

The section on broadcasting focuses mainly on the presence of minority languages on television, and how important this is for their survival. The existence of minority language media is vital for language maintenance efforts as this demonstrates the capacity of minority languages to operate on a par with the dominant language(s) within the one community. Ó Ciadhra argues that the promotion of minority language digital media is especially vital under globalisation due to the apparent rise in the significance of localised allegiances and identities. Echoing that view, Cormack argues that it is the failure to develop media at a local level that is hindering the progress of Ulster Scots.

The book also contains very welcome contributions on the 'public sphere', especially in the context of Ulster Scots. The comparative perspective considers the cases of Basque and Irish, and Walloon and Scots. However, the inclusion of the section on the 2001 Language Census results seems a bit out of place. It does provide the reader with the most up-to-date statistics, but does not cohere well with the rest of the volume.

In both collections, Kirk and Ó Baoill provide a multi-faceted approach to the issues affecting minority language maintenance. They demonstrate how the languages they study transcend political boundaries, and how there is a need for all those involved in language planning to co-operate for the sake of cross-border minority language communities. These books are a valuable resource for anyone interested in the situation of lesser-used languages of the Celtic Countries, and in language maintenance in general.

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HELEN KELLY-HOLMES. *Advertising as Multilingual Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. 206 pp. Hb (1403917256) £45.00.

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This volume has two objectives: it aims to explore the use of different languages and varieties in marketing discourses in monolingual contexts, and to examine marketing discourses in multilingual contexts (p. xi).

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to multilingualism in a market context. In particular, the author defines her key theoretical concept, that of 'linguistic fetish'. Drawing on Marx, a linguistic fetish is seen as similar to a commodity fetish. In the same way that a commodity becomes a fetish when its use value is obscured by its symbolic value, the author argues, language becomes a fetish when its utility value, 'the content, the meanings themselves' (p. 24) is dominated by its symbolic value.

Chapter 2, 'Foreign languages in advertising', explores 'country-of-origin effect' in advertising. This 'effect' refers to the practice of drawing on national stereotypes in the marketing of certain products, often, but not necessarily, from the country in question. Data for this chapter come mainly from the use of French and German, but also some other European languages, in British advertising. Unsurprisingly, French is associated with beauty, German with engineering, Spanish with passion, etc. There are some product categories that often draw on these languages, irrespective of whether they are produced in countries where the languages are spoken: for instance, perfume advertising often uses French, automobile advertising has a penchant for German, and food advertising also frequently uses bits and pieces of languages other than those spoken in the target area (e.g. French for wine, German for beer, Italian for pasta).

Chapter 3, 'The special case of English', examines the 'various fetishes of international English' in advertising discourses of non-English-speaking countries (most examples come from the German context). English is used in these contexts for technical display, to associate cosmopolitanism, modernity, neutrality, coolness, internationalism, and the free market (in the countries of the former Soviet bloc). The author also describes two German ads that do not use any English, and concludes that a 'purity fetish' is in operation there: 'This lack of English may be coincidental, or may perhaps have something, consciously or subconsciously, to do with the fact that *Maggi* [the brand of instant soup advertised – IP] is seen as a very German brand' (p. 78). The chapter also has a focus on the languages used on corporate websites in their dot.com and national versions.

Chapter 4, 'Minority languages, accents, and dialects in advertising', starts with a look at 'ethno-marketing', i.e. marketing targeted at minorities in a given national context, with examples from marketing aimed at Spanish speakers in the U.S.A., and at Turkish speakers in Germany. A second part deals with the use of Irish English in Irish radio advertising and finds that local accents (other than a 'neutral' middle-class Dublin media voice) are used to achieve a more informal tone and to 'add color'. This is followed by an exploration of the use of Irish in marketing in Ireland. Irish is mostly used in connection with public services and language-related products, e.g. Foras na Gaeilge, the body responsible for promoting the Irish language.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a case study of language use on Eurosport, a pan-European sports broadcaster. This themed broadcaster advertises itself to advertisers with the following slogan: 'Want to speak to 46 million young

