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**A Country with an Attitude:
English in Switzerland**

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Due to their constructed nature, it can be very difficult to access attitudes towards languages. One methodological approach to do so is a societal treatment study. While societal treatment studies are often criticized because of their informal nature, they are nevertheless considered to be a significant approach as they render it possible to obtain insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties as they examine how languages are treated in society. In order to do so, contents of sources in the public domain are analysed, for example advertisements. Advertisers aim to exploit cultural resonances by using specific languages in order to imbue their products with the stereotypical qualities and values which are commonly associated with a given language group or language. This appropriation of language by advertisers enables researchers to infer people's attitudes towards certain languages by examining their usage in advertisements of a particular country. As a multilingual country where English has gradually become a second language since it is often used as a *lingua franca*, Switzerland is remarkably qualified for studying attitudes towards the English language. Hence, this is a diachronic analysis of the changing and differing attitudes towards the English language of people from the three main linguistic regions of Switzerland done by examining the usage of English in advertisements in Swiss newspapers. In order to do so, the analysis pairs a societal treatment study with a questionnaire as another direct approach in order to reassess claims found by the societal treatment study.

KEYWORDS

newspaper, advertisements, Switzerland, attitudes, multilingual, anglophonia

Since Labov's fundamental study in 1966, where he examined social stratification of speech communities and the influence of prestige and stigmatisation on language change, attitudes in language have become a common field of research in sociolinguistics (Garrett 2010). However, as many different features can be examined, the concept of attitudes often differs depending on the research and its goal. Thus, attitude can be seen as an "affect for or against a psychological object", hence it can consist of positive and negative emotional reactions (Thurstone 1931, 261). Furthermore, attitude can be defined as "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way" (Allport 1935, 43), which means that attitudes do not only consist of affects but are also a part of thought and behaviour (Garrett 2010, 19). It is often not possible to observe attitudes directly as they are a psychological construct, hence it is necessary to infer them from emotional reactions and statements (Oppenheim 1982, 39). Due to their constructed nature, it can be very difficult to access attitudes, which is the reason why many different approaches exist in attitude research (Garrett 2010, 20).

One of these approaches is called societal treatment study. According to Peter Garrett (2010), societal treatment studies are often overlooked, rare and highly criticised. He describes it as an "informal analysis which is not lending itself to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51). Hence, a societal treatment study serves better as a "preliminary to more rigorously designed surveys" and is rather appropriate when researchers have no possibility to access respondents directly due to time and spatial limitations (Garrett 2010, 51). Nevertheless, it is still considered to be a significant approach as societal treatment studies render it possible to obtain "insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties" (Garrett 2010, 51). Therefore, their goal is to examine how languages are treated in society (Garrett 2010). In order to do so, contents of sources in the public domain like prescriptive texts, language policy documents, media texts or advertisements are analysed (Garrett 2010). As studies of advertisements and consumer culture allow researchers to "examine the relations among acts and styles of consumption and the identities of consumers", the usage of languages in promotions can be an informative source of societal treatment material in the case of bilingual or multilingual advertisements (Piller 2001 and Nava et al. 1997). Since languages always "convey cultural resonances in a particular culture", advertisers aim to exploit those resonances by using specific languages in order to "imbue their products with the stereotypical qualities and values with which a given language group or language is commonly associated" (Garrett 2010, 142). Therefore, it is possible to infer people's attitudes towards certain

languages by analysing their usage in advertisements of a particular country (Garett 2010).

As a multilingual country where English has gradually become a second language since it is often used as a *lingua franca*, Switzerland is remarkably qualified for a study regarding attitudes towards the English language (Cheshire and Moser 1994). In Switzerland, 63% of the population speak Swiss German dialects while using the German language mainly for official written communication and in education, 23% speak French, 8% speak Italian and a minority of 1% speaks Rhaeto-Romanic (Swissinfo n.d.).

The following analysis wants to study changing or differing attitudes towards the English language of people from the three main linguistic regions of Switzerland by examining the usage of English in advertisements over time. Furthermore, as the accuracy of societal treatment studies is often criticised, another direct approach, namely a questionnaire, is applied in order to reassess claims found by the societal treatment study.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Regarding the subject of attitudes towards English, not a lot of research has been done about Switzerland, while there are several studies about the status of English in Germany. Moreover, most of the existing studies about Switzerland focus on the Swiss German part. Their main goal is to examine positive or negative attitudes towards English as a *lingua franca* in Switzerland.

One of these studies is called "Attitudes to the use of English in Swiss German advertising language" and has been conducted by Felicity Rash in 1996. She asked 85 men and women from different age groups in the Swiss German part of Switzerland to translate English slogans, brand names and Anglicisms into German in order to test their comprehension of the English language. She found that understanding depended heavily on age and education of the participants as younger and more educated people had a far better comprehension. Furthermore, younger participants showed more positive attitudes towards English slogans and Anglicisms than older ones. These findings are similar to those of Hermann Fink (1977) who tested participants of different age groups in Germany regarding their comprehension of Anglicisms and their attitudes towards them. However, while Fink also discovered that younger participants understood Anglicisms better, he detected a higher number of positive attitudes towards Anglicisms in older age groups than Rash.

Heather Murray (2003), on the other hand, is one of the only researchers who has conducted a diachronic study about attitudes of different age groups from the Swiss German part towards English in advertisements. She concluded that in general, participants showed a "growing appetite for English" in advertisements as over the years, they increasingly liked English slogans and product names (Murray 2003, 106). Thus, she predicted that the amount of English in advertisements would increase in the future.

