Features of Online ADS on Croatian News Portal

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UNIVERSITY OF RIJEKA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Features of online ads on Croatian news portals

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.A. in English Language and Literature and History at the University of Rijeka

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Abstract

The aim of this master's thesis was to explore the usage of English language in web advertisements in Croatian context and to describe the general characteristics of online ads. This was done by collecting a corpus of 130 randomly selected advertisements that were shown to the author while browsing some of the largest online news sites aimed at Croatian audiences, namely Index.hr, Večernji.hr and Dnevnik.hr. The said corpus was then analysed in order to discover the most common discursive strategies used in English-language advertisements in Croatian online context. The collected ads were analysed qualitatively, and most representative examples were described in more detail. The criteria for analysis included the presence of linguistic features such as metaphors, bilingual puns, excessive use of pronouns, ellipsis, and trigger words. Furthermore, the analysis included the implied meanings created by interrelation between the ads' linguistic and pictorial parts. This was done to achieve a better understanding of contemporary ads and to gain insight into the influence of English on Croatian online advertising environment.

The thesis consists of 5 chapters: Introduction and motivation of the study, Literature review, Methodology, Analysis, Discussion and concluding remarks. The first chapter defines advertising as a practice and establishes the main aims of the study. The next chapter, Literature review, provides the theoretical background of the study by explaining the notions of advertising in general, with special attention paid to online advertising. Additionally, this chapter explores some of the most common techniques and the language used in online advertising. The third chapter, Methodology, describes the data collection methods, and the two research questions posed. Furthermore, it provides insight into the corpus in general, as well as its division into six distinct categories of analysis. The following chapter, Analysis, aims to respond to the research questions from the chapter. Firstly, it describes some of the common characteristics of the ads within the corpus. Secondly, it provides the linguistic analysis of each collected item that possesses some features originating from the English language. This is done by focusing on various words and phrases and by interpreting ads' intended messages using linguistic and pictorial cues. The last chapter, Discussion and concluding remarks, briefly summarises the findings of the study and the answers to the research questions posed. Moreover, it discusses the results of the analysis and provides explanations for the encountered phenomena. Finally, it describes the limitations of the study and provides directions for further research. The end of the work provides the bibliography and the appendix with the list of the tables and figures used in the study.

Key words: Online advertising, Advertising Discourse, Croatian news portals, The role of English as a Global Language, Discourse analysis, Banner ads

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1. Introduction and motivation of the study

Advertising can be broadly defined as promotion of goods or services for sale through impersonal media (Collins Concise Dictionary). It is a social practice that is omnipresent in contemporary society. It can be found on the train stations, in the newspapers, various public spaces and surfaces, or on the Internet. Adverts are becoming increasingly present and inescapable even on mobile phones. Guy Cook (2001) argues that in addition to being ubiquitous, advertising is a genre that is often seen as highly controversial, owing to the fact that is relatively new (in its current form) but also because it came to be viewed as an unpleasant side effect of the competitive, global-market capitalist economy. However, he also points out that while often controversial and disliked, advertisements can be skilful, clever, or amusing and should not be taken as a scapegoat for all the injustices in the modern society (1-2). Furthermore, Cook claims that advertising is a topic that both causes and reveals existing social divisions. With regards to that, he summarises three distinct views on advertising today. The first one advances the idea that advertising can be used to influence the society for good as a well as for bad. According to the second view, advertising is amoral, and it merely reflects states and changes in the society. The third view described by Cook puts forward an idea that advertisements are deceitful and inherently bad (2). Notwithstanding the attitudes towards it, advertising is primarily a type of discourse that takes form of mass-media communication and is therefore of great interest to researchers, linguists included. However, despite its presence in nearly all aspect of our everyday lives, some authors, such as Elsa Freitas (2012) argue it has often been perceived as a marginal discourse type, mostly because of the essence of ads themselves. According to her, the key to ads' success lies in their seemingly infinite ability to borrow and improve desirable elements from other, more clearly defined discourses. By doing that, Freitas argues, ads retain the credibility of those discourse types while also improving their own features. It is because of the aforementioned tendency to borrow elements of other discourse types that ads are mistrusted and looked down upon. She also adds that the public seems to be afraid that discourse of ads will replace other discourse types because of its unending tendency to draw on various different sources. However, Freitas claims that since advertising is a form of discourse that thrives in a society and its interrelations, it is not surprising to find that ads are evolving, adapting, and integrating recent social developments and changes in their own structure. Finally, she underlines that nowadays the main focus of advertising message has shifted from factual claims about goods or service to employing various persuasion strategies in order to assign meaning to product being advertised (427-429).

Despite the criticism it draws, its everyday presence and the interest it sparks among linguists, Cook (2001) claims that it is difficult to define advertising as a genre. He claims that it is due to the presence of several senders behind every ad, ranging from the agency, its creative department to actors and camera crews. The intended message that is to be conveyed by the ad can thus be different and is dependent upon the sender one focuses on (10).

One mode of advertising that is becoming increasingly ubiquitous in contemporary society is online advertising. Online advertising can be described as a form of persuasion, as its goal is to direct the users to the advertiser's web site (and eventually, to buy the advertised product or service). Usually this happens when a user clicks on an ad. However, Janoschka (2004) argues that ads can be successful even if users do not click on them. People can find the product ad appealing or interesting and still decide against finding out more. There are various reasons for this, some of them being lack of time and money, or simply not belonging to the target group. Even this situation is a positive one for the advertisers, as the customers are then familiarised with the product or the brand name and will usually consciously or subconsciously recognise it next time they encounter it. Although web advertising is described as persuasive, Janoschka (2004) argues that in this case the word "persuasive" itself does not carry the negative connotation of "manipulative," but rather the sense of "influential" or "convincing" (123-124). However, despite being described as persuasive, advertising texts are seldom characterised by explicit performatives. Instead, according to Brinker, (1997) appellative language is created by imperatives that also instruct addressees how to act (110-111). This practice can be exemplified by a banner ad with an image of a bank that offers low interest rates, accompanied by a text that says, "click here". Strict commands in ads are not preferred because they would be considered too direct in the advertising context. Janoschka (2004) builds on Brinker's work by arguing that speech acts that serve as a polite request are used instead, so the consumers of ads get the impression that they have free will to act (125).

The establishment of English as a global language has had a significant effect on the discourse of advertising. Gerritsen et al. (2007) claim that it has since become the most widespread language used in product advertising in non-English speaking countries (294-296). It could also be argued that the main reason behind this is its large number of speakers. Furthermore, the widespread usage of the Internet has allowed companies to quickly and easily reach consumers from across the globe. Therefore, as English nowadays plays a key role in omnipresent online advertising, it can be considered a topic of research that is particularly

relevant and interesting. The advertising context in Croatia is not excluded from the recent surge in the use of English language. Stolac and Vlastelić (2014) claim that in Croatian ads one can often find English phrases that do not conform to the norms of the Croatian language. The authors also provide several examples of advertising messages, aimed at Croatian consumers, that are entirely in English, such as "Shoes are boring, wear sneakers!" (174-175). This can be explained by the work of Kelly-Holmes (2000), who argues the value of certain language in advertising stems from its symbolic value, i.e., a certain language is associated with certain qualities. She explains her claims further by providing examples from the advertising industry, e.g., cosmetics and perfumes are often advertised in French, while German is used for technological innovations (71-72). Martin (2007) advances Kelly-Holmes' idea and argues that if a certain product is advertised in English, the associations it evokes are that of progress, modernity, quality, and international appeal (170). However, Modrić (2016) claims that despite its appeal and positive connotations, the usage of English in ads targeted at non-native speakers can cause misunderstandings often ignored by the advertisers. Modrić also argues that advertisers intentionally downplay the consumers' complaints about the intelligibility of ads in English, as their main purpose is the attention-getting function. It can be achieved with only a single English word, regardless of it being understood or not (5-6).

It can be concluded that English plays a significant role in contemporary advertising industry, as it allows companies to subconsciously associate their products with positive qualities. Furthermore, thanks to the development of the Internet, English language ads can be broadcast easily and thus reach a global audience. These two crucial factors should therefore be explored more in order to gain insight into the advertising discourse and its recent developments.

2. Literature review

2.1. Advertising in general

Advertisements are the object of various fields of research in social sciences, but due to the complex way in which they use language, linguists have recently taken interest in them as well, particularly within discourse-analytical approaches. Guy Cook (2001) has written one of the most comprehensive scholarly accounts about the language of advertising. In his work, he argues that advertising is an ever-changing discourse genre that combines elements of other discourse types and creates social divisions. Furthermore, he lists features such as word play, compressed storytelling, stylised acting, photography, cartoons, puns, and rhythms that make ads enjoyable and improve their memorability (1-3).

Since this thesis will primarily adopt a discourse-analytical approach in order to explore the phenomenon of online ads, it is first necessary to explain what the understanding of advertising as discourse entails. As Cook (2001) summarizes it, discourse analysis is the approach that focuses on language in the context of communication, by considering the participants, the medium, the society and the situation of the exchange. Additionally, it explores the evolution of different types and acts of communication and their interrelationship. More importantly, since discourse is text and context together, if there are non-linguistic means weaved into communication process, such as pictures or music, they should be analysed too. Cook argues that therefore analysis of advertisement should include the language of the ads, but also its broader context and medium in which it appears (3-4)

Although earliest known advertisement dates back to classical times (the ad for a brothel in Epirus, (White 1988)), advertising in the era of magazines, television and Internet is a recent phenomenon that has mostly emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. While relatively new in the discourse, advertisements have a considerable background, as each new ad is measured against, and compared to, millions of other ads that have been created in the last 60 years. Cook (2001) argues that many studies dealing with ads disregard this and often try to analyse advertisements without taking past context into the account (44-46).

However, it is important to remark the analysis of discourse generated by ads has changed greatly in the last 40 years. Earlier forms of discourse analyses were focused primarily on collected corpuses of ads, most often print ones. Freitas (2012) claims they were the preferred objects of analysis since it is easy to isolate them and present them, closely resembling the original, on a book page. Earlier analyses also emphasised primarily linguistic features of the

ad while disregarding other elements. The shortcoming of this approach was the almost complete disregard for images and sounds accompanying ads, particularly if one considers that the most important messages in ads are often conveyed using non-linguistic channels (458). In her earlier work, Freitas (2008) argues that images and sounds are equally, if not more important than text, because they can evoke connotations and emotions. Additionally, the emotions they elicit helps develop an atmosphere of trust and intimacy between the "I" in the ad and "I" of the viewer (46). Print ads often consist of a dichotomy between linguistic and the pictorial part. The first part conveys the message and facts while the latter brings indeterminacy and ambiguity into equation. Finally, Freitas (2012) argues that the two elements can also be intertwined, as is the case with pictorial metaphors (431).

Ads also have a peculiar characteristic that distinguishes them from other types of discourse. Freitas (2012) argues that they rarely get their viewers' undivided attention, and to their creators that is not a downside since they were not meant to do that. Additionally, claims made by ads have become increasingly relative as the audiences have become increasingly advertising literate, i.e., they encounter more and more ads. It is common to see ads whose factual claims are read in tongue-in-cheek manner or whose explicit message is completely unrelated to the content of the ad. Moreover, there are ads that present different, often contrasting messages within themselves. This technique is easily recognised by the consumers and is likely to evoke criticism, be it positive or negative. It is also important to mention that the advertising process is never univocal, as it elicits a response even if the ad is not (well) received by its intended audience. According to Freitas (2012) the reaction includes not only the desire to acquire the product, but, more importantly, it creates an image of the ad's consumers and their needs. Therefore, it can be said that audiences do talk back when faced with ads, as they interpret the ads' messages and establish a relationship with its surroundings, i.e., the co(n)text. However, while the audience is never passive, it is important to keep in mind that its' interpretations of advertising messages are not completely predictable. The inability to fully predict interpretations of messages is identified by Freitas (2012) as one of the ads' main structural elements (430-431).

According to Janoschka, (2004) when analysing ads, it is also important to bear in mind that different products are often closely associated with different advertising techniques. For example, high-tech machines, such as cars or other durable goods require a high amount of information. On the other hand, consumer goods and everyday items, particularly food, need

to stand out, and attract attention and appeal through emotions rather than providing information, i.e., long copy. Janoschka, however (2004) provides examples of some ads for high-priced products that aim to employ emotionally appealing strategies. She argues that the usage of such strategy is dependent on the customers' awareness of the brand (141). Furthermore, Cook claims that while providing information about the product, advertisers need to be careful to avoid "reasons" so abstract that the average consumer will only get lost in them (106). Frequent examples of this are car ads, such as those for Mitsubishi and Toyota vehicles discussed later.

In addition to different advertising techniques, Cook (2001) lists ever shrinking lack of factual claims and direct persuasion as a feature of contemporary advertisements. The main cause of this are the restrictions set by the publishers, broadcasters, and laws. Additionally, advertisers are nowadays held accountable for untrue facts presented in ads (126). However, he also remarks that this does not mean deceptive strategies used to hide unattractive facts are nonexistent. He emphasises that facts, particularly bad ones, are usually placed far from the focus of an ad, where an inattentive consumer is likely to miss them (155). Consequently, the discourse of advertising is often criticised because it misrepresents or obscures the facts. Cook argues that advertising is reminiscent of the poetic discourse, despite it often being thought of as descriptive. He remarks that the way it uses language can be both personal and specific or ambiguous and indeterminate. Finally, Cook (2001) concludes that discourse analysis of advertising should deal with indeterminate and emotive meanings in ads (103-105). However, the indeterminacy of meanings in ads poses a problem for researchers since it often results in instability of interpretations, particularly when analysing pictorial and musical modes in ads. Rose (2008) claims that although one can assume that consumers have grasped the role of a song or an image within the concept of a particular ad, their full meanings tend to be particularly difficult to put into words (48-52). According to Freitas (2005), ads thus become an ideal weapon in the service of advertisers, since their ambiguity and shifting interpretations make them evasive for criticism (432). Additionally, this can also impede the studies that deal with linguistic analysis of ads.