Europeans? We speak their language'. 'Their language' is the international 'language' of sports, and as the author finds out, on Eurosport, this 'language' is multilingual. There is the English default (but also other defaults as the channel claims that 'over 96% of Eurosport's viewers can watch their favourite sports in their native language' (<http://www.eurosport.com/home/pages/v4/10/s10000/sport.lng0.spo10000.shtml>; last accessed on July 26, 2005). However, despite the default languages,

communication on Eurosport could never be described as 'seamless': it is instead patchy, uncertain, jerky, and it has an almost amateurish quality. The viewer is very aware that s/he is dealing with different communicative cultures, different time zones and different languages. . . . Although English is the default and the *lingua franca*, the context assumes and, even more significantly, does not allow the viewer to forget that this is a multilingual world and this is what the viewers are entering when they watch Eurosport. (p. 158)

The concluding chapter bears the title 'Creating "multilingual" texts: Combating multilingualism', and links multilingual marketing to wider sociolinguistic issues. In the British context, where 'foreign languages belong in the category of holidays, tourists, imported food, but not in the everyday' (p. 175), the fetishizing of foreign languages in advertising is juxtaposed with a diminishing interest in foreign language learning. Furthermore, it is argued that the German linguistic fetish in advertising goes hand in hand with a disenfranchisement, or so the author reports, of German speakers in the U.K. Multilingual contexts, on the other hand, are said to be a problem for advertisers, 'presenting them with yet another barrier to a global, homogeneous message' (p. 179). The author explores this problem by pointing out that marketing textbooks often make a distinction between 'communication' and 'language', and dismiss the importance of language skills as long as 'communication' is right. Another issue identified is the relationship between English and other languages in marketing discourses: is monolingual English use normalized or is English part of a multilingual ecology? Finally, the concept of 'fake multilingualism' is introduced to describe multilingual advertising discourses – this is juxtaposed with 'messy bilingualism', or 'lived bilingualism', 'text composed of a vernacular that is impure, mixed and constantly evolving' (p. 185).

After this summary, I will now move on to an evaluation of the volume. As someone who is herself invested in the study of intercultural and multilingual advertising (Piller 2001, 2003), I was looking forward to this title and had ordered it even before I was asked to review it. I felt that, after Haarmann (1989) and O'Barr (1994), another monograph in the field was very timely, and that a book-length treatment of marketing discourses in the context of the European Union was overdue in English (Platen 1997 is a German monograph with a focus on brand names). However, unfortunately, I found the volume disappointing on a number of counts.

One weakness, and one that the volume under review shares with a fair number of studies in advertising discourse, is the failure to establish a clear method of data collection and analysis. The data for this study comprise 'a collection that has been put together opportunistically through my own encounters with advertisements in a variety of media' (p. xii). There is nothing wrong with this method if the selection is principled, as it is not in the present case. Despite the unsystematic data collection, the author makes claims that are based on quantification, and which thus become easily falsifiable, e.g. 'there are many sectors of advertising in which linguistic fetish does [sic] not present at all; the banking and insurance sectors spring to mind here' (p. 65). However, advertising in the German banking and insurance sectors, for instance, is characterized by heavy English-German code-switching.

This brings me to the second problem, namely a lack of attention to the macrolinguistic contexts in which multilingual advertising occurs. While the case studies in Chapters 2–5 are inherently context-specific, these diverse contexts are never clearly brought into focus. For instance, Chapter 2 purports to study 'foreign languages' 'in Western Europe' (p. 27), with a focus on French and German. Obviously, as two major Western European languages, these are not 'foreign languages' all over Western Europe, and designating them as such only makes sense from the perspective of the national context from which most of the examples come, namely the U.K. In the next chapter, the use of English in Central and Eastern Europe (mainly Germany) is then approached under the same linguistic fetish lens as French and German in British ads. However, even if one agrees that a meaningful distinction can be made between language use for communication and symbolic language use (as I don't), there is a crucial difference between these two contexts (allowing that they are only two): the percentage of people in Germany who have a meaningful level of proficiency in English is much higher than the percentage of Britons who have a meaningful level of proficiency in French and/or German. Thus, for instance, the Lufthansa slogan 'There's no better way to fly' (p. 72) doesn't just signal 'English' to a German audience but will also be understood in terms of content. By contrast, 'Vorsprung durch Technik' may indeed mean nothing much beyond 'German' and 'Audi' to a British audience. As a matter of fact, most examples from the British context, are not actual uses of German, but meta-linguistic comments about German, such as '[Ford] Focus: German for reliability' (p. 51).