Regarding societal treatment studies, there are two which are noteworthy for this analysis. To begin with, there is Gerhard Stickel (1984) who evaluated opinions in newspaper articles and readers' letters towards Anglicisms in the German language. He found that 70% of all opinions were negative. These results are surprising as Fink detected a large number of positive attitudes towards the English language in Germany. Thus, it is indeed possible that the two direct approaches of questionnaires and societal treatment studies lead to conflicting results.

Finally, the paper "English as a cultural symbol: The case of advertisements in Frenchspeaking Switzerland" by Jenny Cheshire and Lise-Marie Moser written in 1994 is the most important study for this analysis. Their research question is based on the claims by Smith (1976) and McArthur (1984) who state that English has become a language of the world and is thus freed from its ties with a particular country where it is spoken as a native language. Cheshire and Moser expect different countries to "use English as a cultural symbol to exploit this linguistic resource in their own special ways, in order to meet their own individual requirements" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 452-453). Thus, they examined advertisements in newspapers from French-speaking Switzerland to determine if the English language is used in a special manner in advertisements and how this usage may reflect "some distinctive aspects of French-speaking Switzerland" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 453).

In their study, Cheshire and Moser found that one third of all advertisements contain English. While the English part is mostly prominently placed in the title of the advertisements, depicted in flashier colours or in a bigger font, the words being used are often a part of basic vocabulary. Moreover, the English language is mostly used for products which are associated with science, internationality, technology or which are a part of transient fashions. The English language also serves as a mean to provoke "connotations related to an English-speaking country, usually the USA" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 468). Regarding special manners in which English is used in French-speaking Switzerland, Cheshire and Moser also observed that many advertisements for Swiss products contain English. Thus, they concluded that for the Swiss, the English language

is a way to evoke the "favourable image" foreigners have of the country; hence English is helping the Swiss population in achieving national unity (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 486).

3. METHOD AND MATERIAL

The research design of this paper is in several aspects mirroring the one used by Cheshire and Moser in their paper. Nevertheless, there are some important differences. Cheshire and Moser (1994) focused on advertisements in two newspapers from French-speaking Switzerland with different target groups in order to study differences regarding their usage of English.

This paper, however, has the goal to examine the usage of English and attitudes towards it in the three main regions of Switzerland. It focuses on advertisements in newspapers from the Swiss German-speaking, the French-speaking and the Italian-speaking part. In order to do so, it was necessary to find similar newspapers as otherwise, the data would not be comparable. Thus, this paper chose to analyse the free newspaper *20 Minuten* as it features editions in all three languages. However, while the German edition has already been published in 2004, the Italian one has only been in print since 2012. Hence, the diachronic analysis can only compare data from 2012 to 2016. Although this is a relatively small timeframe for a diachronic analysis, it will be interesting to see if there is a difference in the amount of English used in the advertisements.

Furthermore, there are also other limitations and considerations regarding the analysed data. Firstly, the German edition of *20 Minuten* is twice as long as its French and Italian counterparts *20 minutes* and *20 minuti*, and so it contains twice as many advertisements as the other two. This means that the German sample is more abundant and hence more informative. Secondly, the advertisements for the analysis have been taken from five different issues spread over the year in order to ensure a representative sample. A specific day in February, May, August, October and December has been chosen for all editions and for each year. However, as the year 2016 was still ongoing at the time this article was written, three newspapers instead of one had to be taken from the summertime. As those are always shorter, the sample from 2016 is smaller than the ones from the other years.

In order to determine the amount of English in advertisements, Cheshire and Moser assigned the promotions to different domains, namely monolingual advertisements which either contain French or English, promotions which are bilingual and advertisements where only

the slogan or the product name is in English. These promotions were then further categorised according to the product they advertise.

Credit cards	Holidays and hotels	Alcohol	Medicine	Motorcycles
Cigars	Computers and communication	Music	Furniture	Sport and leisure
Air travel	Shoes and clothes	Banks	Clairvoyance	Air travel
Watches	Hi-fi equipment	Cars	Soft drinks	
Perfume	Telephone chatlines	Beauty	Insurance	
Schools	Household equipment	Cameras	Cigarettes	

Table 1. Categories of advertised products (based on Cheshire & Moser 1994: 460)

This paper, however, decided to expand the used domains by Cheshire and Moser as many advertisements only had one English word in it and this was often the name of the company. Thus, the category of product names is changed into product names and company names. Furthermore, in the second part of the analysis, the categories have to be changed in order to match the found data. Some categories have to be merged as, they would not provide enough data otherwise. Thus, the denominations of "shoes and clothes", "perfume", "watches" and "beauty" are combined to form the class of "fashion and beauty", the categories "hi-fi equipment", "computers and communication" and "cameras" are merged into the category "electronics", the class of "soft drinks" is generalized into "food and drinks" and finally, the category "medicine" is changed into "health". Furthermore, some categories have to be dismissed due to the lack of advertisements. This is the case for "cigars", "credit cards", "clairvoyance" and "motorcycles". Finally, further categories have to be added, namely "news and magazines" and "charity".