Freitas (2005) recognises this obstacle and claims that a complete analysis which accounts for every aspect of an ad is impossible (431). To counter this problem, she proposes Gee's (2005) solution, which claims that the analysis of ads should aim to encompass as much as possible, if only by providing a background to the whole picture (110). While analysing multimedia

advertising campaign, this "whole picture" should undoubtedly be in the centre of attention, since it carries advertising message. Multimedia ad campaigns are purposedly presented through different mediums, as separately they each have their disadvantages. However, Freitas (2005), claims that when combined, they "compensate for the weakness of one channel by using the strong point of the other". Furthermore, she argues that despite their large number of interpretations and ability to recycle elements of other discourses, ads' purpose in contemporary society is well-known, and is rarely, if ever, explicitly stated. This has resulted in great deal of ad messages being seemingly unrelated to the goods or services being advertised. Finally, the inability to clearly categorise ads within a specific discourse type(s) has drawn substantial criticism, particularly on grounds that they are free to associate the advertised product with whatever values they deem "correct" at a given moment (432-437).

2.2. Online advertising

The rapid spread of Internet had its effect on advertising. Since mid-1990s it has become the most popular medium for advertising. Although the future of web advertising was unclear at first, its size, the ability to tailor ads to specific groups of customers, and the possibility to reach people all over the world have made the Internet the leading advertising medium. Advertising agencies usually try to tailor the ads to the viewers of a website or a TV programme they are shown on.

Online advertising came about less than 30 years ago, with the release of Netscape, the first Web browser, in November 1994. Hyland (2001) claims that only month earlier the first banner ad ever was sold (14). Various types of web ads have emerged since then, and most of them are present nowadays and share some common characteristics. Janoschka (2004) describes them as having the form of a rectangles that are present on or jump out of a web page. Additionally, they are composed of a small amount of text, an image or animation and sound. They act as a hyperlink that, when clicked, takes the user on another web page, the one which presents more information about the product that was only briefly introduced in the ad (49).

There are various different faces of web advertising, such as sponsorships, classifieds and interstitials, as listed by Sejung and Rifon (2002). Nonetheless, the authors claim that banner ads are one of the most predominant forms of online advertising and account for huge part of advertising revenue (12-13). Despite having their limitations, particularly when looking at the

amount of information they show, banner ads are known to have positive effect on customers' brand awareness, attitudes and purchase intention, as shown in the study conducted by Briggs and Hollis in 1997 (33). Bearing in mind their features, Janoschka (2004) proposes three main categories of web ads: static, animated, and interactive ads. Furthermore, she claims animated ads are particularly useful as they can show more than one static image and thus use the same limited physical space on the webpage to show more information. Lastly, Janoschka argues that moving or changing ads are likely to attract more attention than simple static images (50-61).

Internet ads can appear in various sizes, the most common being the rectangular "full banner", "half-banner" and "skyscraper". Due to their shape and aim to distract the viewers from the main content of the webpage, the consumers have learned to quickly and subconsciously recognise them. According to Bachofer (1998) this results in their low noting time, averaging at 1.1 seconds, which means that their shape and the position on the webpage should be simple in order to be effective (75). Additionally, Janoschka (2004) lists three main functions ads need to fulfil to be considered successful. Firstly, they should attract the users' attention, i.e., distract them from the actual content of the webpage. Secondly, they should incentivise people to click on them. Lastly, they need to meet the consumers' expectations (52). However, a great amount of personalisation in the online ads is one of the keys to their success and a differentiating feature between them and the ads found on TV or in the printed press. Nowadays, companies can deftly gather data such as user's domain, web browser, operating platform and search topic and thus tailor individual banner ads to users based on the analysed data.

The other methods ads use to attract the consumers' attention and get them to click on them are known as trigger words. According to Janoschka (2004), trigger words are intentionally used certain words or phrases that are known to have a special impact on the reader. They are often present in advertising texts, particularly those found online. Janoschka mentions "click here" as a common example present in almost every online ad, particularly older ones. The other common trigger word is "save". Its usage by the advertisers implies a special price that is more likely to motivate users to activate an ad (143-151). In addition to trigger words, Janoschka (2004) argues that the most widely used motivational strategies found in web ads are those offering entertainment or gain. Online ads promise games, diversion and special offers to their users. One can frequently encounter web ads that, albeit fake, offer huge prizes, such as \$10000 if the users click on or play a game offered by them. The mention of money is

shown to have a tremendous persuasive impact on some Internet users (161). Apart from trigger and strategies offering entertainment, online ads often include a part that can be described as call to action. According to Bartoš and Habarta (2019), it is a representation of the desired action upon encountering an ad. The authors point out that while call to action can take the form of text, symbol or picture, it is usually in the form of a banner or a button (3). The call-to-action buttons have become extremely diverse as of recently and as such they often include trigger words such as "buy now" or "find out more". Additionally, they can also contain imperatives and instructions on how to act, two features also frequently in online advertising.

One of the most frequent instructions found in online ads is "click here". Janoschka (2004) lists similar user orders found in web ads such as "apply now", "find it", "search", get it" etc. As opposed to ads that tell the consumers to "click here", these directives do not tell them what to do but rather describe the action to obtain the advertised product, therefore they can be considered implicit imperatives. Janoschka also claims that it can be reasonably assumed that users already know that in order to "find" or "get" something they need to click on an ad (135-136). The other frequent activation instruction, "act now", is often accompanied by a temporal marker, such as "valid until June 15th". The prospect of a great, limited-availability offer enhances the possibility of users activating the ad. These offers are not, in most cases, available only for a limited time and the temporal marker is present solely for psychological function of making the customers think they are likely to miss out on the deal if they do not act fast. Finally, it should be noted that the part of an ad that carries the biggest emotional impact, whether it is a trigger word, instruction or imperative, is usually highlighted, written in larger letters or emphasised in such way that the consumers subconsciously focus on it.

2.3. The language of advertising

According to Flores, Chen, and Ross (2013), there are three main reasons advertisers decide for using the English language in their ads. The first two reasons are that they can save money and avoid potentially comical or embarrassing situations that may arise from mistranslations. Lastly, the authors argue that English being a global language also encompasses its widespread usage in ads and web pages (38). However, the results of the study conducted by Chen, Ross, Yen and Akhapon in 2009 suggest that consumers prefer webpages presented in their local language, as opposed to English (71). This can be explained by psycholinguistics, as it supposes that bilinguals create weaker lexical-conceptual links. Flores et al. (2013) argue that this can

result in increased mental effort required to understand ads in the consumers' non-native language and thus in less favourable attitude towards the ad itself (38). Additionally, consumers may show negative attitude if the whole website is in their language while the ad is in English. Moreover, to Noriega and Blair (2008), advertising in English can be perceived it as inconsistent but also insensitive to the local language (80). Finally, slogans, particularly effective one, should be mentioned as an important part of advertising discourse. Cameron and Panović (2018) argue, on an example of two British advertising slogans, that their effectiveness stems from their implications about the customer, and not because of their factual claims about the product. If this is to be applied more broadly, it effectively means that successful slogans take part in creating the consumer's identity and because they elicit identification and approval by acknowledging the consumer's positive traits. Even though some advertisers emphasise our individuality, their main goal is to attract as many people as possible, and that is done by market research, according to the authors. This, in turn, creates several categories, based primarily upon sociodemographic data, into which people are then put into. Furthermore, Cameron and Panović (2018) argue that the downside of advertising discourse is its role in creating and maintaining the established consumer identities, as well as the current power relations. Such identities in advertising discourse can be created by offering the consumers a real person they can relate to, be it a fictional character or a real person (9-11). A typical example of the former is a character of a stay-at-home parent and a mother who recommends a particular brand of dishwasher liquid or kitchen sponges. This character can be found both in English and Croatian language ads. A real person usually involves a celebrity whose purpose is then to endorse the given product. The principle behind this type of marketing, according to Cameron and Panović, (2018) is that individual consumers are likely to acquire tastes and preferences of the group they identify with. They refer to an unwritten rule which says people are more likely to identify with a celebrity of their own gender and illustrate it rule by analysing two similar but distinct 1970s car commercials (11-14).

In addition to different senders, an ad has several categories that vary across advertisements: medium, product, technique and consumer. Cook (2001) notes that not all ads aim to sell products or services. In addition to product ads there are also non-product ads, such as those for charities or political parties. The other possible differentiation, also presented by Cook, is between hard-sell and soft-sell ads. The former group is characterised by a direct appeal, such as emphasising the usefulness and the affordability of the product. On the other hand, soft-sell ads aim to persuade the customer that the product will improve their life. Cook argues that the

latter target the emotions of the consumer and try to establish the fact that by buying the product they will obtain some of product's positive traits, such as desirability and youthfulness. The third classification presented by Cook is that between short copy and long copy ads. It refers to advertisements with few or many words. Whether an ad will be long copy or short copy is dependent upon the media and the product (15-16).

Cook (2001) considers ads to be considered parasitic upon their surrounding co(n)text and other genres, as they are often integrated within a magazine or a webpage and imitate other types of discourse. Although they do appear in a middle of webpage or a magazine, they rarely refer to it, so he argues that the text and the situation surrounding them should be called accompanying discourse. Despite the fact that the word commonly used to describe advertisements is "parasitic," Cook further argues that this is not an inherently negative quality. Many other literary texts, particularly modernist novels, such as James Joyce's Ulysses, use material from other genres and interweave it in the main work. In fact, intertextuality is a feature of most discourse types. Furthermore, the interrelation between the accompanying discourse and the advertisements that it contains should not be disregarded in discourse analysis, as it is responsible for creating new meanings. Although ads often intrude upon the accompanying discourse, they should not take up too much of the consumers' precious time and space. If that happens, Cook claims that an ad will probably not have a significant impact, or will be even altogether ignored. To summarise ads' relation to their surroundings, he describes them as "successful bandits, raiding the borders of their accompanying discourse, but with the sense not to stay too long" (33-37).

In order to analyse the language of the ads, one must also take into the account the music and pictures that often accompany them. Music and pictures are often extremely important for setting the stage for the linguistic part of the ad. Cook (2001) argues that while there are ads which consist primarily of language, it should not be looked at in isolation, as the combination of music, pictures and language create new meanings and connotations of the ad. Furthermore, he also claims that since language is not uniform among its speakers, the consumers who encounter an ad will interpret it in different ways. The interpretation can depend on their age, gender, education, and many other social factors. This means that an interpreted ad always resembles the intention of the sender, i.e., the advertising company, but is never identical to it. In addition to that, language, as well as many other types of discourse, relies greatly on paralinguistics to convey its meaning. Finally, Internet advertising, according to Cook, offers

a great opportunity to create "interactive" ads. They might prompt the consumers to click a particular part of the ad or the website. Naturally, this interaction cannot be equated to the interaction with a human interlocutor but can be nonetheless regarded as a good indication of what is to be expected from ads in near future (42-93).

The language of the ads found on the Internet can be described as similar to chats. Although the message transfer is asynchronous, since there is a delay between production and reception of an ad, Janoschka (2004) claims that there are some similarities between chats and web advertisements. Firstly, the Internet is a new medium for transferring messages, both for ads and chats. Additionally, more direct forms of addressing the addressees are frequently found in web ads. The author argues that the Internet enables this by transforming unidirectional advertising into interactive communication that involves the addressee (119).

Despite being present on nearly every webpage, there are factors that decrease or altogether negate the ads' usefulness. Some of them, listed by Janoschka (2004) are small space on a limited screen, a short time of recognition and banner blindness. Furthermore, she claims that ads' efficiency can also be reduced by being highly competitive placements and a distracting context (119). Banner blindness is an interesting phenomenon that has been around since the early days of web advertising and has been revisited recently, as it is a very much existent problem in web advertising. Pernice (2018) defines it as the Internet users' tendency to ignore parts of a web page that they perceive as ads. According to her, this happens because, over time, people have learned to use the Internet efficiently and ignore elements that are not useful to them, while focusing on those that are helpful, such as navigation bars, search boxes or headlines. Ads are the most prominent member of the former category. Pernice (2018) also lists some of the most common characteristics people use to subconsciously recognise an ad: ad-specific placement, such as at the top of the page, ad-like visual treatment and proximity to actual ads. Apart from banner blindness, Janoschka (2004) claims that the next issue in online advertising is how to get the consumers to recognise and react to an ad. A particular ad is foregrounded against large amounts of both informational and advertising information within webpage. Additionally, it is surrounded with different hyperlinks, pages and sites that are presented in its broader and narrower context. It needs to attract immediate attention and differentiate itself from all the aforementioned objects of the webpage. Janoschka argues that advertisers have come up with a solution to the problem: they create ads that enable the users to interact with them in various ways, most notably by playing a game embedded within the ad (146).

2.4. Persuasive strategies in the language of ads

This subchapter deals with the persuasion strategies achieved by specific language use in advertising discourse, i.e., the way language is used to convey the message. Janoschka (2004) lists most notable rhetorical figures, such as ellipses, exclamations and questions, as particularly important since they are all shown to have strong persuasive properties (138).

