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ENGLISH IN POLISH OUTDOOR ADVERTISING A LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS OF POLISH ADVERTISEMENTS OF CULTURAL EVENTS

ABSTRACT

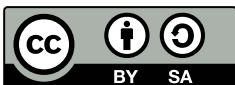
The paper presents a linguistic landscape analysis with elements of multimodality of 60 advertisements of various cultural events collected in Polish public space, written in both Polish and English. The study aims to establish what elements of the advertisements tend to be expressed in English, how, additionally, multimodal tools foreground or background the use of the two languages, and, consequently, what message such choices convey about the status of English in Poland as reflected through the analysed genre.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism, global English, outdoor advertising, linguistic landscape, multimodality

INTRODUCTION

The topic of the paper is to present an analysis of written outdoor advertisements of cultural and entertainment events composed in Polish and English, or fully in English, which can be found more and more frequently in Polish streets. The aim is to investigate them as manifestations of multilingual texts¹ and assess the role which especially the English language tends to play in the genre. The following analysis should be viewed with an awareness that the Polish law on texts appearing in public space stipulates that “[o]n the territory of the Polish Republic, the Polish language shall be used in all legal action between Polish entities as well as in cases when one of the parties is Polish. Specifically, this paragraph refers to names of goods and

¹ A multilingual text will be understood here broadly as a text composed, in varying proportions and with a possible replication of a part or the whole of the meaning, in two or more languages.



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services, advertisements, instructions for use, information about properties of goods and services and warranty terms and conditions, invoices, bills and receipts.”² This resolution therefore demands the use of the Polish language in official contexts in Poland.³ On the other hand, the English language has unquestionably increased its visibility in an ever growing number of non-English speaking countries as of late, especially in the countries of the Expanding Circle, in which it is used as an important foreign language (cf. Jenkins 2015; Kachru 1992; Phillipson 2018). The use of English as a Lingua Franca, a variety facilitating communication between speakers of various other linguistic backgrounds⁴ has gained recognition in scholarly studies as well (Cogo, Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2011). Numerous domains of private and public language use in Poland have reflected this tendency quite abundantly in the recent two decades too.

This is the context in which the following analysis of outdoor advertisements of broadly understood cultural events to be offered in Poland will be conducted. The investigation will primarily focus on the linguistic aspects of the texts of the collected samples of the genre of advertisements in search of possible regularities and specific functions of the languages, especially including the identification of typical meanings and sections of the advertising texts in which the English language has been predominantly used. The study will be set within the theoretical framework of the Linguistic Landscape (LL) investigation (cf. Gorter 2006, 2013 2018; Landry, Bourhis 1997; Spolsky 2009), and conducted from the perspective of critical discourse analysis. As an additional source of understanding of the linguistic choices made in the analysed advertisements discussed will also be some semiotic (multimodal) aspects of the collected text samples (pertaining only to the textual component of the analysed advertisements), viz. their location in the body of the advertisement, as well as the colour and the size of the font applied, with the aim to establish how these may help to foreground or background the meanings they convey in the two respective languages, Polish and English.

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

The study of the collected material will be kept within the theoretical framework of Linguistic Landscape, which typically analyses language(s) displayed on public signs, for instance advertisements and billboards, in a particular, physical, and nowa-

² Article 7, the Act on the Polish language of 7 October, 1999.

³ Based on this assumption a TV viewer appealed to the court in 2014 with a complaint that the actors in a commercial advertising of Paco Rabanne perfumes spoke English on Polish TV, against the above-mentioned law that requires advertising to be provided in the language understood by everybody in the country, and on that ground he won the case (*Rzeczpospolita*, 6 November, 2014).

⁴ ELF is typically described as English which is “used as a contact language among speakers from different first languages” (Jenkins 2009: 143).

days also virtual space, which in the present study will be represented by the linguistic landscape of the city of Kraków, Poland. As Kelly-Holmes (2005) highlights, the use of multiple languages in advertising is a tool to index international identity as opposed to the national and local one. The analysis of the visibility and strategic use of Polish and English found in Polish outdoor advertising will, therefore, help us draw conclusions about the values which the two languages and thereby cultures index in the Polish advertising discourse.

An investigation of linguistic landscape was first conducted in 1977 in Israel (cf. Rosenbaum *et al.* 1977), with a focus on the use of multilingual signs in the streets of Jerusalem. However, the field was given its name only in 1997, following the by now classical study by Landry and Bourhis in Canada, who defined the concept as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs” (Landry, Bourhis 1997: 23). As a result of the intense development of the discipline, which originally focused on the public space of mainly metropolitan areas, analysing private as well as official public signs (Gorter 2006, 2013), the LL investigation has spread into other contexts of study as well, gradually including online resources, images, sounds, smells, etc. (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Ivkovic, Lotherington 2009; Jaworski, Thurlow 2010; Scarvaglieri *et al.* 2013; Shohamy, Gorter 2009). The field has evolved from a stage of its being primarily descriptive in character to employing a more critical approach regarding the studied signs, on the assumption that the signs used in public spaces reflect a more or less pronounced power struggle lying behind the visibility (or absence) of given languages and their distribution. As a result, a new definition of the field was developed and published in *The Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* (2015: <https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/22149961>). It now assumes that the “field of Linguistic Landscape (LL) attempts to understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of ‘languages’ as they are displayed in public spaces.”