The last important difference to Cheshire and Moser's study is that the analysis of advertisements is accompanied by a questionnaire which is designed to determine associations and attitudes of representatives of each language region regarding the English language. The found answers are then compared to the findings of the societal treatment study in order to determine if societal treatment studies are indeed not

suitable for “generalisations to broader or specific populations” (Garrett 2010, 51).

The questionnaire is inspired by Coronel-Molina (2014) who published model questionnaires examining attitudes towards Spanish and English in the United States in order to help other researchers in designing their own one. The chosen questionnaire consists of a list of attributes which should be associated to the English or Spanish language by rating them on a scale from 1 to 3 according to their appropriateness. This paper, however, decided to dismiss the scale in order to be able to clearly determine which language is attributed to which trait.

Furthermore, this list of attributes has been expanded by some of the categories found by Cheshire and Moser so as to ensure that the answers can be connected as well as possible to the findings of the societal treatment study.

While closed-ended questions like this guarantee the collection of specific answers, open-ended questions have the advantage of giving respondents the possibility to evaluate something in their own words, unrestrained by the thoughts and assumptions of the researcher (Haddock & Zanna 1998, 38-39). Thus, new subjects and associations can appear. This is why the closed-ended questions are preceded by open-ended ones in the questionnaire. However, as the analysis of open-ended questions is very time-consuming, there are only two of them which are asking respondents to state their associations with the English language and their respective mother tongue.

Some additional questions are asked in the questionnaire. Firstly, respondents had to indicate their age, the languages they are able to speak fluently and their educational background. This has been done in order to be able to classify attitudes according to age group and educational background and to determine people's fluency of English.

Finally, two questions about English in advertisements are added. The first one inquires about possible target groups of bilingual or monolingual English advertisements so as to examine which age group is considered to be addressed. In the second one, a promotion advertising a traditional Swiss product containing English words is shown and the respondents are asked to argue if the advertisement is a recent one or not. The answers are supposed to complement the analysis of the diachronic development of the usage of English in advertisements.

As the language in a questionnaire is able to influence the findings of the study, the mother tongue of the respective respondents is chosen.

Thus, the questionnaire is translated into German, French and Italian.

All responses are anonymous, therefore, the social desirability bias is eliminated as respondents are unlikely to answer in the way they think they are supposed to instead of what they really think (Garrett 2010).

Regarding limitations of the data, one problem that arose is the number of participants. While some respondents who are not Swiss or who did not answer every question had to be dismissed from the sample, 67 people from the German-speaking part, 23 people from the Italian-speaking and 21 people from the French-speaking one have in the end been included in the study. Hence, while the Swiss German sample is abundant enough for a reliable analysis, the one for the French- and Italian-speaking part is comparatively small. Nevertheless, the results should still be comparable to the findings of the societal treatment study even though, a bigger sample would be desirable. Another limitation regarding the findings from the questionnaire is the fact that all of the respondents have a university degree and are between 18 and 30 years old. In the case of the German-speaking respondents, a minority of 5 people which were older or younger than the mentioned age group or did not own a university degree had to be excluded from the study in order to ensure a coherent sample. Thus, the following evaluations concern a specific group, namely young and educated representatives of the linguistic regions.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the following section, the findings from the societal treatment study and the questionnaire are presented. In general, the amount of English in both the bilingual and monolingual advertisements is really low as in a majority of cases, it only consists of one or two words. As Cheshire and Moser claim in their paper, the English part is not prominently placed as it is mostly neither in the title nor is the font bigger or flashier. To begin with the analysis, the diachronic development of the amount of English used in promotions in the three regions is examined. Then, the advertised products are studied regarding the usage of English in advertisements for Swiss products. Finally, the findings from the societal treatment study are compared to the answers of the questionnaire.

4.1 DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENTS

First of all, the diachronic analysis of the German edition *20 Minuten* shows that English has been consistently used over the years in a majority of the advertisements. However, its amount continually decreases in

favour of monolingual German promotions. Thus, the proportion of advertisements which only contain German rises from 34.5% in 2012 to 38.3% in 2016. Meanwhile, the number of promotions where only the name of a product or the company is in English declines from 2012 to 2013 from 15.2% to 7.4%, only to increase again to 18.2% in 2014. It reaches its peak in 2016 with 21.6%.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual German advert.	34.5%	36.9%	36.6%	38.3%	38.3%
Bilingual advert.	38%	48.9%	42.4%	41.6%	32.3%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	15.2%	7.4%	18.2%	12.4%	21.6%
Advert. containing English Slogan	7.6%	4%	2.2%	4.3%	7.8%
Monolingual English advert.	4.7%	1.9%	0.6%	3.2%	0%

Table 2. Diachronic developments in the German edition

This decline and increase happens at the expense of bilingual advertisements. Hence, their amount rises from 38% in 2012 to 48.9% in 2013 and then decreases again to 32.3% in 2016. While bilingual advertisements are clearly in decline over the years, the number of promotions which use English slogans remains at around 3.2% in 2012 and 2016 with a diminution in 2013 and 2014. Finally, the proportion of monolingual English advertisements has been dropping over the years, as in 2012, 4.7% of all promotions consist of English only while in 2016, there are none of them.

These percentages do not only show an increase in monolingual German advertisements but also a general limitation of the linguistic complexity of the English language used in advertisements as the number of bilingual and monolingual English promotions is decreasing and the amount of advertisements containing companies and products with English names is rising. Thus, the English language is not used in order to communicate anymore, but "to lay claims to the attributes associated symbolically with

speakers of that language" (Eastman and Stein 1993, 188). This concept is called 'language display' and seems to be spreading in the Swiss German part of Switzerland.