The first persuasive strategy of advertising discourse analysed in this thesis is connotation. Cook (2001) defines it as variable, imprecise association that a word can have for particular speakers or the whole community. Connotation is most common in product names since it has great impact on them. Cook also argues that products whose names evoke many different connotations are particularly effective, as it allows the product to appeal to different, often incompatible, desires within individuals or groups of people. He also points out that many well-known foreign products retain their original name in different markets since the name is usually already established. The well-known name product name thus preserves its original, domestic connotations in addition to gaining new ones in the foreign market. Cook provides car ads as an example of a product that retains its name in different markets. Those ads usually present the model name followed by a figure indicating cylinder number or engine displacement. Cook also claims that the consumers are almost never sold the car alone since car ads often focus on mirroring the qualities of the car on the customer. These ads aim to show, that by buying a particular car, a person will be as attractive and good-looking as the car in the ad (105-111).

The next persuasive strategy is prosody. Cook (2001) defines it as the patterning of sounds within text and it creates an additional dimension when analysing the ad, as it usually strengthens the meaning of the written word (125).

The discourse of advertising is often filled with language used in unconventional ways. Another strategy closely related to prosody is word play at the morphosyntactic or lexical level. One can encounter stretches of language which, according to Widdowson (1972), are interpretable despite the fact that they cannot be generated by an English grammar. Typical example, provided by Cook (2001) is word coinage, which generates words such as provodkative or cookability. Additionally, functional conversion is used at grammatical level. It involves a word of one class behaving as that of another or turning nouns into verbs. This

phenomenon is usually referred to as deviation. Some other examples of deviation include graphological innovation, misspelling, puns, ungrammaticality, and sustained ambiguity. Deviation is a characteristic so often associated with, and expected of, ads, that most deviant are the ones that have no deviation at all. Cook also claims that the ads that over-use deviation tend to be similar as numerous other ads and are quickly forgotten. Although syntactically incorrect sentences whose meaning can be inferred from the context are common in advertising, they can cause misinterpretations (142-143).

Cohesive devices such as repetition and conjunctions are also an integral part of advertising discourse and an effective strategy of persuasion. Ads favour repetition over referring expressions, as the former help engrain the product name in the consumers' minds. Additionally, Cook (2001) argues that repetition functions as a tool to establish the esteem or importance of the product being advertised. The usage of conjunctions, on the other hand, tends to be absurd or even ungrammatical. He claims use conjunctions cleverly in order to cross over any potential illogical claims. Finally, Cook mentions the chaining several related noun phrases together as another common cohesion device (156-157).

Although the aforementioned features such as prosody and cohesion devices are often found within ads, perhaps the most important persuasion strategy found in ads is the specific usage of pronouns. Cook (2001) claims that all three persons are represented in ads in separate ways. Firstly, 'we' is often the manufacturer while 'I' is the expert or the advisor, the one who presents the positive qualities of the product. 'He' or 'she' are usually the people who do not use the advertised product, but some other, less desirable and of lower quality. However, Cook points out the usage of ubiquitous 'you,', which strikes as the most frequent and most divergent. Additionally, Cook argues that the 'you' of ads has a kind of double exophora (external reference), involving reference to someone in the picture and to the receiver's own self. Furthermore, the characters of ads may cross the fourth wall and talk directly to the customer, enabling them to become either the addressee or the addresser. Another important characteristic of 'you' in ads is that it aims to persuade the consumers by its directness and intimacy. Cook also suggests that ads which use the pronoun 'you' cross the boundaries of one's own sphere and are curious about people's intimate concerns. He also makes a note of ads in which a character speaks in first person. When encountering them, he claims, a consumer can either identify themselves with the character or interpret the ad as if the character is addressing them.

Finally, he claims that *you*-addressing is probably the strongest linguistic method of persuasion, as it mimics interpersonal communication (158-161).

In addition to the use of pronouns, deictic expressions such as "here" and "there" are often found in ads. They are often linked with you-addressing in order the maximise the ad's effect. Although they might seem problematic at first, as their referring function is often ambiguous, their use and interpretation depend upon the location of the addresser and the addressee. Janoschka (2004) claims that in online advertising, "here" is used most commonly used to denote the speaker, i.e., the ad, while "there" denotes other places, such as webpages or online shops (158).

Although being an element of cohesion, ellipsis can also be used strategically to achieve persuasion, since it establishes a participating relation between the senders and receivers of ads. As remarked by Cook (2001), the frequent use of ellipsis creates a conversational tone. Additionally, it creates and impression of a situation that both the addresser and the addressee are familiar with. It also implies immediacy and shared interests. The last, but not least, contribution of ellipsis to advertising discourse is its ability to imply a trusting relationship in which the participants do not need to spell every single word and yet still get their message across. Finally, Cook (2001) concludes that ellipsis, with its four functions that imply cooperation, informality, shared knowledge and intimacy, accounts for a big part of advertisements' success. As mentioned previously, advertisements primarily use subtle persuasion as a method of luring customers, and persuasion is the most likely to be successful if the relationship between the persuader and the person being persuaded is the one of informality and intimacy. By using ellipsis, ads parasite on the genre of conversation and turn a textual phenomenon into a discourse function that reduces formalities and creates a more 'conversational-like' environment. Cook also classifies abbreviated sentences as a part of ellipsis. They are found not only in advertising but in newspaper headlines as well. The most omitted elements are main verbs, or the auxiliary verb "do". Abbreviations and omissions are particularly useful in web advertising since they save valuable space and ease the comprehension of ads (171-173).

Another strategy that enhances the dialogic feature of ads is the relation between given and new information. Its ordering within the sentence reflects the sender's assumptions about the consumer's knowledge and interests. Cook (2001) reiterates of the unwritten rules of discourse which states that known information is usually placed at the beginning of the clause, while new

information is closer to the end, in a place where it will be given more attention. The relationship between given and new information establishes the flow of discourse, as new information of one clause becomes the known of the next. This is known as information chain. Related to given and new information is also a notion of topics. The main topic of an ad is always a product or service. However, Cook points out that some ads have an apparent or a surrogate topic, which, if presented successfully, sparks interest, sometimes even surpassing the product itself (173-174).

Finally, ads mimic the structure of a dialogue since it is the most efficient way to reach out to the consumers. Traditional television or print ads usually create the impression of a dialogue by creating easily distinguishable two voices or persons speaking the lines. Internet advertising, however, uses a different technique. Cook (2001) claims that it not uncommon for online ads to both interrogate and respond to the receiver. The consumer's questions and answers have been predicted beforehand and then embedded into the text of an ad. If a consumer wishes to change their answers, they can simply return to a previous Web page and choose from the other available option(s). Cook further argues that this is the main difference between Internet and print ads, since the former allow for interaction, while print ads are usually linear. However, one should keep in mind that the predicted responses in Internet ads are limited and only partly represent real-life conversation (178).

3. Methodology and research questions

This chapter details the process of collecting data used in the study. Furthermore, it describes the general characteristics of the data and its subsequent division into categories important for the analysis. Additionally, it presents the two research questions and explains the approach and the methods used in the analysis, as well as the justification for their usage.

The data used in this study was comprised of 130 online ads collected predominantly in the period between 22 February and 23 March 2021, with some ads that were considered interesting for the study being added afterwards. The ads collected for the purpose of this thesis included their pictorial elements, but excluded sound. They were collected on a daily basis from three news websites aimed at Croatian public: index.hr, dnevnik.hr, and vecernji.hr. These particular sites were chosen since they consistently rank among the top 15 sites by Internet traffic in Croatia, making them the most popular web news portals in the country. The original goal set was to collect 50 items from each of the news portal, however due to difficulty finding ads suitable for analysis (which could be a result of targeting), the final count was lower. In total, 49 items were collected from index.hr, 38 from večernji.hr and 43 from dnevnik.hr. The ads were collected during various times of the day and can be regarded as having been collected passively, i.e., the author did not actively seek fitting ads but was instead browsing the websites and reading news. If an item that was considered suitable for the study was encountered, a screenshot of the webpage was taken and thus the ad was saved for analysis. Although most of the ads were encountered while using a mobile phone, there was a small amount that was collected while browsing the internet on a laptop. Not all the encountered ads were saved, as some were either duplicates of previously collected ads or were deemed unfitting for analysis. The study included several types of online ads, although banner ads were the most prevalent. In addition to them, there were some skyscraper and several pop-up ads, as well as one full page ad. They were all of rectangular shape, albeit the size (in pixels) differed between ad types.

The ads in the study are labelled with either the letter D, I or V and the one- or two-digit number next to it. These letters indicate the website the ad was collected from, D being used for dnevnik.hr, I for index.hr and V for večernji.hr, while the number roughly represents the date on which an ad was collected, with smaller numbers indicating dates closer to the beginning of the study.

After a suitable number of ads was collected, they were looked at individually and divided into six categories, according to English language features they possessed. The categorisation of ads is visualised in the Table 1 below. The first category consisted of ads that were solely in Croatian, and was the largest, containing 58 items. The remaining five categories included ads in Croatian that contained within them various elements from the English language. The second category, being the largest of the remaining five, contained 28 ads whose linguistic part was comprised of various examples of translanguaging (explained below). This category was further divided into two subgroups. The third category consisted of only four items that were considered examples of Croatian ads containing syntactic or phrasal elements resembling English ones. The next category included 20 ads that shared one common characteristic. Namely, they contained either a slogan or brand name in English within a Croatian-language environment. The fifth category, consisting of ads that were presented solely in English, was the smallest, as it contained only three items. Finally, ads that for various reasons did not fit in one of the previous categories comprised the last category. This category was extremely diverse, as it contained ads whose English elements ranged from only one words to whole phrases. Owing to the fact that it is difficult to clearly define the "amount" or influence of English language within an individual item, the boundaries between the categories were fuzzy and some ads could have been classified as belonging to different category. Consequently, the proposed categorisation of the items can be regarded as arbitrary.

The corpus – 130 items										
The categories										
1.	2.		3.	4.	5.	6.				
	Ads containing some elements from English language – categories 2-6									
	Translanguaging – 28 items and 2 subgroups		Ads that resemble	Ads that retain brand		Ads that are too ambiguous				
Ads solely in Croatian – 58 items	Ads characterised by the preposition "by" – 5 items	Ads characterised by Croatian spelling of English words and informal, colourful design – 2 items	English syntax or are results of direct translations - 4 items	name or English slogans in Croatian environment – 20 items	Ads exclusively in English – 3 items	to be defined by any of the previous 4 categories – 17 items				
Research question 1 – answered by taking into account the data from all 6 categories										
Research question 2 – answer was provided by analysing categories 2-6										

Table 1. Categorisation of the ads from the corpus

Although advertising discourse is multimodal, the focus of the thesis was not on the ads' visual features, but rather the verbal, i.e., linguistic features. However, since the visual part is also important for the context, the analysis of some ads included the closer look at their pictorial part as well. The analysis of this part comprised of a brief description of the accompanying image and its implication for the message conveyed by the linguistic part of the ad. Most of the items from categories 2 to 6, as well as some from category 1, were analysed in this manner. The majority ads analysed in this thesis were short copy, mainly due to the constraints posed by the medium, since popup ads are usually limited to only a small part of the webpage they are part of. However, there were some notable exceptions that provided a large amount of text, usually information about the product, as well. Additionally, most of the ads consisted of a single static image, and there were only a handful that contained two alternating images that formed one ad.

Based on the collected data, two research questions were posed. The first one was general, and it encompassed the whole corpus of collected ads. The second research question applied only to the advertisements in categories 2-6, as they contained elements of English language.

The questions were as following:

- 1. What are the features of online ads?
- 2. What is the role of English as a global language in online ads in Croatian context?

A qualitative approach to data analysis was used to provide answers to the research questions. This approach was chosen because of several factors. First, the main data collected for the study was textual, as it comprised phrases and sentences of various lengths that were extracted from online advertisements. Furthermore, since the available data was divided into several categories, the data analysis was thematic and not statistical. Lastly, the study relied on a discourse-analytic approach highlighted by scholars as the most appropriate for the analysis of ads. Thus, the conclusions reached in the study do not aim to be widely generalising, but rather to provide a deeper contextualized insight into advertising discourse.

The answers to the two research questions posed were obtained in two ways. For research question one, all the collected items were looked at both from linguistic and pictorial perspective. The focus was on the amount of text and the clarity of its message, the quality of the image and the general impression of the ad. A generalisation of the characteristics of online ads was then made. The second research question was answered by analysing the ads that contained various elements of the English language. They were analysed for features that are often employed in advertising, such as trigger words, ellipsis, repetitions, conjunctions, deixis and the over usage of pronouns. Additionally, the implied meanings of the ads' linguistic messages were looked at and interpreted with regards to their context, i.e., the pictorial parts of the ads.

4. Analysis

The analysis of the selected corpus of online ads is presented in this chapter. It is divided into two subchapters that follow the two posed research questions.

4.1. RQ1: Features of online ads

The first research question (*What are the features of online ads?*) was answered by looking at the whole corpus comprising 130 items. The most notable features that were encountered while conducting this study are presented below:

- The use of English language (this will be further analysed in the following subchapter)
- Addressing the recipient directly and the use of imperatives, e.g., *KUPI* (buy)
- Emphasising the most important parts of the ad by using capital letters
- Using trigger words such as *rasprodaja* (sale), *kupi* (buy) and *popust* (discount)
- Small amount of text and information
- Simplicity of the ads (most consisted of only one, still image)
- Low design quality and the use of stock photos
- Frequent portrayal of people performing various actions and smiling at the camera
- Trigger words and call-to-action buttons usually placed near the bottom of the ad.

Each of the aforementioned features is illustrated in the following paragraphs by providing and analysing selected examples from the corpus.

The collected corpus consisted of 130 items, with 58 being only in Croatian, whereas the remaining 72 items in addition contained some elements from the English language. Therefore, it can be said that there is a significant use of English in online ads found on Croatian web news sites.

