THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE ON COMMUNICATION AND PERSUASION IN ADVERTISING

by

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to both consumer research and sociolinguistics by applying and extending the sociolinguistic theory of language domains to advertising. Chapter 1 provides a review of some the existing language related consumer research and proposes in a theoretical framework the impact language variables can have on advertising communication and persuasion. Chapter 2 consists of a series of studies demonstrating that language domains are relevant to advertising evaluations and uncovers the underlying process that is driving these results. By uncovering the underlying process I also extend the current understanding of bilingualism's language processing effects on communication and uncover the psycholinguistics process underlying language domain theory. This research extends Luna and Peracchio's (2001) work by investigating bilingual language processing of single-language ads beyond message recall. Additionally, the research extends Koslow et al.'s (1994) findings, uncovering conditions in which minority language ads have superior evaluations.

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Introduction

"There are four ways, and only four ways, in which we have contact with the world. We are evaluated and classified by these four contacts: what we do, how we look, what we say, and how we say it."

-Dale Carnegie

"To have another language is to possess a second soul."

-Charlemagne

The role of marketing in commerce has been studied in the world of academia for decades. One of the key aspects of marketing is the interaction between the company and its past, current, and potential customers. This interaction can take place in many forms, but predominately requires the usage of language in order to facilitate the interaction. Until recently the choice of language itself has been considered a neutral variable within the company-customer interface. The goal of this dissertation is to illustrate the influence language has on these interactions, and to present a framework where one can assess the impact of language choice given the context of the marketing communication.

This dissertation is divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 provides a review of some the existing language-related consumer research, proposes some future language related research, and unifies this research into a theoretical framework. The goal of this framework is to provide a deeper understanding of how language variables impact advertising communication and persuasion.

With this understanding of the theoretical framework chapter 2 consists of a series of empirical studies demonstrating the impact of language choice in marketing communication. This chapter draws upon the sociolinguist theory of language domains, one of the language variables proposed in chapter 1, to explain and uncover the relevance of these domains to consumer advertisement evaluations and uncovers the underlying process that is driving these results.

Chapter 1: Influence of Language on Communication and Persuasion in Advertising

Language plays a vital role in our daily lives. It is our most important resource in our attempt to communicate our thoughts and feelings. Language is our tool that both binds us to our friends and family and also enables us to exclude those who are not our peers (Carroll 2004). Understanding language, its comprehension, production, acquisition, and the effect it has on society in terms of cultural norms and expectations is a daunting task. Making this task even more difficult is the fact that there are almost 7,000 unique languages around the world (Gordon 2005). The growth of the Internet and the expanding reaches of open markets have created an increasing world marketplace in which interacting with different linguistic communities is vital to one's ability to succeed. As a result of this linguistically diverse reality, marketers and consumers are becoming increasingly multilingual in their communications. Based on this, businesses have put considerable effort into understanding how to properly communicate across markets (Raman 2003). However, since most of these communication theories were developed primarily in Western cultures such as the US, relatively little is known about the impact of these multilingual environments on the traditional consumer based theoretical frameworks (Aaker and Durairaj 1997).

To help understand this multilingual environment's effect on marketing, there has been a surge in language based research focusing on topics such as languages' influence on: recall, attitude, and interest in ads (Tavassoli and Han 2001), perception of the message sender's sensitivity towards the reader's culture (Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone 1994), choice decisions (Briley, Morris, and Simonson 2005), ad persuasion

(Luna and Peracchio 2005), etc…. Despite the vast spectrum of topics that has been covered by this type of research, there is still much to be explored.

The basic goal of most marketing communications it is at its root to present information to potential customers. When designing a print ad two main decision areas need to be addressed; the ad content and the ad style (Messaris 1997). The ad content consists of the verbal statements of attribute possession and the visual depiction of objects, people, and setting. The ad style consists of the method or manner by which the ad content is expressed (Phillips and McQuarrie 2002). The decisions made about the ad's content and style will hopefully elicit favorable attitudes of the potential customers towards the advertised product or service. The hope is that these favorable attitudes towards the advertised product or service will lead to greater purchase likelihood (Priester and Petty 2003). To better understand how these ad elements communicate or persuade attitudes, researchers have studied a multitude of factors (such as source, message, recipient, etc...) to better understand how each element can impact attitudes and attitude change (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). The elaboration likelihood model, or ELM, is a model that attempts to integrate much of this persuasion research under one conceptual model (Priester and Petty 2003).