A possible explanation for this development can be found in a study from 2007 which states that the majority of the Swiss German respondents are not able to correctly translate English claims in advertisements (Angeli 2007). Hence, while 94% of all respondents of the questionnaire have stated they were fluent in English, it can be assumed that especially older people and less educated ones do not understand the English parts in advertisements. Thus, by using English merely as language display, advertisers can ensure that everyone understands their promotions and nevertheless endue their products with associations of the English language. The observation that fewer advertisements are bilingual is also supported by the findings of the questionnaire, where one third of the respondents state that bilingual advertisements are old-fashioned as today, German and English are not mixed any more.

However, comparing the German edition of *20 Minuten* to the French and Italian one, it still contains a significantly higher amount of English than the other two. This can for example be seen in the fact that the German edition features almost twice as many monolingual English advertisements as the other two editions, namely 18 in contrast to 10 in each case.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual French advert.	48.4%	50.8%	46.1%	51.9%	40%
Bilingual advert.	19.8%	28.3%	37.4%	21.6%	20%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	19.8%	17.5%	14.8%	16.7%	27.1%
Advert. containing English Slogans	6.4%	3.3%	0.9%	5.9%	12.9%
Monolingual English advert.	5.6%	0%	0%	3.9%	10%

Table 3. Diachronic developments in the French edition

Moreover, in the French edition, there are a lot more monolingual advertisements in the mother tongue than in the German one. Nevertheless, while the amount of monolingual German advertisements is rising, the number of monolingual French ones has been declining significantly from 2015 to 2016, namely from 51.9% to 40% in 2016. However, like in the German edition, the amount of advertisements featuring English named companies or products increased over the years from 19.8% in 2012 to 27.1% in 2016. Meanwhile, the proportion of bilingual advertisements rose from 19.8% in 2012 to 37.4% in 2014, only to decline to 20% in 2016. The amount of advertisements using English slogans, on the other hand, drops from 6.4% in 2012 to 0.9% in 2014 and then quickly increases to 5.9% in 2015 and 12.9% in 2016. Furthermore, also in the French sample, the amount of monolingual English advertisements is continually declining from 2012 onwards, namely from 5.6% to zero instances in 2016.

Hence, after having examined these percentages, it can be stated that the number of advertisements featuring English-named products and companies or English slogans is rising on the expense of monolingual French advertisements. Thus, in the French edition, an increasing preference for English can be observed. However, as in the German edition, the usage of English in advertisements seems to be increasingly limited to language display as the number of bilingual advertisements does not increase. One possible reason for this could again be language comprehension. This hypothesis is supported by one advertisement which contains an English slogan. This slogan is accompanied by an asterisk which refers to the bottom of the publicity where it is translated into French (*20 minutes*, 18 July 2016, p. 7). Thus, while the company apparently does not think that its target group is fluent in English, it nevertheless uses an English slogan in order to evoke associations with the language.

Finally, the diachronic development of the Italian edition differs significantly from the others. To begin with, it is the only one where bilingual advertisements are on the rise over the years as their amount increases from 16.1% in 2012 to 28.1% in 2016. This growth happens at the expense of the number of advertisements containing English-named products and companies as their number is declining from 2012 to 2016, namely from 32.1% to 26.6%. Moreover, while the percentage of bilingual advertisements is increasing, the amount of monolingual Italian promotions slightly decreased from 46% in 2012 to 45.2% in 2016. Before 2016, their percentage rose to 58.5% in 2013 and diminished again to 55% in 2015. Nevertheless, the Italian edition has the highest percentage of monolingual mother tongue advertisements in 2016 and it is also the only edition which features more monolingual Italian promotions than bilingual ones in a majority of the examined years. Hence, a clear preference for the Italian language can be found. It is also interesting to see that in 2016,

there are no advertisements which are only in English or which use any English slogans, while in 2012, 2.3% of all advertisements contain English slogans and 3.5% of all advertisements were monolingual English.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual Italian advert.	46%	58.5%	56.8%	55%	45.2%
Bilingual advert.	16.1%	11.7%	24.7%	15%	28.2%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	32.1%	22.3%	18.5%	27.5%	26.6%
Advert. containing English Slogans	2.3%	1.1%	0%	2.5%	0%
Monolingual English advert.	3.5%	6.4%	0%	0%	10%

Table 4. Diachronic developments in the Italian edition

Thus, while the Italian edition has the highest amount of monolingual advertisements in the respective mother tongue, its advertisements are the only ones without a preference for English-named products or companies and English slogans. On the contrary, bilingual advertisements are favoured which means that English does not mainly serve as language display. One possible reason for this could be that, according to the questionnaire, two thirds of the participants are fluent in either French or German as a second language, but hardly any of them in Italian. Thus, it can be assumed that Italian speakers are often forced to use English as a *lingua franca* in their communication inside the country and are therefore used to the language.

To conclude, in the case of French- and Italian-speaking Switzerland, Heather Murray seems to be right to suggest a "growing appetite" for English in advertisements (2003: 106). However, regarding the Swiss German part, a contrary development can be examined. As the Swiss German part features the highest amount of advertisements containing English, it could be possible to assume that this "growing appetite" is satisfied at one point and that this decrease will also happen in the other

two regions. Hence, in a few years, maybe the contrary development will also be seen in the other two parts of Switzerland.