The first thing that stands out when looking at the data collected is the overall simplicity of the ads. Apart from few outliers, most of the ads consisted of only a single image. This feature can be explained by the advertisers' desire not to spend too many resources designing the add. Additionally, since the ads were shown on frequently visited Internet websites, the creators probably assumed that they would reach a wide audience regardless of their appearance. The most notable exceptions to this rule were ads that presented a slideshow of two or more different images, all being part of one ad, as exemplified by ads V2 and V32 below. The first one advertises a car rental company, with the first image, or slide, presenting only a shiny, presumably new car of a higher class. The image is accompanied by a following text: "flota

ALL IN 345€* mjesec". The second slide shows a company name in grey letters (flota) along its logo and a slogan underneath it: "EKSPERT ZA VAŠ VOZNI PARK" (Expert for your fleet vehicles).

Similarly, the ad labelled V32, presents a mobile phone application called Moj Telekom app. It is used to access the services of the biggest telecommunications company in Croatia, Hrvatski Telekom. The first slide shows a mostly pink background with a highly stylised mobile phone and a man next to it. The accompanying text reads: "Lakše DOPLATITE BONOVE" (TOP-UP YOUR PREPAID NUMBER more easily). The next slide presents a mobile phone, now a real one, with its display showing the logo of Hrvatski Telekom. The text on this slide simply says: "MOJ TELEKOM APP". At the bottom of the ad, there are also notices that tell the consumers they can download the app via Google Play, App Store or AppGallery. What characterises this ad is the almost complete absence of information about the app or its features, apart from its name and statement that it allows users to purchase prepaid cell phone cards more easily. The main reason behind it being that the ad is presented in unique combination of pink and white. Croatian consumers acquainted with the telecommunications and TV and internet ads in general will almost immediately recognise this combination of colours and font as the one that has for a long time been associated with ads promoting Hrvatski Telekom.

The two ads presented above, V2 and V36 also exemplify the overuse of writing in capital letters, another feature that was found to be common in the corpus.



Figure 1. Item V2 from the corpus, example of an ad that consists of 2 pictures (slides)



Figure 2. Item V32 from the corpus, example of an ad that consists of 2 pictures (slides)

Another characteristic that can be applied to most of the ads in the study is the small amount of written text. Additionally, the text accompanying an ad rarely offers enough information for the consumers to be able to infer the characteristics of the product an ad is selling. There are four possible factors that can account for small amount of text found in the ads within the corpus. Firstly, a substantial amount of text can be distracting and draw attention away from the message of the ad. Additionally, the text does not need to be long as it can be considered as only a supplement to the main part of the ad, the picture, which is often said to be worth thousand words. Lastly, there are the spatial constrains posed by the medium (the webpage). Most of the ads in the corpus have the form of a small rectangle (usually) placed between the various parts of the webpage and it would thus be impractical if they contained large amounts of text.

The first example of an ad that offers little textual information is labelled D17, shown below. It shows a young, seemingly indecisive woman who is holding a pair of glasses in each hand. Next to her is the name of the company (mibolens optika) and numbers 1+1. The bottom text states: "Kupite jedan par dioptrijskih naočala i druge dobijete na poklon!" (Buy one pair of eyeglasses and you get the other pair for free). The implications of the ad are that a customer is indecisive while choosing from two pairs of glasses and that she can resolve her dilemma by visiting the advertiser's store and receiving both while paying only for 1. The numbers 1+1 are written in noticeably larger font than the rest of the text. This makes the customer more likely to focus on the offer, which itself is the part of the ad that is most probable to be acted upon.

Although this ad might at first appear as attractive and concise, upon further deliberation it can be deduced that some of the elements usually found in ads of this type are missing. The most important element that is not present in the ad is the fine print. It is usually marked with an asterisk sign and located at the very bottom of the ad. Had there been fine print in this ad, one would expect it to provide more information about the 1+1 offer advertised, particularly the terms and conditions. Additionally, the ad does not provide any information about the store itself, such as the location or the phone number.



Kupite jedan par dioptrijskih naočala i druge dobijete na poklon!

Figure 3. Item D17 from the corpus, illustrating an ad offering little textual information

Another example of ads having a small amount of text found in the items numbered D45 and V18 shown below. The first shows only 4 cans of PAN beer on a black-and-green background. Next to the beer is a cabinet, or a box, also branded with PAN decals. Indiscernible objects, presumably gold nuggets, are also shown in the bottom-left corner. The sole text present in the ad are the words "SAZNAJTE VIŠE" (Find out more) placed at the top part. This is a notorious trigger-word used to lure the customers to click on an ad. In this situation it might be particularly effective since there is no other information that can help us infer the message of the ad. The other reason for its effectiveness lies in the usage of the imperative, as the ad's invisible sender is addressing the recipient directly and instructing them how to act.





Figures 4 and 5. Items D4 and V18, illustrating ads with a small amount of text

Ad D3 can be considered as another example that presents a small amount of information and offers little in terms of content or creativity. The advertiser's logo is shown in the bottom right corner of the ad that consists of a single image; a photograph of a living room decorated in modern style. The image is covered by a green hue, and only 4 words are present: "ZELENI DANI - UŠTEDITE DO 70%" (Green days – save up to 70%). I23 is a similar example of an ad that offers an image, in this case almost irrelevant, and a small amount of text that serves as a trigger word. The advertiser's logo and the words "POSLJEDNJI POPUST%" (Final discount) are the only text present on the ad, except for the button that says "PROVJERITE", (Check it out) positioned just underneath them.





Figures 6 and 7. Items D3 and I23, illustrating ads which provide a small amount of text and employ trigger words

In addition to the small amount of text they contain, the ads D3 and I23 described above can be regarded as ads which employ trigger words in a similar manner. In both examples the trigger words ("uštedite" and "posljednji popust", respectively) are written in extremely large

font in capital letters, in addition to being bolded in order to attract attention. Even though the written parts of the two offers little information, the trigger words they contain are known to appeal to consumers and make them follow through on ads offer. Overall, it is important to note that both the English and the Croatian part of the corpus featured similar trigger words such as *kliknite ovdje* (click here), *saznajte više* (find out more), *gratis* (free), *kupite sada* (buy now) and *register now*. In addition to attracting the consumers' attention, most trigger words are presented in the form of imperative address and thus make the communication between the ad's sender and the consumer more direct. Finally, it should be noted that in the most items the location of a trigger word or a call-to-action button is near the bottom of the ad. Furthermore, in some ads, such as I23 from the previous page, the trigger word is placed within the call-to-action button, i.e., they are fused together.

Finally, contrasting the simple and uncreative items described above, there is ad labelled I51 which should be noted due to its excellent design that makes it stand out among many other simple ads. It shows a triangular piece of cheese laying on a white rectangular plate positioned on a gold background. The cheese and the plate are arranged in such way that they resemble a play button. Above them is the text "Dobre stvari su pred nama" (Good things are ahead of us) while below them the creators placed the number 20 and the advertiser's logo. While the ad's overall design quality can be clearly considered more sophisticated and probably more expensive than some other ads in the corpus, its main selling point is the cleverly designed play button that prompts the consumers to click on it.



Figure 8. Item 151, illustrating clever design ad providing small amount of information

Another feature that was encountered while exploring the characteristics of various ads is the significantly lower design quality of some items. This means that they feature a photo, usually one that is a stock photo, and a text underneath it. The common characteristics of this ads is that the text is always written on a white background and that the font is always the same. Some of the ads that feature this design type are the following: I19, I41, D38, V10, and V27. A prototypical example (I19) is shown below.



Figure 9. Item I19, illustrating an ad of low design quality

Another characteristic of these ads is that they feature either the trigger words "saznajte više" (find out more) or the arrow underneath the text that will lead the consumer to the advertiser's page. There is one peculiar ad within this category, labelled V10, that does not even feature an image. It contains only several lines of text on a white background that serve as an advertisement for Tourist Board Brodarica – Krapanj. The text itself is straightforward and briefly describes the Tourist Board and the island of Krapanj. The fact that the whole text is in Croatian makes this ad particularly interesting, as one would expect the Tourist Board to try and appeal to foreign tourists, since they make up the most visitors and bring the highest revenue. Nevertheless, targeted advertising and can be used to explain this Croatian-only tourist ad. Since the author of the study (and the consumer of the ad) was Croatian, the algorithms responsible for targeted advertising most likely concluded that the ad shown should be in Croatian as well. What is even more interesting, however, is the fact that this ad is not accompanied by an image, and this makes it stand out from all other ads collected for the purpose of this study. This is particularly strange if one considers the assumption that the best way to promote the tourism of a country is to show its nature and landmarks. Due to fact the

Tourist Board of Brodarica – Krapanj is a small one, it can be assumed that this anomaly in ad creation can be attributed to the lack of funds.

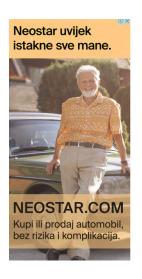


Figure 10. Item V10, illustrating an ad with no image

The prevalence of images that are stock photos is an additional element of ads collected for this study that is worth mentioning. Many ads seem to use photos that have been found on online photo sharing websites. It can only be assumed that the advertisers paid the creators to use the photo in their ads. The possible explanation for the low design quality and the use of stock photos might lie in the desire to save money, as mentioned before.

In addition to stock photos, many items within the corpus share another common property, as they often show a person or several people performing various actions and smiling for the camera. The reasoning behind this is straightforward, as it allows the potential consumers to (subconsciously) identify with the message and the actors in the ad more easily. The perfect example of such photo is ad labelled I20, shown below, advertising a car dealership. It shows a smiling elderly man leaning on his car, with text both at the top and bottom of the image. The message of the photo is that the man is satisfied with new car he purchased, and that the customer can be too, if they contact the dealership. The other ad that carries similar implications, I27, shows a family of four laying in the shallows. Both the parents and two young children are facing towards the camera and smiling. This image, advertising summer vacation on the island of Lošinj, suggests that the consumer too can have a happy vacation, if they book it at Lošin Hotels & Villas. A few other examples of ads that feature persons carrying out various tasks are D9, I8 and D17, the last one being the aforementioned ad showing an indecisive glasses buyer. Finally, the ad V23, shown below, features both the (presumably)

stock image and people performing an activity. It depicts 3 women, presumably in the field of business, sitting around a table and talking. They are dressed smart casual and their surrounding implies they are located within a corporate building. The ad's headline is located in the bottom part of the image and states: "MENTORSTVO KAO OBLIK NETWORKINGA MEĐU ŽENAMA" (MENTORSHIP AS A FORM OF NETWORKING AMONG WOMEN).







Figures 11, 12 and 13. Items I20, I27 and V23, exemplifying ads portraying content people performing various actions

As the analysis and the description of selected illustrative examples demonstrates, the most notable features of ads in the corpus are the use of the English language and the use of imperatives in order to address the consumers directly. Furthermore, the ads' most important parts are often emphasised using capital and boldface letters. Additionally, trigger words promoting discounts and sales are common within the corpus, particularly in the lower part of the items. Furthermore, most of the items also feature only a small amount of text and are simple in terms of design, as they consisted of one, still image. Moreover, stock images and white background are also found in several ads. Finally, the items within a corpus frequently depict groups of people performing various activities and looking at the consumer.

4.2.RQ2. The role of English as a global language in online ads on Croatian news portals

As it was noted earlier, there is a notable presence of English in the ads from the corpus. In order to investigate the role of English in the ads, the collected ads were divided into 6 categories (Table 1) based on the different elements of English they can be characterised by. The first category were ads that were solely in Croatian, which were excluded from this part of the study. The next five categories, whose members are analysed in this chapter, are:

- ads containing features of translanguaging,
- ads that resemble English syntax or are results of direct translations,
- ads that retain brand name or English slogans in Croatian environment,
- ads that are exclusively in English, and
- uncategorisable ads

This categorization is presented in Table 1. The first category, ads containing features of translanguaging, was by far the most numerous, with 28 ads. In contrast, the category of ads resembling English syntax was the smallest, as it consisted of only 3 ads. Each advertisement in every category was analysed individually, with most representative examples being described in the remainder of this subchapter.

4.2.1. Ads containing features of translanguaging

Vogel and Garcia (2017) define translanguaging as a theory that proposes an innovative view on bilingualism and multilingualism. This theory rejects the notion that bilinguals and multilinguals possess two (or more) autonomous language systems, and instead advances the idea that the speakers of language select and use particular features from a single linguistic repertoire in order to negotiate meaning in particular communicative context (1). The notion of translanguaging and its main premises have recently gained ground, particularly among educators. Translanguaging can be exemplified by two students, speaking the same L1 and L2 and being fluent in both, working together to solve a task. Although being L1 speakers, they often use L2 in order to express concepts and negotiate meaning more easily. Briefly said, they seamlessly use the linguistic repertoire from the two languages within the same sentence in order to facilitate communication. The same notion can easily be applied to the discourse of online ads, as the following examples will demonstrate.

Ads that demonstrate features of translanguaging represented the richest set of data, as this category contained some of the most colourful and witty ads, both in terms of text and images. The main characteristic of this category was that its ads consisted of both English and Croatian text. The text in English varied significantly across the sample; in some ads it consisted of mere one word, while some other ads featured whole sentences that were solely in English. This category also contained two sub-categories that were comprised of several items sharing similar characteristics. The ads within the two sub-categories are analysed both individually and as parts of the given categories.

The first sub-category includes ads labelled I22, D34, V16, V11 and V33, as they are all predominantly Croatian-language ads characterised by a preposition "by". These 5 examples use it to explicitly and visibly state that a certain product or service belongs to or is made by a particular company. The first ad is quite simple, advertising a Croatian shoe retailer. The interesting part here are the words "CORE BY INKOP". The second ad uses the preposition in the phrase "powered by Hrvatski Telekom" while the third one advertises confectionary produced by a well-known Croatian hotel chain. The usage of this English preposition is interesting, as at first one might remark that it could be easily replaced by a Croatian word and the ad would retain its meaning. However, if one delves deeper into these particular examples, it becomes apparent that it is extremely difficult to find a Croatian word that would replace the preposition "by". There are, of course, several possible options, such as "od", but they sound either weird, off or unnatural. Additionally, there is one more reason ad creators might have opted to use "by" instead of Croatian equivalents. The usage of the English word, particularly in ads where the rest is in other language, adds another dimension to the ad. It is possible that the usage of "by" can make the customer perceive the product as premium and of higher quality, which would confirm the perception of English as prestigious.