At this point it is important to stress the fact that the focus in the study of LL, placed on the visibility and use of different language varieties, is to be viewed as different from the study of borrowings. Borrowing is originally a foreign (donor) language item which has been incorporated into the borrowing language system (cf. Hudson 1996), and in order to know a borrowing a speaker does not need to be familiar with the donor language or show any degree of bilingualism (cf. Gabryś 2000; Poplack *et al.* 1988). On the other hand, the formulation of certain sections of public texts, e.g. of advertisements, in English does certainly require the message addressees to understand the languages used in them. As the study of LL was first developed in multilingual areas (cf. Israel, Canada, Belgium, etc.), the analysis aimed to identify the visibility of various languages, their prominence or lack thereof as a sign of demarcation of areas inhabited by different ethnic groups (cf. Blommaert 2013). It thus performed an informational function regarding the distribution of ethnic groups and relevant languages. The aforementioned expansion of the scope of investigation in the field soon led to the inclusion of areas which, though not officially multilingual, displayed the use of a variety of languages, often not histori-

cally connected with the given area. In such contexts a more symbolic function of the respective languages used in the studied location was recognized (cf. Backhaus 2007; Haarmann 1989; Santello 2016), highlighting a different status and value of respective varieties in a given society. The latter option appears to be of relevance to the present study, as English, which will be analysed in the context of Polish advertisements, does not represent any ethnic minority physically living in Poland. Since the analysed material tends to employ sequences of words or even full sentences or texts, rather than individual items in both English and Polish, which often, as will be demonstrated below, convey complementary pieces of information, they will be treated as manifestations of different languages aimed at a bilingual person, or one who is familiar with Polish and English to an extent which will allow him/her to understand the chunks in both languages. This, in turn, may be perceived as a sign of a newly developing functional bilinguality (cf. Nagel *et al.* 2015; Niemeier 1999)⁵ of Polish advertisement recipients and functional bilingualism of at least some section of Polish society.

ENGLISH IN ADVERTISING

English, a lingua franca of the modern world, has naturally been employed in various contexts, including advertising, in numerous non-English speaking cultures and countries to date. Its status has been researched in e.g. multilingual contexts (e.g. Grin 1994; Ye, Qin 2004), and in specific countries, e.g. in Switzerland (cf. Cheshire, Moser 1994), Bulgaria (Griffin 2001), Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain (Gerritsen *et al.* 2007), Japan (Haarmann 1989), China (cf. Zhang 2001; Li 2019), Central and Eastern Europe (Kelly-Holmes 1998, 2000, 2005), Russia (Ustinova, Bhatia 2005), and Poland (Bulawka 2006; Dąbrowska 2022c; Planken *et al.* 2010). Based on their analysis of the use of English in Russian advertisements Ustinova and Bhatia (2005: 496) concluded that in advertisements of foreign products it was company names, product names, and labelling which tended to be kept in English. The researches recognised it as manifestations of the process of globalisation, as opposed to customisation (cf. standardisation vs. adaptation), typically found in advertisements of foreign brands (cf. de Mooij 1994; Grant, Short 2002). The globalisation approach tends to be marked by the companies' keeping the original form and content of the advertisement when their products or services enter foreign markets (cf. Kotler *et al.* 2002), while customisation leads to some local modifications of the text (cf. Baumgardner 2008). Regarding language choice made in advertisements in view of some prospective gains, Spolsky (2009: 35) concludes

⁵ Following Hamers and Blanc (1989: 6), the term *bilinguality* is to be understood as a fluent knowledge of two languages at a level of an individual. *Bilingualism*, in turn, is to be viewed as the knowledge and habitual use of two languages by a given community.

that “the normal result of a communicative goal would be a policy to advertise in the language of potential clients and customers,” because this would guarantee a proper comprehension of the information provided (cf. Grin 1994). However, research demonstrates that foreign languages, and English in particular, are not necessarily used with their communicative function in mind, but are rather selected in respect of the symbolic value which they are associated with, e.g. glamour, high quality and modernity (cf. Bhatia, Ritchie 2004; Dąbrowska 2020, 2022b; Haarmann 1989; Kelly-Holmes 2000, 2005). This approach supports marketers’ desire to create brand awareness and develop a positive attitude to the product in the first place, an adequate comprehension of the message, however, appears to be of secondary importance to them (cf. Gerritsen *et al.* 2000). The use of foreign languages in advertising is, therefore, often investigated in respect of their symbolic value (cf. Haarmann 1989; Santello 2016). More recently, the question of identity construction of the addressees of advertising (Li 2015; Piller 2001, 2003) combined with the investigation of lifestyles that consumers aim for (cf. Vestergaard, Schroder 1985) has been incorporated as well. The choice of a language that connotes the values with which the consumers identify appears to be a natural outcome of such processes too (Blommaert 2010).

CHOICE OF LANGUAGE(S) IN PUBLIC SIGNS

Regarding the question of language choice in public signs, at an early stage of LL investigation Spolsky and Cooper (1991) developed a set of rules which, looking from the point of view of logic, should govern the choice of languages used in those, and in advertisements in particular (cf. Spolsky 2009). They suggested the following guidelines for the marketers to follow (Spolsky, Cooper 1991, after Spolsky 2009: 33), viz.:

1. Write a sign in a language you know;
2. Prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by people you expect to read it (presumed reader condition);
3. Prefer to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified (symbolic value condition).

In view of the current investigation, we could then assume that rule 1 and 2 should act as guidelines; based on these Polish advertisers should opt for the Polish language in advertisements of events, since the primary recipient of an event to be delivered in Poland would be a speaker of Polish in the first place. Point 3 brings in a different dimension, however, i.e. one linked with the sense of identity and the symbolic value. This, as pointed above, may affect the principles of logic and lead to the choice of other languages than the native one.

Ben-Rafael (2009: 48), therefore, postulates some more complex LL principles of language choice, which, no doubt, in different proportions, appear to inform the decisions made by advertisers today. These are, respectively:

1. Presentation of self perspective;
2. Good-reasons perspective;
3. Collective identity perspective;
4. Power relation structuration perspective.

It is to be noted that the principles focus on different aspects of the choice which an advertiser is to consider, and thus they do not always go hand in hand with each other. For instance, the need to be unique (principle 1) and at the same time a pressure to reflect the group identity one identifies with (principle 3) may go at cross purposes as far as advertising is concerned. As Coupland (2010, cf. Pavlenko 2009: 248) points out, LL may highlight different qualities of contemporary urban experience, including different manifestations of language conflict. The good reasons perspective reflects the fact that goods respond “rationally” to the public’s needs and desires and must “anticipate client’s cost-and-benefit considerations” (Ben-Rafael 2009: 46),⁶ in which case the client’s positive attitude to foreign, western products, including entertainment, may lead to the choice of English instead of Polish. Finally, Ben-Rafael’s last principle, similarly to the guidelines developed by Spolsky and Cooper (1991), highlights the inequality of power attributed to respective languages. Considering the position which English has attained in the modern world, especially in the context of entertainment (cf. Crystal 2003; Jenkins 2009) this principle appears to be particularly relevant to the present investigation.

