualité (.)	RENAULT. LA QUALITÉ	
31	version française=	VERSION FRANÇAISE.	
32	M: =jajaja. ((sighing))	Oui oui oui.	
		RENAULT QUALITY MADE La qualité par Renault	
		RENAULT CHANGEONS DE VIE CHANGEONS L'AUTOMOBILE	

10.2 Renault French Touch “Les Allemands”

Company: Renault	Broadcasted 2013
Product name: Mégane	
Length: 0:29	Speakers: man (M), voice-over (VO), singer voice (SING)

Line	Audio transcript	Displayed text	Picture (relevant sounds/music)
1	M: non mais les gars		
2	je vais encore avoir des problèmes		
3	avec les allemands moi		

4 5 6	non parce que la renault limited c'est <u>das voiture</u>	La voiture	
7 8 9 10	der régulateur-limiteur de vitesse die climatisation das aide au parking arrière grosse liste d'équipements	Le régulateur-limiteur de vitesse / La climatisation / L'aide au parking arrière / Grande liste d'équipements	
11 12 13 14 15 16	M : là les allemands ils vont se déborder= SING : =warum (1.0) sag (1.0) warum	Pourquoi ? / Dis / Pourquoi ?	
18 19 20 21 22	M : isch bin désolé pour nos amis allemands mais en ce moment c'est la french touch chez renault VO: renault mégane limited dci suréquipée est à 17 490 euros M : la touche francesa	Je suis désolé pour nos amis Allemands RENAULT MÉGANE LI- MITED dCi SURÉQUIPPÉE 17 490 € ⁽¹⁾ Sous condition de reprise Bonus écologique de 200€ déduit	
		RENAULT QUALITY MADE La qualité par Renault	
		RENAULT CHANGEONS DE VIE CHANGEONS L'AUTOMOBILE	