Figures 14, 15 and 16. Items I22, D34 and V16, illustrating the use of the preposition "by"

The other two ads that comprise a separate sub-category are D5 and D6. They are characterised by specific, Croatian spelling of English words and an informal tone of the ad's presentation. The first ad promotes a contest taking place on a popular regional radio channel, Radio Dalmacija. The image shows a wall, decorated by various graffiti, with a white circle in the middle. The circle features the words "Dalmatinski KiKS" and an arrow underneath them. The logos of the contest's sponsors (Radio Dalmacija, Mall of Split) are shown above. The consumer is practically pushed to follow through on the ad should they want to receive more information about the service being offered, as neither the image nor the text provide any details about the contest. What is interesting, however, is the spelling of the word Kiks. It is a word borrowed from English, whose meaning and usage has changed and adapted over time. The word itself is used particularly in the Dalmatia region of Croatia, as evidenced by the ad and the sponsors. The other ad features two stylish women, possibly media personalities, positioned in such a way that it might appear that they are either gossiping or commenting on something. The word "FAKVP" is the focal point of ad, being followed by the time slot and the link of the webpage. Based on the given information, it is safe to assume that the ad provides information about a programme, probably one that is aimed at female audience and deals with various celebrity gossip. The only other word on the ad is "VIŠE!" in the bottom right corner. In addition to phonetic transcription, the style of the two ads is another element that separates

them from the rest of the ads in the first category. It can be said that both ads give an impression of casual style, particularly when one looks at the text and images. The images brandish many unusual colours, including pink, which might appear unusual for ads, while the font of the text and the way it is presented within the frame of the ad evoke the feeling of informality. It is possible that these ads were created having in mind the young as the target audience.





Figures 17 and 18. Items D5 and D6 from the corpus, illustrating informal ads using phonetic transcription of English words

The first individually analysed ad from this category is I8. The message of the ad is clear, as it aims to make the customers book a vacation in Terme Sveti Martin spa. What is interesting, however, is the headline of the ad, "Healthy Family Fun", which is written in English, while the next word, "Uskrs" is in Croatian. This dichotomy reveals the probable intended audience: primarily young people from Croatia. The assumption is that their level of proficiency in English is better than the older generations and will therefore understand the English headline. This can be further reinforced by the picture accompanying the text, as it shows a young family, enjoying their vacation in an idyllic, environment on a sunny day.

The following ad, I21, is quite like/similar the first one, as it advertises the same spa with the same English message. The difference is the addition of the phrase "EARLY BOOKING", which can be considered a trigger word as it implies a cheaper price if the consumer books immediately. Although this ad offers a vacation during the different time of the year than the first one, its message remains the same. It features a similar image of young family enjoying

their holidays. It is also important to point out that there is ellipsis present in both ads, as neither of them features a verb. Regardless of that, their intended meaning is easily understood.





Figures 19 and 20. Items 18 and 121, illustrating the use of translanguaging

The next add I35, features a girl wearing a t-shirt with a motive, with the latter being enlarged and shown separately next to the model. There is not much text on the ad, with the one underneath the model saying "NAŠI BESTSELLERI" (OUR BESTELLERS), while the other, in the top right corner, simply states "1st BESTSELLERS". What stands out is the advertiser's decision to use both the English and Croatian plural inflections for the word "bestseller" in the same ad. The probable reason behind this decision is that the Croatian variant, "bestselleri", can be considered widely established in the language, as it can be commonly encountered when buying books. The narrative voice in the ad is also important, as the word "NAŠI" implies that the advertiser is referring to themselves in plural and addressing the consumers. I54 is the ad that promotes a well-known Croatian producer of salami and dried meat. The ad shows the text "EASY PEEL OTVARANJE" (EASY PEEL OPENING), surrounded by the producer's 6 pate flavours. The focus is on the English part of the ad, as the first 2 words are bolded. This implies that the new (easy peel) invention is important because it will make the consumer's life easier. An ad advertising a car, I56, is the next example of translanguaging. This ad features more text than most of the other ads, because the car's advertising slogan is featured on the ad. The interesting part, however, is the pun created by the advertiser. The car's name is Toyota Hilux,

and the ad, in addition to the car itself, offers extended warranty called Toyota Relax. The warranty is advertised by the slogan "10 godina bezbrižnosti" (10 years of carefreeness), implying that the consumers can be carefree if they decide to buy the car. The ad itself is visually appealing, and its overall quality is higher than that of most other ads in the study.



Figures 21, 22 and 23. Items I35, I54 and I56, illustrating the use of translanguaging

The next ad, I6, is a flashy one advertising an online gambling site. The ad features cartoonish characters and colourful imagery, presumably (and problematically) to attract younger population. The pivotal point of attention are the words "100 FREE SPINS", written in glaring yellow and large font. This is a typical example of trigger words, being placed within the ad with the main goal of making the customers click on it. An additional trigger word, "IGRAJ" (PLAY), can be found below the first one, albeit in Croatian.



Figure 24. Item 16, illustrating the use of trigger words both in English and in Croatian within the same ad

The next item, labelled I16 consisted of a simple green circle on a white background. The words "Istarski premium proizvodi. Istraži Istta webshop." (Istrian premium products. Explore the

Istta webshop) were placed in the circle. This ad features an element commonly found in ads trying to sell a particular product, exaggeration. The word "premium" makes the ad and the product itself appear as of higher quality, and thus more appealing to the consumer. It also contains colourful language, as it offers the consumer to "explore" (istraži) the webshop, instead of using a plainer word, such as "pretraži".



Figure 25. Item 116, exemplifying the use of colourful language and exaggeration

The next ad, marked I29, promotes a sale at a shoe store. The trigger, word, "EXTRA 10", with its large font and the principal place in the ad, immediately draws the consumer's attention. The disclaimer comes immediately afterwards and warns the potential customers that this offer applies only to selected models.



Figure 26. Item I29, exemplifying the emphasis placed on the important phrases within the ad

The following ad, I2, is quite similar, as the trigger words occupy the main place in the ad. However, in this ad, they are even larger as the ad itself does not feature a picture of the product. It consists of only the phrase "FINAL SALE" on a colourful background, with the discount percentage written in the corner. Although the phrase itself is a glaring trigger word, it is interesting to note that the word "SALE" is larger than the other word and emphasised. It can thus be considered a trigger word within a trigger word. The ad itself is also an excellent example of both hyperbole and exaggeration, as the customers are more likely to buy the product if they feel that it is their last, unique chance to do it. The sale is rarely final and definite, as various stores and retailers offer almost countless number of sales and discounts throughout the year.



Figure 27. Item I2, exemplifying the use and the emphasis of trigger words

This ad is followed by item I22 (Figure 14), already described at the beginning of the chapter. In addition to "by" signalising a unique way of associating the product with its producer, one can note that this ad is bland in its appearance, as it shows only a picture of the shoes on a white background. Underneath them there is a trigger word "KUPI SADA" (buy now).

The last ad collected from index.hr that belongs to the category translanguaging was labelled I55. The ad consisted of 3 lines of text placed on a dark background that closely resembles a computer chip. The text said the following: "Workshop Deep Learning – Basic Tool in Artificial Intelligence". Both the image and the text imply that this ad deals with recent advancements in the field of technology. The words used in the ad describe advanced technical terms that only someone who possesses certain level of knowledge of the field would be acquainted with. Therefore, it can be assumed the advertisers paid great detail to the choice of

words in the ad, as they wanted only the most ambitious and most knowledgeable people to sign up for the workshop. Additionally, the ad gives the impression that the workshop is aimed both and English and Croatian speaking individuals. This can be supported by the date underneath the main text of the ad. Notwithstanding the fact that the workshop is taking place in Croatia and organised by a Croatian institution, the date is written in English. Overall, one can assume that the ad is aimed both at Croatian and English-speaking experts in the field of technology. The very bottom part of the ad features the organisation's name and the words "powered by machine learning & artificial intelligence," written in small font. It is evident that this part is less important than the name and the topic of the workshop.



Figure 28. Item 155 from the corpus, illustrating the use of complex scientific terms

The following 10 items, collected from the website dnevnik.hr, were also categorised as ads that feature translanguaging. The first one, D4, is advertisement for Red Bull energy drink. It features a cartoonish style found in most of the Red Bull ads, and its well-known slogan, "DAJE TI KRILA" (Gives You Wings). The ad itself is unclear and it is difficult to deduce from the images and the text alone whether it advertises only the energy drink or a specific campaign or event, as the company also organises these. The main text in the advertisement is written in large and solid black font on a white background. It carries the following message: "OD ŠEFA DO CHEFA I NATRAG?" (From boss to chef and back again?). The ad cleverly word play, as both the Croatian word "šef" and the English "chef" originate from the same word. However, their meanings today have diverged, and, in the ad, the former carries the meaning of "boss" while the later denotes a cook. It is implied that, should they consume Red Bull, one can handle both the professional sphere of life (šef), as well as the private (chef). This is an obvious

exaggeration of the drink's properties. On the other hand, the ad makes no mention of the negative aspects of drinking Red Bull, and this is not surprising, as ads rarely present the less desirable consequences of the product. If they do so, that means they are (most likely) obliged by law and the negative aspects are then usually presented in a disclaimer at the very bottom of the page, written in small font.



Figure 29. *Item D4*, *illustrating the use of word play*

An ad that followed was D5, described in the beginning of this chapter. Its usage of casual, informal words and the colourful image suggest that it was aimed primarily at the younger audience. A subsequent ad, labelled D10, is an interesting example of an ad that can achieve a lot solely by the picture it presents. The image shows a Scandinavian-like landscape, with mountains in the foreground and tundra in the forefront. A person flying a paraglider can be seen in the top left corner, while the top right corner presents a barely noticeable advertiser's logo. The central part of the ad is reserved for words "The incredible Igloo," (Nevjerojatni Igloo), shown in large font. The product itself, the Igloo, is shown within the idyllic image, pitched directly on the tundra grasslands. The image portrays the product as resembling the traditional igloo in shape and colour. However, the advertised Igloo seems far more luxurious, as it features a proper bed, chairs, and drawers. It is evident that the advertiser chose to focus on the pictorial aspect of the ad. There is a stark contrast between the text, that reveals nothing more about the product except for its name, and the image, which can be considered a key

selling point of this ad. The Nordic-like landscape has the aim of creating the feeling of adventure and awe, additionally, it can be said that the image transfers its qualities to the product and the presumed consumer. It gives an impression, albeit a false one, that the consumer will embark on a journey similar to that in the image, should they decide to buy the Igloo. The image does an excellent job linking the product and only a few words that are used to describe it. Also, a common advertising strategy of using colourful language and exaggerations ("the incredible" can be found in the ad).



Figure 30. Item 10, exemplifying the use of colourful language, exaggeration and connotation

The following item, labelled D16, was an ad for an international cosmetics company, primarily aimed at women. The central part of the ad showed 6 squares arranged in two rows, with 5 of the squares portraying women of various race and gender. The top middle square featured the words "Moja priča je važna" (My story is important) and #watchmenow. The same hashtag, along with the emphasised line "AVON WATCH ME NOW," was present in the bottom part of the ad. Although a well-informed consumer might be familiar with the company name and its products, there is almost nothing in the ad that can give away the fact that it is placed by a cosmetics company. Only the fact that the ad features exclusively female actors hints at such possibility, as traditionally cosmetics and beauty industry have been associated with women. Despite the pictures taking up the main place in the ad, the phrase "watch me now" can be considered the focal point of the ad. This is supported by the fact that it is found at 3 separate places within the ad, 2 times in the form of a hashtag, and once as a part of the headline. The intended meaning of this phrase cannot be disassociated from the only other phrase found in the ad, "moja priča je važna". Based upon the image and the slogans, it can be assumed that

the aim of the ad is to promote a campaign that has the goal of empowering women. The meaning of the phrase stands out as one of the focal points of the campaign. The usage of pronouns in the main phrase is particularly important. It features an ellipsis of the initial pronoun "you" that addresses the consumer, or, more broadly, everyone that has doubted or underestimated women. The phrase itself is also an imperative that can be presented as "(You) watch me now!" If looking at it in this way, we can see that its choice of words implies that the woman from the ad, represented by the pronoun "me", will do something noteworthy. The ad features a stark difference between perspectives of unspoken "you", representing the consumer, and "me", embodying a woman or all the women in the world. It can be said that the main phrase serves as a strong message of empowerment aimed at a specific gender.