Since some form of language, whether it is written, verbal, or physical, is used in every human communication, we need to consider how the developing multilingual paradigm will influence communication and persuasion in advertising. Language, intrinsically, has a crucial role in this persuasion process and has thus far been ignored. The topic of how different language variables can influence communication persuasion is of great importance for marketers and consumer researchers since most of the world's

population speaks more than one language (Grosjean 1982). Despite this fact, relatively little research is available in this area. With volumes of consumer research dedicated to monolinguals, it is time for marketers to focus their attention on the future and realities of a multilingual, multicultural world and provide practical real world marketing solutions (Carroll, Luna, and Peracchio 2006). The purpose of this dissertation is to look at how various language variables can impact the decision making process in the future as we move towards a more multilingual, multicultural global society. By integrating these language variables with the ELM, we create a deeper understanding of how these variables can ultimately affect the persuasion and communication of advertisements.

In the first section of this chapter the ELM is described in limited detail (for more detailed description and understanding consult Petty and Cacioppo 1986). The chapter is then divided into three different sections. Each section represents a manner in which the ELM postulates that a message variable can affect the amount or direction of attitude changes. Within each section we will propose how language variables used within the new multilingual environment will have an impact on communication and persuasion in advertising. The sections will integrate established consumer behavior language variables and propose yet to be researched language variables with the ELM. By taking these propositions and integrating them with the ELM we can develop a further understanding of languages' impact on attitude and attitude change.

The Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion

One of the key underlying assumptions of the ELM is that people strive to have accurate attitudes. However, despite one's desire to hold accurate attitudes, the extent to which one thinks about issue relevant information when encountering a persuasion message, is a direct result of the individual's motivation and/or the individual's ability to engage in evaluating the message. Since every individual and situation is unique, motivation and/or ability can vary within and between individuals (Petty, Wegner, and Fabrigar 1997).

In the ELM the extent to which one thinks about issue relevant information is called one's elaboration. As a result of individual's motivation and ability, there is a spectrum of elaboration ranging from extremely high elaboration to extremely low, or no elaboration. Motivation variables are those that affect the person's conscious intentions and goals of processing the message. The extent to which one is motivated to process a message will be impacted by various factors about the message itself (e.g. personal relevance), the external environment in which the message is being presented (e.g. forewarning of message), and the message recipient (e.g. the person is high or low in need for cognition) (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). An individual's motivation will likely be highest when it is important to the individual to hold an accurate attitude. However, since people are inundated with hundreds of ad messages a day it is not practical, nor possible, for people to be motivated to elaborate on every message, so individuals commonly tend to act as "cognitive misers" (Taylor 1981); these individuals are said to have low elaboration.

The other factor influencing elaboration is ability. Similarly to motivation the ability to process a message will be impacted by various factors about the message itself

(e.g. message comprehension), the external environment in which the message is being presented (e.g. external distractions), and the message recipient (e.g. personal issue-relevant knowledge) (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). Unlike motivation, the ability variable in the ELM can affect the extent or direction of message scrutiny without necessarily conscious intent.

When motivation and ability are present, one's elaboration likelihood is said to be high and is considered the central route to persuasion. This high elaboration is likely to result in increased cognitive effort, the accessing of both internal and external relevant information, and the assessment of the true merits of the information presented (Petty et al. 1997). As a result of this high elaboration, individuals usually develop new arguments, and integrate the information into one's belief structure, or schema, towards that attitude object (Cacioppo and Petty 1984). Attitude formation and changes that result mostly from processing via the central route will show greater temporal persistence, will be a greater prediction of behavior, and have a greater resistance to counter persuasion than attitude changes that result from peripheral cues.