4.2 MADE IN SWITZERLAND

Surprisingly, several traditional Swiss brands like Swissmilk, Schweizer Fleisch and the airline Swiss are either named in English or use the English language in their advertisements. Often, the origin of the product is described in English, namely as *Swiss quality* or *made in Switzerland*. The following part will analyse the advertisements from the different editions in order to determine how many Swiss products are being advertised in English and present possible reasons for it.

Firstly, in the German edition, more than half of the advertisements for Swiss products contain English, namely 60.6% of Swiss products in 2012, 54% in 2013, 57.1% in 2014, 60.9% in 2015 and 58.4% in 2016. Thus, a majority of all promotions employ the English language to advertise traditional goods.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	60.6%	54%	57.1%	60.9%	58.4%
Advert. by Swiss companies in German	39.4%	46%	43.9%	39.1%	41.6%
Advert. by American/British companies in German	33%	10.5%	100%	20%	0%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	77%	89.5%	0%	80%	100%

Table 5. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the German edition

However, the actuality that monolingual German promotions are not used in a majority of advertisements for Swiss products can be explained by the fact that the German-speaking part of Switzerland does not speak German as a mother tongue, but Swiss German. Therefore, it can be assumed that advertisers refrain from using too much German

in their promotions in order to avoid the connection to German and its associations as a language which is mainly used in formal circumstances. Nevertheless, advertisers use neither French nor Italian to promote Swiss products. Hence, as languages are mostly used in order to provide a product with the associations of the language and culture (Garrett 2010), this suggests that Swiss Germans associate their country more with qualities and associations from the English language and culture than with the ones from the other two main parts of the country.

Furthermore, also in the Italian part of Switzerland, a high number of advertisements for Swiss products contain English. In 2012, 53.7% of all promotions advertising Swiss products comprise English. This number then decreases to 50% in 2013 and 41.4% in 2014, only to rise to 48.5% in 2015 and to increase even further to 52% in 2016.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	54%	50%	41%	49%	52%
Advert. by Swiss companies in Italian	46%	50%	59%	51%	48%
Advert. by American/British companies in Italian	33%	29%	9%	0%	40%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	67%	71%	91%	100%	60%

Table 6. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the Italian edition

The Italian part seems to associate the English language and culture with Switzerland as well, although not as abundantly as the Swiss German one; however, as the Italian language is their mother tongue, another explanation must be found for this high proportion of English. Thus, Cheshire and Moser claim that Switzerland, as a multicultural country, is not only mainly held together by conscious dissociation from their neighbouring countries, but is especially united "when under external threat" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 466). However, as currently, there are no imminent external threats, the Swiss population starts to focus on the internal divisions of the country. This concept is called the

'Helvetic malaise' (Cheshire and Moser 1994). The English language, on the other hand, allows the Swiss population to "construct a self-image that is consistent with the favourable image presented to tourists" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 466). Hence, the English language reflects a satisfying 'tourist' identity back to the Swiss which is why it is used in order to advertise Swiss products (Cheshire and Moser 1994).

The French edition shows a different situation as after 2012, more Swiss products are advertised in monolingual French than in English. While in 2012, 51.1% of all promotions presenting Swiss products contained English, this number keeps declining to 42.9% in 2016. Thus, in French-speaking Switzerland, the mother tongue seems to be more associated with Switzerland than the English language. Hence, the 'Helvetic malaise' seems to be less prevalent here.

However, also regarding British and American companies, advertisements contain comparatively little English in the French edition. At the beginning of this analysis, in 2012, 55.6% of all promotions for English products contained English while in 2013, this is the case for 76.9% of all promotions. In 2014, 100% of all promotions by British or American companies comprise English, while in 2015, this number drops to 70% to decrease even further to 50% in 2016. While still a majority of advertisements for British and American companies contain English, their proportions are the lowest in the French sample. Thus, a general preference for French in advertisements can be observed which could also explain the high percentage of monolingual French advertisements for Swiss products.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	51.1%	41.3%	46.9%	48.7%	42.3%
Advert. by Swiss companies in French	48.9%	58.7%	53.1%	51.3%	57.7%
Advert. by American/British companies in French	44.4%	23.1%	0%	30%	50%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	55.6%	76.9%	100%	70%	50%

Table 7. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the French edition

4.3 CATEGORISING ADVERTISEMENTS

The last part of the analysis is going to compare the findings from the societal treatment study to the ones of the questionnaire in order to determine if societal treatment studies are indeed not suitable for “generalisations to broader or specific populations” (Garrett 2010, 51). Differences in the usage of English and in associations with the language in the three main regions of Switzerland will be discussed.

The first category to be examined is “fashion and beauty”. In the case of the French and German-speaking part, a majority of the advertisements contain English, namely 75% and 71.4% respectively. The Italian-speaking part represents an exception with only 45.8% of advertisements in English. Thus, according to the societal treatment study, it can be assumed that in the French and Swiss German part of Switzerland, fashion and beauty are associated with the English language and culture. The Italian-speaking population, on the other hand, connects it with the Italian language. However, these findings are only partly supported by the questionnaire. There, 65% of all French speakers and 91% of all Swiss Germans associate fashion and beauty with the English language which is congruent with the findings of the societal treatment study. Regarding the Italian part, the findings are contradicted as 63% of all respondents associate fashion and beauty with English. Nevertheless, the results from the questionnaire are supported by Cheshire and Moser's societal treatment study and their observation that English is mostly associated with transient fashions.