In the same way that there is no systematic approach to the macrolinguistic context, there is no systematic approach to the microlinguistic context, or co-text, of the code-switching under discussion, either. For instance, while a great many different media are discussed, the ways in which multilingualism manifests itself differently in different forms of advertising is not brought together systematically anywhere in the volume. In print advertising, for instance, it has frequently been found that switching occurs in the headline, the slogan, and/or the brand name. In the Irish radio examples, local accents

seem to be typically used by characters in little stories about product use. Except for the chapter on Eurosport, there is no attention being paid to the wider texts in which advertising is embedded.

Another problem, and again one that the title under review shares with a lot of linguistic work on advertising discourse, is that there is no social and economic theory that underpins the effort. For instance, the author seems to assume that it is the aim of advertisers to produce a 'global, homogeneous message' (p. 179). However, clearly, most advertising is local, regional, and national – think of the leaflets that litter your mailbox, the shop signs and billboards in your daily life, advertising in your local newspapers, etc. – none of these types of advertising is even mentioned, incidentally. Indeed, as Dor (2004) convincingly argues with reference to internet marketing – often seen as the globalizing medium *par excellence* – it is linguistic localization, as opposed to globalization in English, that is key to success in the marketplace. Dor's (2004) study also takes research into multilingual practices in advertising a step further by highlighting the fact that it is the commodification of language itself that has become a huge global growth market.

In the same way that I would like to see studies of advertising discourse in general, and of multilingualism in advertising in particular, underpinned by social and economic theory, I also feel that some kind of moral – or critical – stance towards these practices is necessary for work in the field to be productive. For instance, in the section on Irish, the author speaks appreciatively of an Irish children's program on TV that has been able to attract advertising for global children's brands:

The significance of this is that children who are not living bilingually can be attracted and retained because of the presence of these national and international brands and their advertising texts, something that makes the station seem more 'normal', more mainstream. . . . It also changes the associations the language has, namely with school, by viewing it and hearing it in what are 'normal' commercial contexts and in the middle of 'normal' market discourses that are not trying to sell holidays in the *Gaeltacht*, but are trying to persuade children to pester their parents to buy the latest *Playstation* game. (pp. 137–138)

If I understand this example correctly, the Irish children's program is popular and therefore advertisers are attracted to it – the children are watching it because they enjoy the Irish program, and not because the advertising is so 'normal' – which makes the argument spurious. However, even if the argument were to hold water, I find advertising to children objectionable, and the idea that the commercial 'normalization' of Irish (or any other language) is worth raising little materialistic monsters who are encouraged to use their pester power is short-sighted at best.

The volume is also marred by a lack of accuracy and some outright errors in the analysis. For instance, the identification of a 'traditionalism fetish' carried by English in German advertising is based solely on one single headline in an ad for *Jaguar*: 'Die perfekte Balance zwischen Innovation und Tradition' 'the

perfect balance between innovation and tradition'. The English component is identified as follows: 'Interestingly, although this title is in German, it contains the English word "balance" ' (p. 68). However, 'Balance' is a German word with a French etymology, as evidenced by the fact that it is pronounced similar to the French, as [ba'laŋsə] or [ba'lā:s(ə)] (Drosdowski 1989). Given that 'Balance' seems to be the only 'English' in this particular ad, the whole argument for a traditionalism fetish crumbles.

In sum, I am hoping that in the future we will see more work on multilingual and intercultural advertising – work that is informed by social and economic theory, work that engages with the methodological problems involved in data collection and analysis, work that places specific instances of such advertising in its wider context, and work that is critical in the sense that it does not see advertising purely in linguistic terms. Another wish that I have is for research into the processes of the production and reception of multilingual and intercultural advertising and marketing. It is more ethnographic work such as Moeran's (1996) study of a Japanese advertising agency that is sorely needed. The same publisher that produced the volume under review has announced another monograph on the topic for late 2005, and I hope that Martin (2006) will be a step in the direction I have outlined.

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