In this regard it is important to highlight the importance of the context which informs the decisions made by authors of public signs, in this case advertisers. As Blommaert (2013: 38) says, “[p]ublic signs both reflect and regulate the structure of the space in which they operate. Sociological, cultural, sociolinguistic and political features of that space will determine how signs look and work in that space, and signs will contribute to the organisation and regulation of that space by defining addressees and selecting audiences, and by imposing particular restrictions, offering invitations, articulating norms of conduct and so on to these selected audiences.” Different countries or communities approach the issue of public signage differently, as can be seen in the case of the strict Francophone policy about the use of French in public space in Quebec as opposed to the encouragement of linguistic internationalization in Japan (cf. Backhaus 2009). Following Voloshinov (1929, in Sloboda 2009: 174), it therefore needs to be stressed that the sign is ideological in its nature, and that ideology is a undeniable quality of the sign. As a result of ideological changes signs can, therefore, be removed, destroyed, but also replaced or re-indexed, much as it could be observed in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of communism. Signs not only reflect and index ideology, but also perform it

⁶ “The LL items should “speak” to the public and focus on actors’ anticipated rational attitudes” (Ben-Rafael 2009: 48).

(Sloboda 2009: 176), in other words, the choice of a given language as opposed to another, e.g. English as opposed to Polish, will highlight the values of the culture or the ideology (e.g. globalisation) which are to be viewed as dominant and with which the advertising institutions tend to identify with. The aspect of change is, therefore, to be highlighted here too as a marker of the dynamic character of public signs (Pavlenko 2009). For instance, following her investigation of LL regarding the visibility of Russian as opposed to other languages in the post-soviet countries' LL, Pavlenko (2009: 254–264) suggested a number of categories of signs identified in her study and processes lying behind, e.g. language erasure, language replacement, language upgrading and downgrading, as well as the rise of language regulations. While language erasure is an extreme measure which will typically apply to areas experiencing some revolutionary political shifts, language replacement as well as language upgrading and downgrading may be detected in the material to be studied here as well. For instance, items of advertisements so far always expressed in Polish (e.g. titles) will increasingly often appear in English instead, while the order of the language arrangement in the studied texts as well as the size and colour of the respective items will upgrade or downgrade the importance of the respective languages used to express them.

In terms of the structure of the textual content of multilingual signs, Reh (2004) argues that the language distribution in public signs should be analysed from the point of view of how information is arranged in them. In her view the information provided in the respective languages may be duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping or complementary (after Pavlenko 2009: 248). Regarding the study of multilingual texts, as well as an additional investigation of the multimodal elements in them, Sebba (2012 [2013]) points out that unfortunately the analysis of written multilingual texts has not been very frequent to date (unlike the analysis of conversational exchanges). In his view their systematic study certainly requires understanding of the local literacy practices, and their visual and spatial aspects are, therefore, an integral part of their adequate understanding as well. He claims, therefore, that theories describing code switching, which to some extent resemble, but do not themselves constitute an analysis of multilingual texts, do not match the written discourse of posters, advertisements, etc., however, for the lack of an alternative researchers have largely drawn on from the methodology developed by Blom and Gumperz (1972) or Myers-Scotton (1993), etc. In Sebba's view, however, "[a]dvertising (...) is an area where the monolingual norm is sometimes flouted, even in societies where it is strong in other contexts" (2012[2013]: 6). Recent work on globalisation and co-modification of English offers some helpful perspective in this respect, especially in the context of analysing advertisements (cf. Backhaus 2006, 2007; Huebner 2006; Hult 2009). Vertovec's (2006) concept of superdiversity and Blommaert's (2010) focus on the use of truncated repertoires in contemporary multilingual spaces appear to create a framework conducive to the analysis of multilingual written texts.

VISUAL AND SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT OF LANGUAGES IN PUBLIC SIGNS

Moreover, spatial arrangements of various language components of public signs are also of interest to semioticians (Scollon, Scollon, 2003). Multimodality of the signs, i.e. the prominence of linguistic elements in terms of their font size, their order, location and colour is equally important to an analysis of LL as their linguistic content (Pavlenko 2009). Indeed, Sebba (2012 [2013]) claims that multimodal texts cannot be fully understood if attention is only focused on strictly textual aspects (cf. Johnson, Milani 2010: 11–12; Lemke 2002; Ventola, Moya Guijarro 2009). For instance, according to Scollon and Scollon (2003: 122), the preferred language commonly appears at the top and on the left or in the centre of the pages (cf. Coupland 2010; Kress, van Leeuwen 1996/2006), which Backhaus (2006, 2007), however, criticizes as a Western approach only. This in turn, indicates that the interpretation of signs must be conducted with respect to ideological and cultural context in which the signs are used. Following her analysis of some Norwegian advertising texts, also Graedler (1999: 337) offers some helpful conclusions regarding the interaction between the various languages found in the analysed texts and their location there. She observes that “[s]witches in ads are also very often found in conspicuous positions – almost 90% occupy an initial position as heading, or a paragraph-final or text-final position in the text, or they are graphically separated from the text proper. Given the overall discourse function of advertising – to sell product – and the sales and snob-appeal associated with English world-wide, this is not surprising.” Interestingly, also Androutsopoulos (2012) has developed the concept of “English on top” in the spatial arrangement of multilingual texts which include English.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) are pioneers in analyzing multimodality and the interplay between the text and the image in advertisements (cf. Jewitt 2009; Kress 2010; Liu 2013). They explicate that ‘[m]ultimodality’ as a term refers to several types of modes in human communication such as visual, audio, written, oral, and spatial” (Kress, van Leeuwen 1996, after Pan 2015: 20). There has been an increased focus on the inclusion of multimodal aspects in research of multilingualism from various perspectives in the recent two decades, a prominent area of analysis among which has been the field of applied linguistics and language teaching and learning (cf. Ainsworth *et al.* 2023; Dye, Emmorey 2017; Holmström, Schönström 2018; King 2021; Youngjoo *et al.* 2020). The present paper, however, does not investigate the use of multilingual texts and their multimodal aspects for educational purposes. The study of the collected data, kept within the framework of Linguistic Landscape analysis, focuses on the use and the value of respective languages, and therefore on the textual aspects in the collected signs. The concept of multimodality is referenced here as an auxiliary research tool, because the study of the collected material, as highlighted above, will also investigate some non-textual aspects of the