This claim is also supported by the findings from the category “cars”, where 70% of all Italian advertisements, 89.5% of all German and 60% of all French ones comprise English. Thus, in all three regions, cars seem to be connected to the English language. However, this category shows one of the main problems in societal treatment studies. While it is possible to say that cars are a part of transient fashion, all other attitudes and associations which could be derived from this category necessitate either guesswork or an additional questionnaire in order to identify people's general associations with cars. For Cheshire and Moser (1994), the fact that cars are mainly advertised using the English language shows that English is the *lingua franca* of science and technology. While they do not justify the association of cars with technology, this observation is supported by the questionnaire as 55% of Swiss Germans, 82% of Italian-speaking participants and 65% of French speakers associate technology with the English language. Furthermore, for 89% of all Swiss German respondents, 95% of all Italian speakers and 88% of all French ones, modernity is also abundantly associated with the English language. In addition, the past is generally associated with the mother tongue of the respective respondents according to 77% of the Swiss German speakers, 89% of the

Italian ones and 80% of the French ones. Although these findings from the questionnaire second the ones from the societal treatment study, it is not clear if all these attributes are really connected to the category "cars". This shows a first instance where societal treatment studies are not suitable for "generalisations to broader or specific populations."

The association of the English language with technology can also be observed in the category "electronics" as 90.5% of all Italian advertisements for electronics, 88.9% of German ones and 76.3% of French ones contain English. This is mostly the case because of technical terms, as they mainly consist of internationally used Anglicisms (Steiner & Strobel 2006). This attribution of technology to the English language also supports the results from the following category, "telephone chatlines" as in all three editions, 100% of all advertisements contain English. The main reason for this high percentage is that the three major Swiss companies for telephone lines are labelled in English, namely Orange respectively Salt, Swisscom and Sunrise. While the attribute of communication is not explicitly mentioned in the questionnaire, almost half of the participants from all three regions stated the association of communication with the English language in the open-ended questions. Thus, the findings from the societal treatment study are consistent with the ones from the questionnaire.

In the case of "cigarettes", only the German edition features a majority of advertisements which comprise English, namely 69.6%, while the Italian edition contains 37.5% and the French one 46.7%. This is especially surprising as Cheshire and Moser claim in their societal treatment study that English is often used "in order to evoke connotations that have to do with the lifestyle of a particular country where English is a native language" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 463), citing cigarettes as an example. Again, while Cheshire and Moser claim that in advertisements, "smoking is generally associated with the USA" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 462), it would be necessary to know which associations people have with cigarettes or English-speaking countries in order to be able to discuss the findings from the societal treatment study and compare them to the questionnaire. Furthermore, the fact that the findings from this study do not support the ones observed by Cheshire and Moser indicates another defect of societal treatment studies. As many of the analysed promotions advertise the brand *Parisiennes* which is a Swiss brand with clear connections to France, it is not surprising that they do not contain any English. Hence, the results from societal treatment studies are highly influenced by the companies and their advertised products. This also explains the fact that the German edition has a lot more advertisements for cigarettes which contain English as it is longer and more abundant in promotions. Thus, it does not only feature advertisements for *Parisiennes* but also for American brands. Therefore, this shows that societal treatment studies do not

necessarily lend themselves "to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51).

"Health", on the other hand, is predominantly attributed to the respective mother tongue, thus only 12.5% of the Italian advertisements, 11.1% of the German ones and 36.4% of the French ones contain English. These findings are supported by the questionnaire where 63% of all French speakers, 65% of all Italian speakers and 86% of all Swiss German speakers associate health with their respective mother tongue. Thus, this could suggest that recreational activities damaging to health like cigarettes and smoking are connected to the English language. However, this hypothesis is not supported by the findings of the societal treatment study and it cannot be seconded by the questionnaire.

Meanwhile, the category "travel" is clearly associated with English as 80% of the advertisements in the Italian edition, 60% in the German one and 62.1% in the French one contain English. Thus, the English language is indeed seen as "the language of tourism and international travel", as claimed by Cheshire and Moser (1994, 461). This is also supported by the questionnaire, in the case of the open-ended questions where internationality, globalism and travelling were the most often listed attributes for the English language as well as in the case of the closed ones where 94% of all Swiss German speakers, 100% of all Italian ones and 70% of all French speakers associate travelling with English.

The same is also true in the case of "alcohol". English is featured in most advertisements, namely in 100% of the advertisements in the Italian and French edition and in 40% in the German one. The advertised products are mostly American, thus it can be assumed that the advertisements are supposed to transmit connotations with the country (Cheshire and Moser 1994). Hence, it is not surprising that 82% of all French speakers associate alcohol with their mother tongue as a majority of the participants connect their language to wine in the open-ended questions. This is less the case in the German and Italian-speaking part, where 60% and 80% of all respondents associate alcohol with the English language and thus only partly match the findings of the societal treatment study as there, alcohol is not connected to English in a majority of the advertisements in the German edition. Again, the advertised products play an important role in the outcome of the societal treatment study as the results rather mirror the campaigned products than the attitudes and associations of people.