When motivation and/or ability are not present, one's elaboration likelihood is said to be low, and this is considered the peripheral route to persuasion. Under low elaboration there is a lack of cognitive activity spent evaluating the actual merits of the issue relevant arguments presented. Without evaluating the actual merits of the issue relevant arguments, attitudes will be formed by using affective and associative processes, various persuasion rules, or inferences (Petty et al.1997). It is important to note that even if cognitive activity is spent developing or employing associative processes, various persuasion rules, or inferences, the elaboration can still be considered low. Because as

long as there is a lack of cognitive activity spent evaluating the actual merits of the issue relevant arguments it is consider low elaboration, even if there is cognitive activity spent of other processes. Attitude changes that result mostly from processing via the peripheral route a likely be temporary, not very predictive of behavior, and will be susceptible to counter persuasions.

Message variables can affect the amount and direction of attitude change in three different ways. The first way is by serving as an argument. Arguments are pieces of information that are subjectively deemed relevant by the message recipient. The second way is by serving as peripheral cue. Peripheral cues are stimuli in the persuasion context that can affect attitude without necessitating cognitive activity spent evaluating the actual merits of the issue relevant arguments presented (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). As motivation and/or ability to process arguments decreases, the peripheral cues become a more important determinant of persuasion. Conversely, as argument scrutiny is increased, peripheral cues become relatively less important determinants of persuasion. The third way message variables can affect the amount and direction of attitude change are by affecting the extent or direction of issue and argument elaboration. This means the presence of a message variable can impact whether the message recipient will view the argument objectively or in a biased manner (Petty et al. 1997). Message variables that enhance motivation and/or the ability to process a message in a relatively objective manner will cause enhanced argument scrutiny and make the strength of an effective argument and the weakness of flawed arguments more apparent. However, the opposite is true for message variables that reduce, or bias, motivation and/or ability to process a message in a relatively objective manner; these variables will make the strength of an

effective argument and the weakness of flawed arguments less apparent. These biasing message variables can produce either positive or negative motivational and/or ability to the elaboration.

With this basic understanding of the ELM, we will now focus on how various multilingual language variables will impact the ad elements and ultimately influence one's elaboration likelihood.

In the following sections we will integrate established consumer behavior language variables and propose yet to be researched language variables with the ELM. This integration will outline how these language variables can ultimately impact communication and persuasion. As stated in the prior description of the ELM, message variables can affect the amount and direction of attitude change by a) serving as a persuasive argument, b) serving as a peripheral cue, and/or c) affecting the extent or direction of issue and argument elaboration by causing positive or negative bias (Petty and Cacioppo 1986).

Language Variables as Message Arguments

The ELM defines arguments as pieces of information within the communication that the message receiver determines relevant in developing their attitude. Because people are unique and every situation is unique, individuals may view the same persuasion attempt yet differ in the kind of information they deem relevant. The important point is that in the ELM, the term "argument" refers to any information contained in a message that the message receiver determines relevant, and this information can range from a

statement about the issue, to a message receiver's affective state. As long as the individual deems the information central to their attitude it is considered an argument. Since every situation is unique it is quite reasonable to suppose that affective or behavioral considerations are central to an individual in their determination of the merit of a message. The ELM recognizes that people can scrutinize or elaborate upon feelings and behaviors as well as beliefs if they are perceived central to the merit of the attitude object under consideration.

Having defined the argument variable, we will now show how some of the established consumer behavior language variables, as well as some yet to be researched language variables can have an impact on attitude argument variables within the ELM.

Accommodation

One of the pioneering studies focusing on language in a multilingual environment looked at the impact of using the Spanish language in advertising in the US. Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone's (1994) research found that the use of Spanish, or the minority subculture language, communicated a message about the advertiser's sensitivity to the Hispanic culture. This sensitivity to the Hispanic culture resulted in a significant and positive influence on the individual's attitude toward the advertisement (Koslow et al. 1994). These results can be explained by the linguistic theory of accommodation. The theory of accommodation predicts that the greater the amount of effort in accommodation one group perceives to put into their message, the more favorably the message will be perceived by listeners, and as a result the more effort they in turn will put into accommodating back to the speaker (Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1973).