advertisements, namely, the colour, font, and layout of Polish and English elements of the texts. Their analysis will add up to the understanding of the role which the two languages play in the advertisements discussed here, and how they are positioned in relation to each other. This will, in turn, reveal more clearly the intention of the advertisers of the events in terms of who the advertisements are directed to and the value they, symbolically, connote. It is to be remembered that the advertisements analysed here have been found in the linguistic landscape of a major Polish city, so their visibility in the public space both reflects and at the same time reinforces the perception and the role of the two investigated languages in the social context in which they have been displayed, which is why the understanding of how their respective position is coded and highlighted in the texts contributes to the understanding of the mechanisms by which such an effect is achieved. According to Sebba (2012 [2013], cf. Hu and Luo 2016), the investigation of multimodality in the analysis of multilingual texts has so far been rare, but certainly worth a mention is the contribution by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009, 2010, 2012) and their “material ethnography of multilingualism.” To these we can add a few other, more recent works, e.g. by Rowland (2014), Zabrodska and Milani (2014), and very recently the whole volume edited by Włodarczyk, Tyrkkö and Adamczyk (2023) devoted to both historical and contemporary investigation of the intersection between multilingualism and different types of modalities.

It is to be reiterated (see above) that the research of texts, including advertisements, which would make use of more than one language has so far typically relied on the use of code-switching as an analytical framework. However, according to Sebba (2012 [2013]: 17) the analysis of multilingual texts is different from the analysis of code-switching, since “while spoken code-switching is essentially one-dimensional, involving the juxtaposition of spoken linguistic units from two languages within a single interactional event, language mixing within multilingual texts is potentially multidimensional, involving juxtaposition or separation on both the linguistic and visual dimensions.” In view of the above, Sebba (2012 [2013]: 17–21) stresses the necessity to include in the framework such elements as:

- (1) units of analysis, i.e., a) grammatical units, b) genre-specific units relevant to textual structure and cohesion, e.g. headings, paragraph, and c) visual/spatial units as e.g. columns, box, frame;
- (2) language-spatial relationships – spatial relationship between units containing a specific language or mixture of languages,
- (3) language-content relationship, i.e., the relationship between the content written in various languages, which can be: equivalent (symmetrical matching monolingual items), disjoint, and overlapping (asymmetrical language-spatial relationship and disjoint language content relationship) (cf. Reh’s (2004) typology);
- (4) language mixing type (mixed units with more than one language, corresponding to the units analysed in code-switching, and language-neutral units,

i.e. items which belong to more than one system, like brand and proper names);

- (5) parallel texts (symmetrical matching monolingual units – a visual metaphor for equality) and complementary texts (asymmetrical language-spatial relationship and disjoint language content relationship) – only suitable for a reader who can read both languages well.

Sebba's model is notably very complex and multifaceted, with a primary aim to thoroughly investigate individual texts (a qualitative analysis). In the present study, whose objective is to draw conclusions about the frequency of the visibility and as well as character of the interplay between the two languages, Polish and English, in the linguistic landscape of cultural outdoor advertising, the focus is firstly quantitatively oriented, and therefore such a detailed description of certain aspects of the model as the investigation of the use of grammatical units in the investigated texts (cf. point 1a) or the analysis of language mixing type (cf. point 4), which do not directly pertain to the LL framework, falls outside the scope of the paper. Therefore, only selected aspects of Sebba's model will constitute a foundation for the investigation conducted below. Their purpose will be to present a quantitative analysis of the above units based on the collected sample of texts in order to observe general tendencies which are displayed in the researched material.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

LL as a field has not developed a distinct methodology, being open to both the descriptive and the critical method of discourse analysis (cf. Budarina 2015). The following discussion will therefore involve a critical multimodal analysis of advertisements as a genre, in keeping with point 1b and c of Sebba's (2012 [2013]) model, in which it will focus on structural elements of the genre. Regarding the structure of the genre of written advertisements, it has been broadly described as Capture[^]Focus[^]Justification, in an attempt to highlight both the verbal and the visual aspects of the genre (cf. Herman *et al.* 2022). In order to make the two aspects more distinctive, Cheong (2004: 165–174) divided the verbal components into, respectively, Announcement (primary, secondary), Enhancer, Emblem, Tag, and Call-and-Visit information, while in her view the visual component typically consisted of Lead (Locus of attention), Complement to the locus of attention, Display (explicit, implicit, congruent, incongruent), and Emblem. In a more traditional approach to the description of textual components of the advertisement as a genre, however, the features typically identified are: the headline, body copy, signature, slogan and testimonial (cf. Delin 2000, after Simpson, Mayr 2010: 34). It is the latter, simpler, model that will be utilised in the following analysis due to the fact that the multimodal aspects discussed in the paper will only be limited to the size, colour and location of the textual elements, since the analysis is focused only on aspects of

multilingualism, therefore the question of images, photographs, their location and size, etc., as already explained earlier, will not be tackled in this paper. It is important to point out that the components listed above are more characteristic of product advertising, and as Simpson and Mayr (2010: 34) observe, not all advertisements always contain all these five elements. As regards the structure of outdoor advertising, and notably of cultural events, however, my research demonstrates that no specific studies of this type of advertisements seem to have been conducted from the linguistic point of view to date. The focus has rather been more on the reception and effectiveness of the outdoor advertisements, their typology and location, economic aspects, the use of photography and imagery (cf. Çiftçi, Karabulutlu 2020), etc. In view of this the choice of that broad universal model to describe the structural components of advertisements appears to be justified in the present context of analysis as well. The components will be a useful point of reference for the presentation of the distribution of the two languages in the material discussed below.