Moreover, the attribution of English to alcohol is probably also connected to the category "entertainment" which also includes advertisements of night life. There, the societal treatment study shows a clear association with the English language as 64.8% of all advertisements

concerning entertainment in the Italian edition and 80.9% in the German one contain English. Meanwhile, only 42.9% of the advertisements in the French edition comprise English which means that the French speakers mainly associate entertainment with their mother tongue. These findings, however, are only partly supported by the questionnaire. While 75% of the Italian-speaking participants, 70% of French-speaking ones and 86% of the Swiss German speakers associate entertainment with the English language, it is different with night life, as there, 62% of all respondents from the Italian part and 68% of the Swiss German one attribute it to the English language while 75% of all French speakers associate night life with their mother tongue. Music, nevertheless, is widely assigned to the English language according to 83% of Swiss German respondents, 95% of French ones and 82% of Italian ones. Thus, while in the German- and Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, the findings from the societal treatment study and the questionnaire are congruent, this is not the case in the French-speaking one. However, the category "entertainment" proved to be a bit problematic as it is a conglomeration of different things like night life, concerts, music, theatre and leisure activities as each of them on its own would not have been enough to fill an own category. It is possible that most of the found promotions in the French edition advertised night life which could serve as an explanation for the fact that French speakers associate their mother tongue with night life but not with entertainment or music, while according to the societal treatment study, the conglomeration of them is mainly associated with French. Furthermore, this would also explain the differentness of the French edition in the societal treatment studies as advertisements for night life often campaign local events which would justify the main usage of the French language.

The category "banks" is an interesting case as well as 81.8% of all advertisements in the Italian edition, 77.4% in the German one and 76% in the French one contain English. As most of the advertised banks are Swiss, this is an astonishing result. This could again be a case of 'Helvetic malaise', so that Swiss companies try to reflect a satisfying 'tourist' identity back to the Swiss population (Cheshire and Moser 1994). Secondly, as Alessandra Franzen mentions in her analysis, it is often cheaper for Swiss companies to use English advertisements as they are deployable in all parts of Switzerland and the English proportion also has a recognition value (Franzen 2001). The English language could also be used as a sign of "international prestige", thus promoting the internationality of the bank (Haarmann 1984, 11). All these possibilities show another flaw of the societal treatment study as it is not clear which one of these reasons is the right one for the high amount of English in advertisements for banks. Nevertheless, each of these reasons reflects a different attitude towards the English language. Furthermore, comparing these results to the questionnaire has again been difficult as it would be necessary to

add another questionnaire in order to find specific associations which people have with banks. However, one possible attribute can be found in the questionnaire. Here, wealth is mainly associated with the respective mother tongue of the respondent for 53% of all Swiss German speakers, 82% of all Italian speakers and 67% of all French speakers. While this could be contrary to the findings of the societal treatment study, their answers also show a flaw regarding the questionnaire and the translations as it is possible that some respondents answered according to the richness of the language and not in the sense of monetary wealth.

Moreover, advertisements for "furniture" generally do not contain English as 75% of the Italian advertisements, 73.7% of the French ones and 57.7% of the German ones are in their respective mother tongue. While these proportions are comparatively low, especially in the German edition and considering that mainly German and Swiss companies advertised in the newspapers, these findings still second Cheshire and Moser's claim that everyday products are generally not advertised in English (Cheshire and Moser 1994). The findings are also supported by the questionnaire, as according to 60% of all respondents of the French-speaking part, 79% of the German-speaking one and 95% of the Italian-speaking one, home is associated with the respective mother tongue.

The results from the societal treatment study in the category of "comestible goods" also support the preceding findings as 21.9% of all Italian advertisements, 45.7% of all German ones and 40% of all French ones contain English. While these results still suggest a relatively high association of comestible goods with the English language in the German and the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the findings from the questionnaire second the general association of mundane products with the respective mother tongue, as 73% of all Swiss German respondents, 82% of all French ones and 95% of all Italian ones attribute food to their first language.

In the category "sports", on the other hand, the two approaches resulted in contradicting findings. In the Swiss German part, 85% of all advertisements contain English, while in the French edition, it is only 50%, and only 44.4% in the Italian one. According to Cheshire and Moser (1994), their examined advertisements suggest a clear connection between the USA and the concept of competition and winning, hence sports are generally associated with the English language. While the findings from the German edition clearly support this claim, the ones from the Italian- and French-speaking part do not. Their claim, however, is supported by the questionnaire as 58% of all Swiss Germans, 89% of all French speakers and 62% of all Italian ones associate sports with the English language. The contradicting findings from the societal treatment study could be explained

by the fact that many promotions for sports advertised local activities and thus, tried to campaign locally. Therefore, the findings from the societal treatment study are again influenced by the advertised products.

Regarding "charity", it is surprising to see that 12.8% of the advertisements in the Italian edition, 46.7% in the German one and 47.8% in the French one comprise English. While the results from the Italian-speaking part can clearly be supported by the questionnaire, where 94% of all respondents claim to associate generosity with the Italian language, the Swiss German and French findings are harder to second as a narrow majority of 52% of all French-speaking respondents associate generosity with their mother tongue, while 70% of the Swiss German respondents, however, attribute it to English. The high proportions of English in the German and French edition and the high number of Swiss German participants associating generosity with the English language could be explained by the consideration that most charity organisations act internationally and many of them are named in English. Thus, as internationality is highly associated with the English language, the attribution of charity and generosity to the English language is explainable as well. However, the findings from the societal treatment study again depend on the companies and products which are advertised as in the Italian edition, many local charity organisations promote, while in the German and French edition, there are more international ones.