Figure 31. Item D16, illustrating the use of implied meanings and imperatives

The ad that followed this inspirational and purpose-driven ad was a complete opposite, advertising car manufacturer Opel. It was marked D21 and featured a white minivan, almost completely blended in with the white background that portrayed a futuristic looking building. The headline of the ad said: "OPEL TO GO" with the lines "ODABERI I ODVEZI ODLIČNO OPREMLJENE MODELE" (CHOOSE AND DRIVE EXCELLENTLY EQUIPPED MODELS) written underneath. The top right corner of the image featured the disclaimer, in this case presented as "PRAVNE INFORMACIJE" (LEGAL INFORMATION) and the offer "4 GODINE FLEXCARE JAMSTVA" (4 YEARS OF FLEXCARE WARRANTY). The phrase "TO GO" is the most interesting part of the ad, as it is often used in advertisements for

food and beverage, not cars. Its original implication is that the consumer can receive a product, most commonly coffee, simply, and quick, as not to disturb the busy pace of their everyday life. The meaning of this phrase remains the same when applied to this ad, despite it featuring a product far more expensive than coffee or pizza. This supports the claim that same advertising strategies can be used both for everyday and luxury items. The phrase appeals to the consumer with its simplicity, as if it wants to say: "buying a car can be as easy as grabbing a coffee." It implies that a new car can be bought without unnecessary stress and indecisiveness. Additionally, the ad features the portmanteau in the phrase "4 GODINE FLEXCARE JAMSTVA." The word "flexcare", denoting a warranty provided by the manufacturer, consists of English words "flexible" and "care". Thus the "word" flexcare implies a warranty that is both adaptable to the consumer and their needs and offers certified repairs and maintenance. This ad, particularly the part advertising warranty, can be considered similar to ad I56 analysed before. Both ads are examples of translanguaging, promote car manufacturers and feature a pun or blending of words.



Figure 32. Item D31, illustrating the use of word play and blending

The following ad, D27, is a stark contrast to the previous, which featured an image of a shiny new car and several lines of text. The ad consists of a green background with the words "InstantOffice – You are in good company!" written in the middle. The words commonly found in other ads "saznaj više" (Find out more), are featured in the bottom middle part. The solid green background does not offer a rich visual stimulation for the consumer, and the two lines of text do not offer much information about the product or service. Nevertheless, the wording of the English part of the ad makes it interesting and open for discussion. It is impossible from

the ad alone to discern whether InstantOffice is a company or just a service offering office premises for hire. This ambiguity is likely to spark the consumers interest and make them follow through on the ad. Additionally, the meaning of the phrase "You are in good company" can be looked at from two levels. This was an intentional decision by the advertiser as both meanings are relevant considering the overall context of the ad. The first level comprises the meaning of the word "company" in sense of a commercial business or enterprise, while the second one implies a condition of being with other people, especially in a way that provides enjoyment. (Oxford Learner's Dictionary). It can be said that the ad's choice of words results in desirable open-endedness as it makes it more appealing to potential consumers. Also, one can note the pronoun "you," addressing the customer, commonly found in ads, placed in the emphasised position. By using this direct address, the ad achieves the sense of intimacy with the consumer.

An ad that followed, D32, can be considered quite different to the previously described examples. It consisted of a stock image, showing a young woman wearing a cotton face mask. The small letters in the bottom left corner tell the viewer that the ad was placed by the company called mask-in-mask. The main body of text, under the image, advertises masks with the following claim: "Stylish fashion maske koje filtriraju 99,2% bakterija i 97% čestica" (Stylish fashion masks that filter out 99.2% germs and 97% particles). The first two words "stylish fashion" immediately stand out in the ad that is predominantly Croatian. Should one take both the words and the image into the account, it becomes clear that the advertiser's target audience were primarily young people. The advertiser assumed that they have a desire to look stylish and up to date with the latest fashion trends and are also often regarded as having higher English proficiency level than the older generations. Bearing that in mind, the phrase "stylish fashion" can be considered a trigger word, albeit an unusual one, that has the two aims. The first one is to attract a particular sociodemographic group while the second one is to make the ad more prominent with the regard to its surrounding, i.e., the webpage.



Figure 33. Item D32, illustrating the use of translanguaging

The following ad, D44, can be considered similar to D32, since it features English words in prominent place and aims to appeal to a certain sociodemographic group. This ad for a cosmetics and beauty chain features an image, consisting of two bottles of an unspecified product, and several lines of text that flaunt an opportunity to save money by visiting the advertiser's stores. The important part of the ad is its headline, which goes as following: "CASUAL WEEKEND u parfumerijama MARTIMEX" (CASUAL WEEKEND in MARTIMEX perfume shops). The first two words are written in calming green colour and their font presents a sharp difference with the rest of the ad, as it looks like an imitation of handwriting. This informal font, paired with the word "casual," creates the impression that visiting the MARTIMEX stores can be relaxing and laid-back experience for the customer. However, by adding the word "weekend", the advertiser clearly emphasises the fact that the sale only lasts for a limited time, thus encouraging the consumers to act quickly.



Figure 34. Item D44, illustrating the use of words which create an informal atmosphere

The ad that follows, D6, (Figure 18) already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, is also characterised by its attempt to create an informal atmosphere between the seller and the consumer. The word "FAKVP", being placed in the central part of the ad, originating from English, where it is used as a swear word, is in this context turned into a casual word that denotes a funny or comical mishap that can happen to everyone. The font used, as well as the letter "a" being upside down, strip the word of its original (English) meaning and create an atmosphere of informality that is important for this ad. However, despite its seemingly harmless message of informality, this ad reinforces several gender stereotypes. Firstly, the women in the ad are surrounded by the colour pink, often associated with the female gender. More important, however, is the fact that it depicts the two women as curious and gossipy, and thus sends a message that only women possess those character traits.

The last ad collected from the webpage dnevnik.hr that was considered an example of translanguaging was labelled D34 (Figure 15) and it advertised an Internet and TV provider. While the ad is characterised by Croatian language, a barely noticeable words "powered by Hrvatski Telekom" can be found in the right part of the image. In addition to marking the product as belonging to Hrvatski Telekom, the function of the phrase is to create a strong impression on the consumer, as the word "power" implies strength and energy. Additionally, since the ad sells telecommunication services, the word "power" can also carry the meaning of "electric current" and can be as such easily associated with the product.

The last sub-group of ads that contain examples of translanguaging was collected from the website vecernji.hr and consisted of 7 ads. The first item, numbered V2 (Figure 1) was an already described ad for a car rental company. It is specific because of the usage of the phrase "all in" next to the monthly price of the rental. The phrase is a shortened version of the commonly used "all inclusive". Taking the surrounding co(n)text in regard, the meaning of the phrase can be interpreted as "including all fees and taxes". Also, it can be argued that the phrase "all in" sounds better and more suited for the business context it is used in, than the equivalent Croatian phrase "uključena sva davanja". Additionally, the preference for the English phrase over the Croatian one might stem from the spatial constraints of the ad itself.

The following item, labelled V11, portrayed three young women lying in bed, presumably hungover after a night of partying. The accompanying text read: "girls just wanna have fun -

dan žena" with the word "CANOPY BY HILTON ZAGREB" written between the first two lines. This ad uses the name of a song to attract the consumers to the event taking place during International Women's Day. It is a famous 80s song that is often considered an important part of the feminist movement. The usage of this song can be interpreted as a message that women who decide to visit the Women's Day event will have exciting time.



Figure 35. Item V11, illustrating the use of translanguaging

The next item was numbered V16 (Figure 16) and advertised confectionery produced by a hotel chain. The text in the bottom part of the ad read "Valfresco by Valamar". The usage of the preposition by in this case denotes the Valfresco brand as being produced by Valamar hotel chain. There are some possible Croatian alternatives to "by", such as "od" or "iz", but it was already argued above that they do not carry the same weight of being associated with premium products as the English word used.

The following item was labelled V24 and featured an image of an idyllic Croatian coastal town and several lines of text advertising a car rental company. The first line contained the advertisers name, while the two lines underneath advertised a discount if consumers use the code "Customer2020" while reserving a car. The last line served as a hyperlink to the advertiser's webpage and contained words "Rezerviraj Online." The bottom left part of the ad featured a small rectangular box with words "Gold Trusted Service Award" written in it. This ad is primarily aimed at Croatian-speaking customers, as evidenced by its predominantly Croatian text. What stands out, however, is the usage of the word "customer", which does not seem to fit within the overall context of the ad. Considering the fact that the ad targets Croatian speakers, the word could have been replaced by a word such as "bonus" or "ušteda" and it would have been easily understood by customers who do not speak English. Additionally, had

different words been used, they could have been utilised as trigger words that would have made the consumer click on the ad. The text in the bottom left corner can be regarded as another selling point of the ad, as foreign institutions and awards are often considered more trustworthy than domestic ones.



Figure 36. Item V24, illustrating the use of translanguaging

The next ad promoted a new application released by a Croatian telecommunications provider, Hrvatski Telekom. The ad was labelled as V32 (Figure 2) and featured a mobile phone and the words "MOJ TELEKOM APP" written next to it, both being placed on a pink-and-white background, commonly used by the advertiser. The main reason to use the English version "app" instead of Croatian "aplikacija" might be the desire to save advertising space. Additionally, by using a word which is more commonly used by the younger generations, the advertiser appears modern and in touch with the consumers' preferences.

The second to last ad in this category was numbered V36 and depicted a fashion magazine cover with three different hashtags in the foreground. They read: #jošvišeSVOJ, (#evenmore YOURSELF) #jošvišeSMART (#evenSMARTER) and #jošvišeART (#evenmoreARTSY). The first thing that comes to mind when looking at the ad is the gradation of adjectives and the rhyme used in the English part of the hashtags. The words "smart" and "art" rhyme and thus they create a positive marketing effect on the consumer, making them more likely to obtain the product. Additionally, this ad can be regarded as an example of ad whose selling point is to transfers the qualities of the product on the consumer. The words "smart" and "art" refer to the advertised product (the fashion magazine). However, the other layer of their meaning is applied

to the consumer, as if the ad wants to say: "if you buy this magazine, YOU will be even more yourself, even smarter and even more artsy.



Figure 37. Item V36, illustrating the use of gradation and rhyme in translanguaging

The last ad that included elements of translanguaging, V33, was a pop-up ad for a music streaming service offered by a telecommunications company. The ad presented an offer for the service in the top right corner, while the left corner consisted of the words "A1 Xplore Music by Deezer." This is ad similar to D34 as its preposition "by" can be considered a shortened version of the phrase "powered by". Taking that into the account, the ad's text can be interpreted as: the service offered, A1 Xplore Music" is powered by a company, Deezer. The peculiar spelling variant of "Xplore" is also present in the ad, having the aim of attracting younger consumers who are more likely to use music streaming services.



Figure 38. Item V33, illustrating the use of the preposition "by"

4.2.2. Ads that resemble English syntax or are results of direct translations

The second category that was created withing the group of ads containing English elements includes ads in Croatian that resemble English syntax or are probably a result of direct translation from English. This category was small as it consisted of only four items. Three out of four were collected from the webpage index.hr and the remaining was collected from večernji.hr. None of the ads gathered from dnevnik.hr possessed the features that would allow them to be included in this category.

The first ad in the category, I3, advertised tarot reading over the phone. The accompanying image showed a young couple embracing each other, with green landscape and sunset behind them. This idyllic photograph seemed as if it was taken straight from one of the many Hollywood romantic comedies. The interesting part of the ad is the text placed in its very top part, above the advertiser's logo. The first line said: "Zaslužuješ ljubav!" (You deserve love!), followed by "Razgovor koji će ti otvoriti oči" (The conversation that will open your eyes) in the second one. The ad was classified into the second category because of the first part, which sounds like a direct translation of the English phrase "You deserve love." Taking the phrase and the accompanying image into the account, one can assume that the ad's creators were at least partly inspired by a prototypical romantic comedy that tells its viewers that true love will always prevail.



Figure 39. Item 13, illustrating a phrase which is the result of direct translation

The second ad in this category was I33 and its' topic was diverse types of tea produced by Croatian company Franck. The ad was plain and consisted of pictures of the product accompanied by several lines of descriptive text. The headline of the ad read "Slijedi svoj osjećaj" (Follow your feeling) while the bottom part stated "Franck funkcionalni čajevi prilagođeni tvom osjećaju" (Franck functional teas catered to your feeling). Although not (gramatically) incorrect, the choice of words in both utterances is quite unusual for Croatian language. The phrase in the headline sounds unnatural because it resembles a calque from English language, presumably taken from an ad with similar topic. Furthermore, in Croatian language, the verb "slijediti" commonly collocates with nouns "intuicija," "san," "srce," or "instinkt" and not with "osjećaj." The second part of the latter uterrance, "prilagođeni tvom instinku", sounds strange for the same reasons. Words such as "potreba" or "želja" are common collocates with the verb "prilagoditi" and it is highly unlikely that a native speaker of Croatian will spontaneously generate an utterance such as the one in example.



Figure 40. Item I33, exemplifying an ad which resembles English syntax

Second to last ad from this category was labelled I40 and advertised a remote-controlled drone available in an electronics store. The text underneath the product's image and technical specifications read: "Izaberi novi dron" (Choose a new drone) and "Možda je malen, ali ima tonu snage" (It may be small, but it has tons of power). The latter phrase features a similar problem as the previous ad, it just does not feel right considering its usage in the Croatian

language. In Croatian, the word "tona" is commonly used in informal discourse to figuratively say than something is extremely heavy, i.e., *ova kutija ima pet tona* (this box weighs five tons). The ad's creators, wishing to create an impression of an informal communication style, used the noun "tona" to express the power outpower of a product. This results in an utterance that is correct but will immediately appear to speakers of Croatian as unusual. Should one want to rephrase the ad and retain its informal style, the word such as "hrpa" could be considered a better choice.



Figure 41. Item I40, exemplifying an ad which resembles English syntax

The last ad in the category, V17, was almost identical to ad I54 (Figure 22). The main difference was that the ad was horizontal instead of vertical and that the central phrase "EASY PEEL OTVARANJE" was replaced with "ISKUŠAJ ME" (TRY ME). The phrase invites the consumer to try new pate flavours, however its wording can be regarded as clumsy and ambiguous. While the phrase is a calque of the English "try me", both seem unsuitable for the present context. It is possible that the advertiser's intent was to create an ad saying "isprobaj me", as word "isprobati" is the English equivalent of "try." However, possibly due to insufficient English proficiency level, the creators misunderstood the meaning of the phrase "try me" and then translated it in Croatian, resulting in the phrase "iskušaj me". It sounds incorrect within the given context because the primary meaning of the word "iskušati" in

Croatian is that of "to tempt someone." Nevertheless, there is small possibility that the mix-up of meanings was intentional, and that the advertiser aimed to create a message implying temptation. If one looks at the ad from this aspect, the intended message then becomes "Our products are irresistible" or "The temptation our products create is irresistible." In addition to the meanings mentioned before, the wording of the ad may also carry sexual connotation for some of the consumers.