An overview of the collected data leads to a conclusion that certain features appear to be largely missing from outdoor event advertisements, primarily the testimonial and the slogan. Instead, a typical advertisement appears to contain a headline (name/title of the event), occasionally a subheadline (a sentence of specification concerning the event or a special guest),⁷ and a body copy (normally containing such details as the location and the time, the source of tickets, etc.).⁸ Compared to the components typically found in product advertisements, elements like the logo, the slogan, or the testimonial tend to be missing in the analysed event advertisements and will, therefore, not be discussed. The focus will, as a result, be placed on the headline, the subheadline as well as the body copy, and will highlight the use of Polish and English in those. The first level of the analysis will involve the description of their role and their distribution, and it will broadly be based on some of the categories developed by Sebba (2012 [2013]) already indicated above. The discussion will, therefore, focus on the equivalent, disjoint and overlapping content in the textual elements of the advertisement, as well as the advertisement units discussed above as typical genre elements which may show a tendency to be expressed in one investigated language or the other. As already explicated, the analysis will also incorporate elements of multimodality of the advertising texts, looking at the location, size as well as the colour of the English and Polish items in the body of an advertisement. Once the classification has been completed and typical tendencies identified, the obtained results will be discussed more broadly as a part of the second level of the analysis in relation to the role and principles of the LL selection of languages proposed by Spolsky and Clarke (1991) and Ben-Rafael (2009), presented

⁷ Cf. Cheong's (2004) Primary and Secondary Announcement, the most salient parts of the advertising text (cf. Nugroho 2009)

⁸ Cf. Cheong's (2004) Enhancer and Call-and-Visit Information, likely to be combined in outdoor advertising, as well as Androutsopoulos's (2012) heading, bracketing and naming.

in the initial part of the paper, in order to identify the underlying ideologies governing the choices made by the advertisers of the respective events.

As regards the study data, after advertisements of other products (though also with English) have been removed from the collected sample, the material investigated here has been limited to 60 examples of outdoor advertisements of cultural events, collected in the period between November 2021 and July 2022 in the area of the city centre of Kraków (approx. 1 km around the Main Square). Following Sebba's model (2012 [2013]), a broad overview of the collected sample has led to the division of the material into disjoint, equivalent, and overlapping/mixed types, with an addition of the category of complete advertisements in English, the latter being of special interest in an officially monolingual country like Poland. The overview of the collected material has thus rendered the following numerical results:

- 60 advertisements of cultural and entertainment events in all;
- 10 advertisements composed fully in English – 16.66%;
- 34 disjoint advertisements (both in Polish and English, with different elements in both) – 56.66%;
- 9 equivalent advertisements (the same information expressed in both languages) – 15%;
- 7 overlapping/mixed advertisements (primarily in Polish, with some elements also in English) – 11.66%.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERTISEMENTS

1) The first category, i.e., advertisements fully in English, constitutes about a fifth of the collected material. It is significant that a foreign language text is addressed to a (at least partly) monolingual Polish audience. Most of such texts are short, consisting of one-two sentences, which are primarily the only items in the advertisement, with an exclusion of the dates and times of the events as well as locations (these are to be viewed as neutral text units). The main examples are headlines, e.g. *The Show. A tribute to ABBA; A tribute to Ennio Morricone by Italian Movie Orchestra. Morricone. Film History; Luis Bravo's Forever Tango; Scorpion's songs symphonic by legendary former drummer Herman Rarebell; Schiller. Support: Michał Łapaj. Live in Poland; Summer Jazz Festival. 11.07. 2021. 8 pm. Branford Marsalis Quartet; Tięsto at Arena. Support: Agraze* as well as *Ochman Exclusive*. They consist of mainly the name of the event, sometimes also the institution organizing it. They often tend to repeat the same title of the event which would be used outside of Poland, in keeping with the principles of globalization or standardization of foreign brands or a form of customization of the global models (cf. Kotler *et al.* 2002).

2) By far the largest group is that of disjoint/complementary items, which constitute more than a half of the collected sample (56.66%). The most salient item in the

text which tends to be expressed in English is the headline: the title of the event, which may in itself be the name of the event/performer or performance, or an additional piece of information about a special guest as well as the institution organising it, viz. the subheadline. The examples include: *Patronat Honorowy Jacek Majchrowski Prezydent Miasta Krakowa. Ireneusz Raś Posel na Sejm RP. Polish Grand Prix Kraków 2022. International Cheerleading Championship. 4 czerwca 2022; Guns n' Roses. Plus Special Guest: Gary Clark. 20 czerwca 2022. PGE Narodowy. Warszawa; Gregorian Grace; Ladies Night. 23 czerwca 2022; Hotel Variete. Variete's Great Revue. Jedyne takie show!; Power of love. Polska. Nowy reality show; From Poland with Love. Listy do Haralda Szeemanna. Spotkanie autorskie z Andą Rotterberg. 27.6.2022, godz. 18.; Speaking Concerts. Ostatnie Requiem czyli M jak Mozart; Kazimierz Summer Festival. Wielkie Otwarcie. Sarsa, Bokka, 2–3 lipca; Visual Concert. Koncert Muzyki Filmowej i epickiej z projekcją z najpiękniejszych miejsc świata; etc. Most of the time the items expressed in English are headlines of the advertisements, sometimes also a body copy. They tend to appear at the top of the advertisement, occasionally centrally and at the bottom, which makes them the most prominent feature of the text also visually (see below).*

3) A very interesting, and in many ways a somewhat specialized group consists of advertisements with an equivalent meaning provided in the two languages. The location of the two versions is irregular, but as they provide equivalents of both the headline: the title of the event, and/or the subheadline: subtitle and the institution, the texts can come at the top, the centre or the bottom, with pairs of texts in both Polish and in English. Such an order of the two languages is particularly important to note, as it seems to be a regularity manifested by all the 9 items out of 60 (15%). Examples are as follows: *Dlaczego obrazy? 25.05–26.06 Why pictures? 25.05–26.06; Powrót do źródeł / Back to the sources, Duch ukryty w drzewach. Tradycja i kunszt japońskiego ciesielstwa/ Spirit hidden in the trees. The tradition and craftsmanship of Japanese Carpentry; Niedziela / Sunday, 24.04. 2022, godz. 19.00. Charytatywny concert dla Ukrainy / Charity concert for Ukraine; Galeria Sztuki polskiej XX i XXI wieku/Gallery of 20th and 21st century Polish art. Rzeźba / Sculpture, Najwyższa forma sztuki / The highest form of art; Wtorek/Tuesday; Nowy początek. Modernizm w II RP / A new beginning. Modernism in the second Polish Republic; 28.06.2022, 19.30. Tajemnice koszernego wina / The secrets of kosher wine. An interesting observation to be made regarding this category is that such advertisements are in part advertisements issued by museums or concern cyclical state/city promoted events, moreover, they tend to provide information about the respective organizing institutions in the two languages too, viz. *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. [Gmach Główny]/The National Museum in Kraków [The Main Building], Muzeum Manggha/Manggha Museum, Miesiąc Fotografii w Krakowie/Kraków Photomonth, Festiwal Muzyki Dawnej/Early Music Festival*. As shown above, the advertisers here are particularly careful to put the Polish version of the information first in each of the analysed cases, and English only afterwards, through which they indirectly indicate that the dominant language in this case is Polish.*