Also, the category "education" is a really interesting case as 0% of all advertisements in *20 minuti*, 42.9% in *20 Minuten* and 27.3% in *20 minutes* contain English. Thus, according to the societal treatment study, the Italian-speaking members of Switzerland clearly do not associate education with the English language. Nevertheless, the questionnaire shows a different picture as there, 63% of all Swiss German speakers and 65% of all French-speakers associate education with their mother tongue while 79% of all Italian speakers attribute education to the English language. While these contradicting results are really striking, a possible explanation for the differences could be that most respondents are Italian-speaking students studying English at the University of Zurich, thus it is likely that they associate education with their degree. Hence, in order to clearly verify the results from the societal treatment study, it would be necessary to get a more diverse range of respondents.

Finally, the category "news and magazines" also shows differing results between the two approaches as in the Italian edition, 0% of the advertisements feature English while in the German one, it is 47.5%, and 48.3% in the French one. This is not only surprising regarding the questionnaire, as there, 78% of all Swiss Germans, 63% of all French speakers and 95% of all Italian speakers associate being up to date with

the English language, but also regarding the fact that news and magazines are often international and thus, according to Cheshire and Moser (1994), should be associated with the English language. The results from the societal treatment study seem to differ highly from reality, especially in the case of the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. Therefore, it is again shown that this approach does not lend itself to "statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51).

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the societal treatment study is a useful approach in order to examine differences in the usage of English and diachronic developments in different language regions. It showed that in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, advertisements feature the highest amount of English, while the Italian-speaking one has the lowest. However, the German-speaking part is the only one where the number of monolingual advertisements in the respective mother tongue is rising, hence it could be assumed that while in the other two regions, the amount of English in advertisements is still increasing, the German-speaking part is ahead in the development and that the other two will follow the German example of a new decrease in a few years. In addition, in the Swiss German and French sample, an increasing use of English as 'language display' instead of as a medium of communication could have been examined.

Moreover, regarding advertisements from Swiss companies, especially in the German edition but also in the Italian one, a majority of the promotions contain English. One possible reason which could have been found for this in the German-speaking part could be that advertisers try to avoid the formal associations with German. Another possible reason is mentioned by Cheshire and Moser (1994), namely the 'Helvetic malaise' which means that by using the English language, a unifying tourist identity is mirrored back to the Swiss population. This 'Helvetic malaise', however, does not seem to exist as much in the French part of Switzerland, as there, most Swiss companies as well as a high amount of American and British ones advertise in French.

Hence, these observations show how societal treatment studies can lead to useful and unique results which already reveal a lot about attitudes towards English in the three main parts of Switzerland.

In the case of the examination of specific attitudes, however, societal treatment studies are indeed not necessarily the best choice. While in a majority of the analysed categories, the findings of the societal treatment study correlated to the ones from the questionnaire, the approach

nevertheless showed several flaws. Firstly, many of the categories which are analysed in this study are not clearly assignable to any of Cheshire and Moser's claims as the reason for the high amount of English in the category of banks, for example, could either be the 'Helvetic malaise' or international prestige but there could also be another reason like the reutilisation of slogans in all parts of Switzerland. The last possibility also leads to another problem in the applicability of the societal treatment study as the insertion of English parts in an advertisement can also have other reasons than associations with the English language as the length of an advertisement or a standardisation approach due to the globalisation of the market can also play an important role in these considerations (Gerritsen et al. 2010). These factors, however, are not considered by societal treatment studies. Secondly, not all of the categories illustrate any associations with the English language. This could have been seen in the case of "cars", "banks" and "cigarettes" where a second questionnaire would be necessary so as to determine general associations with the products as everyone attributes different traits to them. Furthermore, while Cheshire and Moser have been able to identify general claims about the usage of the English language, their observations do not always correlate with the ones in this study. According to them, the English language is mostly used as a *lingua franca* in science and technology, for transient fashions and in order to provide products with associations with international prestige or with the country of origin. However, the findings of this study, for example in the category "sports", "cigarettes" and "food" do not support their claims. One reason for this is that the findings from the societal treatment study are often heavily influenced by the advertising companies and the promoted products. This represents another flaw of societal treatment studies.

Thus, while societal treatment studies are a good approach for diachronic analyses, the statement that societal treatment studies do not lend themselves "to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51) proved to be true.

Concerning the differences of attitudes in the three linguistic regions of Switzerland, it has been possible to observe that in many instances, the three regions share the same associations with the English language. However, in the case of deviations in attitudes between the three parts, it could have been examined that either the French or Italian speakers chose their mother tongue instead of the English language or the Swiss German speakers opt for the English language instead of their mother tongue. Thus, a high acceptance and identification with the English language could have been observed in the German part of Switzerland.

Regarding further research, it would be interesting to focus on the questionnaire in more detail as many associations and thoughts which are

mentioned in there could not have been examined in this study. Moreover, in order to have a more reliable sample for each linguistic region, more participants from the Italian and French-speaking part and respondents from different age groups and educational backgrounds should be consulted. Thus, it would be possible to compare attitudinal differences in people from varying age groups and with diverse educational backgrounds. Concerning the societal treatment study, it would be interesting to combine it with theories from marketing or customer psychology in order to study the reasons for the insertion of English parts in advertisements not only from a linguistic point of view, but also from an economic one.

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