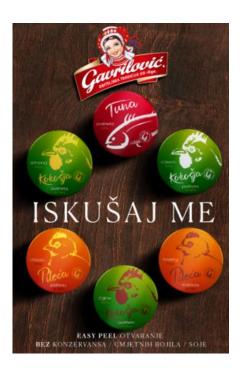


Figure 42. Item V17, illustrating a phrase which is the result of direct translation

4.2.3. Ads that retain brand name or English slogans in Croatian environment

The third subcategory comprised ads which contain slogans or brand names that retained their original, English form in Croatian environment. This category consisted of 21 items. The first two items, labelled I1 and I7 were for two different car manufacturers. Lexus and Renault. I1 showed the advertiser's model range, along with several lines of text offering various additional services that might attract the customer. Almost all the text in the ad, including the bright red trigger word "ZADNJA PRILIKA" (LAST CHANCE) was in Croatian. The only notable exception was the manufacturer's current slogan "EXPERIENCE AMAZING", written in simple but decent white letters on a black background. There are several explanations as to why the slogan was retained in Croatian environment. Arguably, it was done to keep the image of the brand and stay in line with its global advertising campaign. This ad is in this regard

analogous to I7, although the latter features noticeably less text. It is also predominantly in Croatian, with the English part being Renault's slogan "Passion for life." However, it is interesting to note that there are two slogans featured in the latter ad, the other being the one for the model being advertised, Renault Captur. A simple web search of the slogan, "Za sve vaše živote", shows that it is a direct translation of the slogan used worldwide, "For All Your Lives." While brands usually try to retain their global slogans when entering different market, the decision to use Croatian in presenting the model could have been prompted by the desire to appeal to consumers.





Figures 43 and 44. Items II and I7, illustrating car ads which retain English slogans

The third ad in this subcategory, labelled I5, offered an ability to watch a reality TV show using a streaming service. The latter was called "Play Premium" while the show's name was Love Island USA. Both were retained in their original version within the ad. The interesting part is, however, the bottom part of the ad which features a call-to-action button with the words "POGLEDAJ NA PLAY PREMIUMU" (WATCH ON PLAY PREMIUM) written inside. One can notice the English word "PREMIUM", being used in the locative case with the Croatian inflection. This is an interesting feature that can be commonly found when studying English product names in Croatian environment. The following ad, I10, features an electric trimmer, produced by Philips, placed as if it was protruding from image. It is accompanied by a colourful description of the product's abilities, and a promise that a man can look great and sharp if they use OneBlade. The brand's slogan, "Innovation for you" is featured underneath the product. Its message is that Philips' products bring new technological advances to the consumers and therefore make their lives easier.





Figures 45 and 46. Items I5 and I10, illustrating products which retain their English name

The next item, I14, advertises sneakers produced by a large multinational company, Adidas. The product is presented as colourful and possessing features that are clearly physically impossible, such as granting its wearer the ability to jump to immense heights. The product's name is "HI ENERGY ULTRABOOST". This ad is differentiated from most of the ads in this category by its usage of words that carry similar meanings. When looking at the product's name, one can notice that it is composed solely of the words that can elicit the associations of power, exceptional performance, and being active. By using such words, the ad's creators imply that the consumer will be able to achieve impressive results if they buy the advertised sneakers. Additionally, the modern and informal spelling of the word "high" as "hi" implies that the product is new and up to date with the current trends.



Figure 47. Item I14, illustrating an ad using adjectives denoting the high quality of the product

The following item, I18, presents a cleaning product that brandishes recent technology. Croatian is used to describe its various properties and to present it as an ideal product for every household. The products name, Vileda 1-2 Spray Max, is written in the middle part in capitalised letters and thick font. Additionally, the word "max," indicating the product's extraordinary qualities, is written in bright yellow cursive that immediately draws the consumer's attention.



Figure 48. Item I18, illustrating a product which retains its English name

The theme of the next ad, I43, was entirely different than the previous one. However, its internal structure stayed the same, meaning that the product's name was written in English while the accompanying text, whose function was to attract the consumers by presenting the product's qualities, was in Croatian. The advertisement promotes general dental services offered by OrtoNova Dental Medicine Center. The decision to use the English words while naming the company could have been influenced by the fact that many foreigners, particularly Italian nationals, opt to have dental surgery performed in Croatia, due to its lower prices.

The following item, I48, vaguely advertised the service that offers training sessions guided by certified coaches. The whole ad was simple, with text on a solid white background. The company name, Netvision, was written near the lower edge of the ad. Next to it was a badge that described the company as "Authorized Training Center." The adjective "authorized" is synonymous with "certified," therefore it has the meaning of being approved by a government or a regulating body. If one considers the fact that consumers are more likely to find a product trustworthy and reliable if it is described by adjectives such as "authorized," or "guaranteed," the badge within the ad can be seen as a device used to attract more customers.



Figures 49 and 50. Items I43 and I48, illustrating products which retain their English name

The following ad, I52, being the last from index.hr website that belonged into the third subcategory, promoted two luxurious IT products. The main one was Apple Watch Series 3, while the other were Beats Flex headphones that were offered as a product that compliments the first one. One can argue that Apple does not need to adapt the names of its products to various foreign markets as it is one of the most valuable and well-known brands worldwide. It would not be a wise business decision to change names of the products when these names are one the features that make them so easily recognisable all around the globe. The bottom part of the ad featured the retailer's name, iSTYLE, along with the words "Premium Reseller" next to it. They describe the retailer as one that procures only items of best quality, and as such can be compared to ads labelled I5 (Figure 41) and I16 (Figure 25), as they all use the word "premium" in same sense.



Figure 51. Item I52, illustrating a product which retains its English name

The next six ads that belong to third subcategory were collected from the website dnevnik.hr. D2, the first ad in this group, was strikingly similar to the ad I52 (Figure 47) that advertised Apple products, as it also dealt with electronic goods, although they were produced by Samsung. The image advertised an excellent offer which allows the consumer to receive the Galaxy Buds+ earphones for free should they buy one of select Samsung phones. With Samsung being an established global brand, the name of its product (Galaxy Buds+) was left in its original form while the rest of the ad, including the fine print at the bottom was written in consumers' language, Croatian.



Figure 52. Item I52, illustrating a product which retains its English name

The next item was labelled D14 and advertised a mattress sold by an international retail chain. The ad showed a tidy and modern bedroom with a double bed in the centre of the image. Two lines of text were superimposed on the image. The first line said, "100 dana besplatnog korištenja GOLD MADRACA" (100 days of free usage of the GOLD MATTRESS) while the second one was "GOLD MADRACA" (100 days of free usage of the GOLD MATTRESS). The phrase "GOLD MADRACA" is intentionally written twice in succession as repetition is one of the advertising strategies aimed at the consumers. Additionally, in both instances the letters were typed in bold as to be more noticeable than the rest of the ad. The product being described as "gold" implies high quality and best performance, as gold is a precious metal that is often handed in to the winners in various competitions. The word itself and its prominent display within the ad are clear signs to the consumers what the focal point of the ad is.



Figure 53. Item D14, illustrating the use of repetition

The next item was labelled D20 and featured a range of electric vehicles produced by Volkswagen. The top part of the ad featured a slogan used by the company's Croatian dealerships, while the English, global slogan was featured in the bottom left corner, being significantly smaller than its Croatian counterpart. The latter slogan was: "Volkswagen way to zero," with the first three words being written inside the last one, written in large font. The emphasis on the word "zero" tells the consumers that Volkswagen is a company focused on using "clean" energy sources and reducing the greenhouse gas emissions. This is a recent trend in automotive industry and thus by using the slogan in Croatian environment the manufacturer states that they are intent on fulfilling their goal in all markets, not only the biggest ones.



Figure 54. Item D20, illustrating a car ad which retains English slogan

The following item, D23, featuring a vacuum cleaner produced by Philips, also flaunted the company's slogan underneath the product. The slogan was the same as the one featured in ad I10 (Figure 42). In addition to the Croatian text that presented various useful characteristics of the product, its name, Philips SpeedPro Max Aqua, was shown in the ad. The English name of the product makes this ad comparable to the sneaker ad I14 (Figure 43), as both feature words that imply superb performance. In this case, these words are "speed," "pro" and "max". The first implies that by using the advertised vacuum cleaner the cleaning process will be quick, while the last two denote best results.



Figure 55. Item D23, illustrating an ad using words which imply the high quality of the product

The next ad, D38 was quite simple and featured a computer-generated image of a cosy-looking log home accompanied both by the producer's and the product's names. In addition to the advertiser's name, Primat Log Home, the ad also featured its slogan, "Passionate about good living." It implies that the consumers overall quality of life will improve if they decide to order one of the advertiser's products, particularly the "Kuća HONKA," which is shown in the ad.

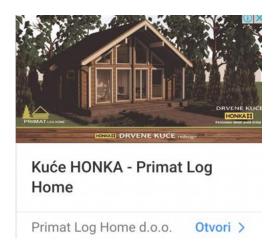


Figure 56. Item D38, illustrating an ad which retains English slogan

The last five ads in this category were found on the večernji.hr website. The first one, V7, featured a car on a solid purple background. The producer's name, Mitsubishi Motors, along with its slogan, "Drive Your Ambition" were featured near the top of the ad. The bottom part of the ad contained a button that said "vozi me doma" (drive me home). This serves an interesting alternative to commonly used phrases such as "kliknite ovdje" or "saznajte više". The phrase used in the ad has interesting properties. Firstly, it uses personification to give the car the ability to speak, as it almost commands the consumer: "vozi ME doma." Secondly, it addresses the consumer directly, with the ellipted yet present pronoun "you" (ti). The producer's slogan also features a pronoun, "Your", referring directly to the consumer. The slogan implies that Mitsubishi's models are objects of the consumer's aspirations and desires.

The next item was labelled V14 and showed a gleaming new SUV on a gloomy and stormy day. The words "PRVA KLASA PO CIJENI EKONOMSKE" (FIRST CLASS CAR FOR THE PRICE OF AN ECONOMY CAR), with the first two words being emphasised were present in the bottom of the ad, while the top part featured the producer's name and slogan, "The Power of Dreams." The slogan's powerful message can be interpreted as a claim that Honda's vehicles possess almost impossible, surreal qualities.

The penultimate ad in this category, V31, was essentially the same as V7 (figure XX), with the notable exception being the model that was advertised. Both the producer's English slogan and the Croatian phrase near the bottom of the ad stayed the same. Notably, this ad features an acronym in the product's name (Outlander PHEV), whose meaning will be clear only to those well acquainted with the automotive industry.



Figures 57, 58 and 59. Items V7, V14 and V13, illustrating car ads which retains English slogans

The final ad in the fourth category was labelled V35 and presented a fragrance on a plain white background. The accompanied text clarified that fragrance is complimentary should one buy StoryBOOK, a fashion magazine. The name of the fragrance, 2 WOOD DSQUARED2, is vague and does not reveal much about the product itself. In this regard, this ad is strikingly like the previous one, as both feature English elements in the product's name which will only be familiar to people that possess some degree of knowledge about the field. However, the name of the main product in the last ad, StoryBOOK, partially gives away its themes of interest. The word "Story" implies that the magazine deals with lives, i.e., stories of the famous people, while "book" can be interpreted in way that it offers the readers plenty of interesting content, similarly to a book.

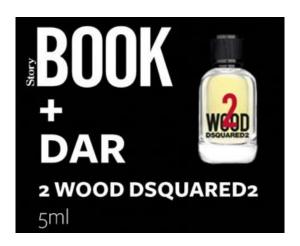


Figure 60. Item V35, illustrating a product which retains its English name

4.2.4. Ads that are exclusively in English

The fourth category in this study consisted of only three ads that contained text exclusively in English. Two of the ads were collected from the website index.hr and the last one from dnevnik.hr. First ad was labelled I15 and was also the most interesting of all three. It was an ad for American Academy in Zagreb, placed upon a faintly visible flag of the USA. The text of the ad was the following "ONLINE OPEN DAY at American Academy in Zagreb." The date, March 3, along with the button that said, "REGISTER NOW." was placed below the first, emphasised line. There is evident symbolism present in the, as the only three colours used were blue, white and red, corresponding to the colours on the American flag. The words "OPEN DAY" were emphasised as their message was crucial for the ad's audience. The ad gives off the overall impression that it was aimed at young and prospective Croatian students who possess the sufficient English proficiency level that would allow them to enrol in an English-speaking institution. While most of the other collected ads contained a Croatian part that said "kupite sad" (buy now) or "saznajte više" (find out more), this ad is unique as even its call-to-action button was in English. In this sense, this was the sole English-only ad.

The second ad in this group, numbered I39, featured an online footwear store advertised by male and female models. The names of various brands were placed in the bottom of the ad, while the right part featured the words "spring/summer 21." The phrase was written twice, with the first instance being enlarged and incorporated in the background image of the ad, and the second one was simply placed upon the first one. The phrase, along with the number, indicates an ongoing sale and arrival of new items to the store. The usage of the English words for

seasons of the year can be explained by advertiser's desire to make the ad and its offer more prominent. Additionally, one should not overlook the fact that even the format of the year is written in English style, as '21.