4) The category of overlapping/mixed advertisements is represented by 7 examples in all (11.66%). Due to their less predictable format and content they are harder to classify and analyse. They can be illustrated by: *Queen symphonic: A rock band & orchestra. Zmiana daty. 8.6.2022.; Filharmonia dowcipu. Waldemar Malicki. 15 lat / The best of. 14.10.2022 Kraków. Centrum Kongresowe ICE, godzina 18.00; Wydarzenie towarzyszące/ Accompanying event of the: Festiwal Kultury Żydowskiej. 30.06.2022, 20.00, Alibi Folk, A return to Yiddish World. The Alibi Sisters. Bilety. Tickets: 50 PLN; XIV Kraków Summer Animation Days. Letnie pokazy najlepszych światowych animacji / Open air screenings of the best world animations. Wstęp wolny/free entrance, 15–17 lipca 2022/15–17 July 2022. Kraków, Plac Wielkiej Armii Napoleona; Kraków Photomonth/Miesiąc Fotografii. Czwartek. Slava Ukraini! Ramię [w]ramię. R[w]R. Wernisaż 27.05.2022 – 19.00. Wystawa czynna 27.05.22–26.06.22. Galeria Szara Kamienica Rynek Główny 6, Kraków.* As can be seen, some examples in this category are almost entirely in English, but with barely one-two items in Polish (e.g. *Zmiana daty* on the advertisement of Queen's concert), which, in turn, indicates that the advertisement is addressed to Poles, after all, otherwise it could have been kept entirely in English. In other examples most of the information is in both languages, e.g. regarding *Kraków Summer Animation Days*, in which, however, beside the parallel texts in English and Polish, there is the name of the event only in English and the location details provided only in Polish. Similarly, in the case of the *Alibi Sisters'* concert the practical details (concerning the tickets) and the fact that it is an accompanying event of the Jewish Culture Festival are in two language versions, whereas the name of the event is quoted only in English, and the name of the institution and the name of the festival, surprisingly, only in Polish. A different advertisement, one concerning *Filharmonia dowcipu* (the 'Filharmonic of Humour') provides the whole text in Polish except for one phrase in English, viz. *the best of*, written in red, which comes as a parallel to another phrase in red, but in Polish, i.e. *15 lat* ('15 years'), so they appear to be a somewhat bizarre pair of counterparts. Overall, however, much like the complete advertisements in English and also like the disjoint advertisements, the overlapping category too, implicitly, assumes the knowledge of both languages on the part of the reader, and, as it is more likely than not that the reader will be a Pole speaking English, rather than an English person speaking Polish, the demand is put on Polish recipients to understand another language, not the other way round.

As the below table shows, in terms of the units which typically appeared in the analysed material in English, the most frequent section expressed in that language was the headline of the advertisements, visible in 51/60 (85%) samples analysed. This ties in well with Graedler's (1999) and Androutsopoulos's (2012) analyses, in whose case close to 90% of the texts which they analysed shared this feature as well. This, combined with the position of the items and the multimodal aspects to be discussed below, constitutes the most powerful element of the analysed genre, one that attracts the reader's attention in the first place and stays as the most prominent

Table 1. Genre-specific units in English

	item	number
<i>heading</i>	headline	51
	subheadline	6
	special guest	3
<i>signature</i>	cyclical event	13
	institution	5
<i>body copy</i>	practical details	10

unit of information after seeing the text. In a significant number of cases (13/60, 22%) the headline is the original headline of an event/concert/etc. which was composed in English, e.g. *Alicia Keys World Tour; The Show. A Tribute to Abba; Queen Symphonic; International Cheerleading Championship; Dream Theatre. Top of the World Tour; A tribute to Ennio Morricone. Morricone Film History; Luis Bravo's Forever Tango; The Power of Love. Polska; Alibi Folk, A Requiem to Yiddish World; Home Alone in Concert. John William's Music; Gregorian Grace; Scorpion's Song Symphonic by Legendary Former Scorpions Drummer Herman Rarebel; Il Divo Greatest Hits Tour*, etc. Yet in the case of other events their titles were no doubt developed locally by Polish advertisers, e.g. *Kraków Summer Animation Days; Spartan Race; Ladies' Night; Kazimierz Summer Festival, Ochman Exclusive; Speaking Concert; From Poland with Love; Variete's Great Revue; Silesia of Love; Biogreen Future, Olsztyn Green Festival, Art Festival*. The idea appears to have been inspired by some internationally recognised patterns and customized to express local meanings (cf. Baumgardner 2008), which as a result gives the events an international feel.

Some headlines (6%) were also accompanied by subheadlines, as could be seen in the above examples; viz. *The Show. A Tribute to Abba; A tribute to Ennio Morricone. Morricone Film History; Alibi Folk, A Requiem to Yiddish World; Home Alone in Concert. John William's Music*. A more conspicuous element in English was also the name of a broader, often a cyclical event, whose function could be compared to that of the endorsement in product advertisements. These examples are represented by *The National Museum in Kraków; Summer Jazz Festival Kraków; Early Music Festival; Restaurant Week; Kraków Photomonth; International Festival of Independent Cinema; Silent Disco Party; Manggha Museum; Kraków Summer Animation Days*. It has to be noted, however, that these phrases have almost always been accompanied by a Polish version, unlike the titles of the events (it is to be noted that the same event/organizers were quoted on a number of posters, too, especially the National Museum in Kraków and the Kraków Photomonth).

The remaining units were infrequent and constituted elements of the body copy. Three times an announcement about a special guest appeared, introduced in English,

viz. (Guns N' Roses) *Plus special guest Gary Clark*; (Schiller) *Support: Michał Łapaj*; (Tiësto At Arena) *Support: Agraze*. Another feature that seemed to share a similar level of importance with that of the heading on many of the posters were practical pieces of information (viz. Call-and-Visit information), like the time of the event, the location, and the price, quoted in both English and Polish, or only in English, viz. *Gmach Główny/The Main Building; June 15 2022, Arena Gliwice, Poland; wtorek/Tuesday, 28.06.2022; niedziela/Sunday 24.04.2022; 15–17 lipca 2022/15th–17th July 2022; Wstęp wolny/free entrance; bilety/tickets: 50 zł; otwarcie/opening: 15.10.2021; Kijów Centrum. 8 pm, 10.07.2021*. Here again such items tended to be paired up with Polish items mentioned parallel with these. In the texts which belong to the disjoint category of advertisements the practical information, primarily located at the bottom of the posters, tended to be expressed in Polish, contrary to the most prominent information in the headline in English. This observation appears to corroborate Scollon and Scollon's (2003) division of the advertisement's content into *the ideal* (the top) vs. *the real* (the bottom) type of the content. Although by no means present in all the analysed items, such a division was visible in 15 (25%) texts.

MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE MULTILINGUAL TEXTS

The previous sections have demonstrated a prominent role of English in the analysed texts, drawing our attention especially to the meanings expressed in the headlines and in a few additional units of the text discussed above. It now needs to be added that the multimodal aspects of the textual items of the genre, namely the colour, size of the font employed to convey the English items, as well as their location in advertisement, whether alone or in relation to Polish items also may and do enhance the visibility and prominence of English. It was already highlighted above that numerous items in English were placed at the top. More precisely, there were 28/60 (47%) of such items, which makes it close to a half. In such cases English appeared at the top (*the ideal*) of the text, occasionally accompanied by some more items at the bottom as well (11/60, 18.33%). There were also some advertisements with English at the bottom only (16/60, 27%), most often in the cases where there was no other text in the advertisement beside that item. The central position of English units was utilized in 20% of the texts, which enhanced the visibility of the language used too. The left position was made use of in 20% of the samples as well, which tends to be a frequent position for European-language items (written from left to right); this position also conveys what is *the given* in traditional advertisement structures (cf. Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996/2006), as opposed to *the new*, yet in the material analysed here this interpretation does not seem to be confirmed. The right-hand side position was used only in 10% of the cases.

Moreover, the top position of almost a half of the English units in the text meant that it could be and in numerous cases was followed by Polish items below, which

made the latter less visible and less prominent compared to English (noted in 26/60, 43% of cases). A different order could also be found, i.e. first the Polish language was used and then the English items (10/60, 16% of the items). Such an arrangement was typically used in equivalent texts, where the original items were in Polish and their exact counterparts in English followed, which, as already pointed to above, was especially found on posters displayed by the National Museum of Kraków, the Manggha Museum, the Galićja Museum, Misteria Paschalia and Kraków Photomomh advertisements (viz. *Tajemnice koszernego wina/The secrets of kosher wine; Plenarowe pokazy najlepszych światowych animacji/Open air screenings of the best world animations*). This approach appears to stress the primary value of Polish, and this time English assumes a secondary role here, explaining the respective meaning to the potential foreign recipients of the advertisements. Thus, the function of English here appears to be different than that on the posters with the headline expressed primarily or only in English, which attracted the viewers' attention in the first place with their worldly connotations. As could be surmised, the cultural institutions listed above appear to stress the utilitarian function of English, whereas other advertisers explore its symbolic function and international connotations. Finally, the order Polish-English-Polish was also found in the analysed sample, though only in 5/60 (8.3%) items.

Additionally, an examination of the size of the fonts was conducted. A broad overview of this aspect demonstrated that in 26/60 (43%) of the cases the fonts used for English items were bigger than in the Polish words used in the texts. In quite a few advertisements the size of the fonts for the two languages (19/60, 32%) was the same. In some, however, it was genuinely the same (4/60, 6.66%), in others – the size was the same but not the colour, or else the bold vs. the regular font type options were explored. Only in 12/60 (20%) of the cases the font of the English words was smaller, for instance in the advertisements of the *Art Festival. Wiele Kultur; Olsztyn Green Festival, Nowy początek. Modernizm w II RP* or *Ochman Exclusive*, which diminished the prominence of English to an extent.

Additionally, it is interesting to observe that only five types of colours (with two individual exceptions, brown and green) were used to mark the English words. Though the distribution cannot be generalized in view of the limited sample of texts, it has to be said that the most typical colour used was white (19/60, 32%), at times with no difference between English and Polish, and sometimes differing in size and shape. Then the second most visible colour of the fonts was black (17/60, 28%), followed by a very visible colour of numerous headings which was yellow (13/60, 22%). Red was used less often (8/60, 13%), yet in such cases the English text was especially conspicuous. The last colour, the neutral blue, appeared in only 5/60 (8%) of the items.

According to Strużycki and Heryszek (2007: 57, after Peszko 2016: 102), various colours have different associations and use in advertising. It may therefore be of help to briefly quote their observations here for reference, though no doubt a much more systematic study of the collected material would be needed in this respect to prove or disprove their claims. In their view white is associated with

personality, maturity, independence and purity; black connotes luxury, sophistication and mystery; yellow is viewed as an encouragement to act and try, attracts attention, and stimulates; red, in turn, indicates power of experience, is full of life, increases activity; while blue, in turn, brings calm, cool and relaxation.