The last ad in this category, D7, featured training shoes. The ad showed a man mid-jump, with the blue sky behind him. Due to the perspective of the ad, the impression is that a man jumped to incredible heights. The ad implies that this is possible due to the sneakers the actor is wearing. The product's name, NANO X1, as well as the words "The Official Shoe of Fitness", are featured on the left side of the image. The second and the last words of the sentence are emphasised, the former being underlined, and the latter typed in large font. In addition to this emphasis, there are two elements of this ad that should be analysed. The first one is the name of the product, NANO X1, which makes it appear as technologically advanced and futuristic. The other one is the entire phrase, "The Official Shoe of Fitness." It is a prototypical example of exaggeration ads use to show that their product is superb and the best choice for the consumers. However, the claim, as pretentious as it may sound, is not necessarily untrue, at least to an extent. It is entirely possible that the company behind the product made an agreement with notable athletes who the endorsed the product as the one that is best for fitness activities. This ad can be considered as an example of grey zone in advertisement, as its claims can be considered misleading due to them not being approved by any official regulating body. Nevertheless, the fact that the product is endorsed by several professional athletes gives weight to the message of the ad.



Figure 61, 62 and 63. Items I15, I39 and D7, exemplifying ads that are exclusively in English

4.2.5. Uncategorizable ads

Finally, the last subcategory was created for the purpose of accommodating all other ads that contained some elements of English language but were not fitting within any of the previous

four categories. The ads within this category were extremely diverse regarding the usage of English, with some containing only one word originating from the English language while others included fully fledged phrases and word play that enhanced their attractiveness. There were 18 ads in the last category, the first one being I4. The ad promoted a holiday in a resort on the southern coast of Croatia. Although the ad was solely in English and as such could have been classified in the fourth category, it was placed in this category since it was aimed at foreign markets. This assumption was based upon the language of the ad's call-to-action button.

Other English-only ads featured a call-to-action button in Croatian, and this can be considered a hint that they were aimed primarily at Croatian market. In contrast, this ad featured a button that said "BOOK NOW", meaning that it was aimed at foreign tourists. This is further supported by the fact that the ad used the English name of the country, "Croatia", and not the name in Croatian. The ad itself was aesthetically pleasing, with colour blue dominating most of the space. The phrase "Touch the sea, hug the mountain" was placed in the prominent position within the ad. It is particularly important because this is an extremely colourful metaphoric expression that can spark the consumers' imagination. The message it conveys is that the resort in question offers the opportunity to visit two vastly different landscapes, the mountains and the sea.

The following item, I11, advertised a contest organised by household appliances manufacturer. The words crucial for this analysis were "Boschanstveno dobar influencer", placed in the middle of the ad. The last word is a recent addition to the Croatian language and as such has not been standardised yet. What is more important, however, is its meaning, which the older generations often find difficult to understand. Taking that into consideration, one can assume that the ad is targeted at primarily younger generations who use social networks and know that influencers are people on social media who influence the behaviour and opinion of others (Cambridge Dictionary). The inclusion of the ad in the last category stemmed from the fact that the word "influencer" itself has become so widely used in the Croatian language that it is impossible say whether it the ad is an example of translanguaging or simply linguistic borrowing.





Figures 64 and 65. Items I4 and I11, illustrating uncategorisable ads

The next ad, I13, was one of the several that were aimed to promote a hotel or a resort. The picture showed a tidy and luxurious hotel room, with the advertiser's name, Falkensteiner Club Funimation Borik, written in the left corner of the ad. The word "funimation" is a blend of two words, "fun" and "animation." The portmanteau implies that the stay at Falkensteiner hotels guarantees both fun and various activities that guests can do in their free time. Although this feature would warrant the inclusion of the ad in the first category of analysis, it was not placed there as it also possessed the feature of 4th category, i. e. having elements of English in the name of the product. Furthermore, the ad used the English word "Wellness" and the ampersand sign, which can also be regarded as English features.

The following item, I25, was a futuristic looking ad placed by an IT retail chain. The ad offered a great deal on gaming laptops, and the word "gaming" itself was written at two places in the ad, both times being emphasised as well.





Figures 66 and 67. Items 113 and 125, illustrating uncategorisable ads

The next ad, I31, was plain and did not offer much information. The product was described only by words "vojna hoodie + 2 majice", the items in question being shown in the image. The word "hoodie" can be regarded as an interesting usage of English slang in Croatian context. One can assume that the advertiser wanted to give off the image of casual conversation and thus attract younger audience. However, there are well-established alternatives such as "hudica" or even "hudi". Additionally, the text of the ad might seem a bit weird because the English and the Croatian parts are not in an agreement, as the adjective "vojna" requires a feminine noun. Despite that, it compliments a word "hoodie," which native Croatian speakers will regard as being of masculine gender.



Figure 68. Item 131, illustrating an uncategorisable ad

The following ad, labelled I9, was a vague one, advertising premium furniture. The focal point of the ad is its headline "BLJESAK VOUCHER" followed by a substantial number, -25%, offering a possibility to save money if one uses the voucher. This ad is interesting when compared to the next ad, D13. These two ads differ in the spelling of the word voucher, with the latter spelling it as "vaučer". This raises several implications, the first being that the English word "voucher", denoting a small piece of paper that can be exchanged for good, is sometimes used in Croatian-language ads. Additionally, despite its usage, the word is still not fully adapted to the Croatian language and thus advertisers can opt to use either of the two variants.





Figures 69 and 70. Items I19 and D13, illustrating uncategorisable ads containing two spelling variants of the same word

The next item, D24, promoted a webpage offering discounts on hotel bookings. The image was comparable the previous ones showing hotel accommodation, as it showed a hotel property with large pool and sunbeds. The text placed upon the image advertised Easter holidays with the words: "ALL INCLUSIVE u Waterman Svpetrvs Resortu i apartmanima". The words "all inclusive" are additionally emphasised since they are the most likely to attract consumers. This ad can be considered a borderline example of usage of English within the Croatian context. Although its accompanying text features several English words, they cannot be considered proper examples of translanguaging as they form the name of advertiser. Even though the ad features the English phrase "all inclusive," it has become so commonly used in hospitality management in Croatia that it is difficult to classify it translanguaging proper. Additionally, it can even be said that it almost completely replaced its Croatian counterpart, "sve uključeno".

The final ad analysed individually was V12, promoting a food delivery service, Wolt. The ad consisted of a light blue background, a colour used in the Wolt application as well, and several lines of text in Croatian. An animated image of chef holding a freshly baked pizza was placed next to the text. The text in the middle of the image consisted of the company's logo and one phrase, "Delivered.", placed underneath it. Although this one word cannot be considered a slogan, it still conveys a strong message that originates from its simplicity. As some examples from this study show, there are companies and brands that choose lengthy and colourful slogans that promise a drastic change in quality of life for the consumer. On the other hand, the one-word elliptical utterance used in this ad is effective because its implied message: "We will deliver your order without unnecessary complications." The other interpretation of the message is that the customer will get their food as fast as it takes them to say the word "delivered".





Figures 71 and 72. Items D24 and V12, illustrating uncategorisable ads

The remaining nine items in the last category were not analysed individually since they contained only one or two words from the English language that are nowadays also frequently used in Croatian as well. Some of the words used were "start," "online" "webshop" and "gaming". It can be assumed that one of their functions within the ad was to make it stand out from the rest of the webpage that was in Croatian and thus draw attention to the ad.

As the analysis illustrates, the second research question can be answered the following way: English has a significant role within the discourse of online ads in Croatian context. One of its main functions is to enhance the linguistic part of the ad using devices such as epithets, metaphors, and exaggerations. Additionally, its syntax is often used to generate phrases solely in Croatian, resulting in some unusual constructions. The English language also provides many word plays, witty puns, and innovative words created by blending two words together. Furthermore, apart from its ability to enhance the linguistic part of ads, the use of English augments the advertised product's desirability and makes it look more modern. Finally, it serves as a to-go language for products names used in situations which require the advertisers to introduce their international products to domestic (Croatian) audiences.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

The aim of this study was to describe the most notable features of online ads and the role of English in those ads. After a qualitative analysis that was conducted on a corpus of 130 ads collected over one month the following conclusions can be reached.

The first research question (*What are the features of online ads?*) dealt with the general features of online ads. Based on the items collected for this study it can be remarked that both linguistic and other semiotic features stand out as representative. Firstly, over half of the items from the corpus feature some elements of the English language. However, there is a significant number of Croatian-only ads, and this be seen as support to the claim that English has still not fully infiltrated the Croatian advertising discourse. Secondly, ads on online news portals tend to be simple in design and usually feature only a single image. They do not feature sound nor a video. The simplicity of design can be explained by the advertisers' desire to save money. Additionally, since ads are shown on frequently visited websites, there is no need to allot unnecessary resources, as they will usually reach a large audience, regardless of their design. The next important feature is the use of trigger words, which are almost omnipresent among the items in the corpus. Furthermore, the phrases that are intended to be in the centre of the consumer's attention are emphasised in capital letters and boldface. Additionally, the trigger words in many items often contain imperatives and direct address in order to create an atmosphere of an informal communication between the ad's sender(s) and the consumer. Trigger words are usually placed within the call-to-action button, which in turn is situated near the bottom of the ad. Apart from trigger words, ads usually contain only a small amount of text or information about the product or service they promoted. The reasons for that are twofold, the first being the desire to save space and avoid distractions, while the second can be expressed with the adage that says that "a picture is worth a thousand words". However, it is important to note that most of the images from the corpus are neither particularly representative nor salient, as they usually contain a stock photo. Furthermore, there is a number of ads that feature a simple design implies only several words on a white background, written in generic font. The image accompanying these ads is usually also a stock photo. This subgroup of ads can be explained by the factors such as frugality and ease of creation, as one does not need to spend much money to these ads. Furthermore, as nowadays this kind of ads is not difficult to create, almost everyone with some degree of informatics knowledge can create one such ad. This in turn can lead to an increased number of such ads, as is evidenced by the corpus. It is also important to mention that the items within a corpus frequently portray people performing

various actions. This can be explained by the tendency of the consumers to subconsciously identify with the people using the product, and this identification is made stronger if the actors in the ad appear happy and content.

Regarding the second research question (What is the role of English as a global language in online ads in Croatian context?) and the use of English language within the corpus, it can be said that it is rich as it contains many different examples that are categorised into five subcategories. Furthermore, the English part of the corpus includes additional two subcategories that reveal some interesting features of English in the Croatian-language ads, such as the usage of the preposition "by". Additionally, English elements from the corpus were particularly diverse, as they ranged from only a single word, to phrases, slogans, brand names and even the whole sentences. The majority of ads that do use English language employ various features such as elision, metaphorical expressions and overuse of pronouns. In addition to that, there is a number of items that feature exaggerations and descriptions of the product as extraordinary and the best in its class, which seems to be a consistent feature of advertising discourse in general.

The analysis of the ads also shows that they often carry hidden meaning expressed by the combination of the aforementioned linguistic features and the accompanying discourse. Apart from using descriptive and metaphorical language, it should be noted that the corpus shows that in almost every case, the English names of brands, companies or products are retained in the Croatian language. This is in line with Cook (2001), who explains this as the advertisers' desire to keep the slogan which already possesses established connotations and image. An example of this are several car ads present in the corpus, as all of them featured the global slogan of the brand being advertised. The other feature noticeable in the English part of the corpus is the creation of new words, either by coinage or blending of two Croatian and/or English words. This is exemplified by the items from the last subcategory of the corpus. However, it should be noted that since the English features present in the corpus are so diverse, the presented categorisation should not be regarded as set in stone. Lastly, the analysis shows that the advertisers often use the English language as a way to appear more modern and attract the younger consumers.

Finally, based on the collected data, it can be concluded that online ads are characterised by the simplicity in terms of imagery and the absence of sound or animations. Furthermore, they feature imperatives and trigger word as devices which are likely to get the consumer to follow through on an ad. Apart from trigger words, they often offer a reward and promise entertainment. Although online ads in the study are characterised by a small amount of text and information about the product, this text is almost always emphasised, whether by capital letters or by boldface. Most of the ads are also characterised by some features from English language. These features are incredibly diverse, and include, but are not limited to, metaphors, word coinage, elisions, and repetitions. The usage of these features enhances the overall quality of the ad and makes it more appealing to the audience. Furthermore, these features, paired with the pictorial part of the ad, are responsible for creating hidden meanings in most of the items. The findings of the study also imply that there are several key reasons for the use of English language in online ads. Firstly, it increases the prestige of the product and implies that it is of higher quality. Secondly, it allows the advertisers to appear modern and in touch with the latest trends in advertising. Finally, when used in an ad, the qualities of the English language are transferred to the product, which is in turn viewed as modern and desirable.

Even though this thesis offers interpretations of a limited number of ads that contain elements of English in Croatian context, one should bear in mind that they are fluid, since they are based on an individual's perception of the linguistic and pictorial messages of the ads. If other consumers were to analyse the same ads, the interpretations might yield different results. Furthermore, the randomness of the sample has to be taken into the account, as the ads were collected within a certain period from a selected number of web sites. It is possible that the results would be different if a similar study was conducted only a few weeks later using three different news sites, although most likely the main principles and strategies of persuasion would remain the same. Finally, targeted advertising is also a factor that could have influenced the results, as advertisers tailor the ads to users based on elaborate factors, such as their previous browsing history. However, despite its limitations, the study is important as it explores some of the key features of English language present in online ads in Croatian context. It would be useful to conduct further research on a larger corpus, which would explore some other features of English language not listed in this study. Additionally, the larger corpus can be used to more precisely the influence of the English language on Croatian in the context of online advertising. Finally, the follow-up study should be comprehensive and include not only the detailed analysis of the linguistic, but the pictorial part of the corpus as well.

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