DISCUSSION

The analysis presented above adds a new perspective on the visibility and use of English in Polish discourse of advertising, in this case outdoor advertising of cultural events. English in Polish advertisements has so far, though altogether infrequently, been researched mainly from the point of view of Anglicisms used there (ranging from one-word borrowings to full texts), their frequency, form, and role (cf. e.g., Bulawka 2006; Griffin 1997; Tobolova 2012; Wieluniecka 2010) or else it has been investigated in respect of the readers' perception of the use of English in such contexts (cf. Dąbrowska 2022b; Planken *et al.* 2010). The present paper offers an innovative approach to the visibility of English in Polish advertising, and for the first time to the linguistic landscape of outdoor advertisements of specifically cultural events, due to the fact that it sees the analysed material as a multilingual text, not a monolingual one marked by the use of loans or code-switching in it. Such an approach also indirectly reflects the phenomenon of a newly developing multilingualism in certain realms of language use in Poland. The analytical framework applied here, informed largely by Sebba's (2012[2013]) research model, and used earlier with reference to the visibility of English in advertisements in other socio-cultural contexts (cf. Graedler (1999) for Norway, Martin (2007) for France, Androutsopoulos (2012) for Germany) offers thereby a broadened perception of such practices across different cultures and allows us to compare the strategies used in Polish advertising discourse, both at the level of language and the use of multimodal aspects, with those identified in other countries. As the results discussed above have already highlighted, the use of English at the top of the advertisement in 47% of the studied texts, and in 43% of the cases additionally marked by a bigger font than that used to convey Polish items corresponds to parallel findings concerning other languages affected by the dominant position of English and its symbolic value in the advertising domain. Such results also indirectly point to a somewhat downgraded role of Polish in contemporary outdoor advertisements of cultural events (cf. Pavlenko 2009). An important outcome of the study, however, is the identification of a relatively small, yet noticeable group of advertisements put up by state cultural institutions (16% of the research material) in which it is Polish that consistently comes first and only then is it followed by the equivalent meaning conveyed in English. This, in turn, may be viewed as a strategy used to counteract the growing visibility of English that consequently leads to a diminished value of Polish in the advertising discourse.

When looking at the collected material from the point of view of the rules first identified by Spolsky and Clarke (1991) as far as the choice of the language in an advertisement is concerned, it may be deduced that some violation of their principles can be observed in the analysed material, which possibly reflects some more general trends obtaining in the contemporary world. While there is no ground to undermine principle 1 (“write a sign in a language you know”), as the texts appear to be formulated correctly, no matter whether in Polish or in English, principle 2 seems to be somewhat abused, which can be supported by occasional critical comments of participants of some cultural events in Poland offered only in English.⁹ Most certainly, it is principle 3, however, that dominates in the majority of the posters, as one can see that the symbolic value condition, i.e. the implicit need of advertisers to be identified with the global trends, cannot be undermined. When examining the material from the point of view of Ben-Rafael’s (2009) principles, one may observe certain further complications and internal conflicts in the material discussed here. No doubt the need to present oneself in a unique way in order to be noticed and to sell the product dominates in the use of English when it comes to commercial undertakings. However, the need to adjust to the collective, and thus the Polish, identity may be especially pronounced in the advertisements of cultural institutions, especially museums, which may be more restricted in their freedom of language selection and use. Hence perhaps their upfront care about the Polish language that comes to the fore, which is marked by putting Polish first, and English only as a translation. The good reasons principle may surface itself particularly in the case of copying foreign models and retaining the original texts when following the principles of globalisation and internationalization with which the viewers may want to associate and are in need of. It is, however, in all the three cases, hard to deny the fact that the power structuration relation perspective, which corroborates Spolsky and Clarke’s (1991) last rule, seems to dominate. English is a language of high status in the world, also in Poland, and its status informs its frequent appearance and various functions it performs. Only the category of equivalent advertisements shows an interesting deviation from the overall hegemony of English. In principle, it acknowledges its visibility in the world, yet, through the order of the Polish and only then the English phrases as well as the same font size and colour it skillfully indicates that there is a local norm to adhere to and thereby it contests the global hegemon.

⁹ The critical attitude to the use of English only in some cultural contexts may be illustrated by the following complaint: “To już jakaś mania, że każdy musi znać angielski!” [‘It is already some kind of a mania that everyone must know English!’], which a viewer of a Film Music Festival concert of John Powell’s music in Kraków in May 2022 that was entirely conducted in English left on the FMF Facebook website. To this criticism the organizers responded as follows: “Język angielski jest uznawany za międzynarodowy, dlatego podjęliśmy decyzję o nietłumaczeniu” [‘English is considered to be an international language, which is why we chose not to interpret (it)’].

CONCLUSION

The above analysis has focused on advertisements of cultural events in Poland as an aspect of the study of linguistic landscape. The above findings, based on a limited sample of texts, but one that reflects current trends in the analysed genre adequately, demonstrate that English as a global language, the language of entertainment, has quietly but firmly established its presence in the Polish culture and entertainment, including its use in the advertising discourse of events. The role of English in the analysed texts seems to be particularly that of attracting people's attention to the events and stressing their global, and possibly therefore supreme quality indicated by phrasing the names of the events in English. English then seems to be gradually replacing Polish in the headlines of respective events, possibly at the same time downgrading Polish as less effective in this respect (cf. Pavlenko 2009). The dominant role of English is often additionally enhanced by the position of the headline, being placed at the top of the page (47% of the texts), as well as the colour and infrequently the size of the font. Other elements in English vary as regards the subheadlines as well as body copy, i.e. in respect of the practical information provided there. Organising institutions and cyclical events also quite often (22% of the items) choose to be named in English or give their names in both languages in order to highlight their international character.

Although most of the events are advertised in a big city like Kraków, it should not be assumed that the overriding reason for the use of English there is an attempt to reach an international audience visiting the place. The category of disjoint as well as overlapping advertisements indicates that the readers must know Polish too to be able to understand the full message adequately. It is therefore not the utilitarian purpose of English that comes to the foreground here, although this function may be dominant in the case of the complete advertisements composed in English, some of which reflect the original foreign models and are a product of globalisation and customisation. It is rather Ben-Rafael's (2009) sense of unique presentation of self in order to attract as many viewers/attendees as possible. However, providing the Polish text at the same time appears to point to the need to uphold one's collective identity too. An overriding principle found in the majority of the texts analysed in this study seems to be, therefore, the need to join the global trend of using English in the entertainment context. Institutions like museums, however, seem to have developed a different strategy of tackling the global fashion, by using Polish and English with exactly the same meaning, in this very order, and without any special effects which would foreground the English text (on the contrary, sometimes English is written in a less conspicuous manner). This sub-trend is therefore to be noted, and possibly to be recognized as a manifestation of a tacit resistance to the dominant global trend. As may then be concluded, introducing English everywhere as a language of international communication does not necessarily find general approval in the world (cf. Dąbrowska 2022b), and this feeling of ambivalence is also to be sensed, both explicitly, and as some of the examples demonstrate here, also implicitly, in Poland.

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