For these bilinguals, the use of Spanish in an advertisement was viewed as accommodating to them by using their minority language. This accommodation was viewed as a piece of information and this information was then deemed relevant in determining the advocate's position. Therefore, by definition the use of the language became an argument within the persuasion message that was used to develop an attitude towards the product. As one can see, in this research the use of the minority language is viewed by the message receivers as a message argument within the persuasion attempt.

Code Switching Language

One result of two languages coexisting within the same community can be a phenomenon called code switching. Code switching is the mixing of two or more languages within a single utterance. Code switching in many bilingual communities is used on a daily basis in communication interactions (de Bot 2003; Grosjean 1997; Jordan 2004; Luna, Lerman, and Peracchio 2005). For many bilinguals code switching comes unconsciously, and often the speaker is unaware that they are switching from one language to another (Grosjean 1982).

Code switching can be viewed as a formal language since it has, like any formal language such as English or Spanish, certain structural rules that govern both the production and perception of the language (Luna, Lerman, & Peracchio, 2005; Myer-Scotton, 1993; 1995; Meyer-Scotton and Jake, 2000). Luna, Lerman, and Peracchio (2005) found that code switched ads that followed the structural rules that govern the production of code switching were more persuasive than ads that did not follow them. For example, one of the grammatical rules that was manipulated was noun-adjective

word order so that some respondents rated an ad in which the noun-adjective word order followed the correct code switching grammar, or rated the same ad slogan but with the incorrect noun-adjective word order.

Luna et al. (2005) found that the type of processing the respondent used moderated the advertisement's persuasion results. Their research found that when individuals imagined the action involved in the ad's narrative, the imagining may have led the respondents to "skip" code switched words, thus overlooking improper code switched grammar and the improper use of code switching grammar did not result in any difference in ad persuasion (Luna et al. 2005). This type of processing can be viewed as peripheral processing. Conversely, when the processing was focused on the message, or used the central route to persuasion, the improper use of grammar resulted in a significant decline in the slogan persuasiveness. This result again indicates how language variables, in this case improper code switching grammar can impact message persuasion as an argument variable.

Affect

People hold attitudes for many different reasons, people will invariably differ in the kind of information they feel is central to the merit of any position. The kind of information that is relevant to evaluating the central merit of a product or issue may vary from situation to situation. In some cases a determination of the central merits of an argument might entail an analysis of one's feelings or affective state.

A strategy advertisers will sometimes use in designing ads is the use of autobiographical memory self-referencing in hopes of creating an affective response.

This type of self-referencing ad is usually in the form of stories or narratives (Escalas 2007; Fiske 1993; Polkinghorne1991). These autobiographical memories, or narrative self-references, are part of a larger cognitive category of mental simulations (Escalas 2007). These mental simulations can take the form of rehearsal of future events, fantasizing about less likely future events, realistically re-experiencing past events, or reconstructing the past while mixing in hypothetical elements (Taylor and Schneider 1989). This type of self-referencing also enhances persuasion but not through facilitating elaboration of the incoming information, but instead through what is called transportation (Gerrig 1994; Green and Brock 2000). This type of self-referencing is effective because the narrative transportation creates an affective response and this affect in turn influences persuasion (Escalas 2007).

A study by Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004) analyzed autobiographical memories retrieved by bilingual-bicultural individuals, individuals that have internalized values and practices from two different cultures and speak two different languages, and their results indicate that the language spoken when retrieving an autobiographical memory influenced the participants' socio-cultural narratives. To understand the impact of language, on these autobiographical memories the study compared the amount of individualistic vs. collectivistic narratives based on the language spoken. The results of the analysis showed that when speaking English (an individualistic language) the respondents told more autobiographical memories, used more personal pronouns, and the autobiographical memories narratives were more self-oriented. The opposite was found for the respondents when they spoke in Russian (a collectivist language). Since the language that the respondent uses in the narrative provoked the differences in the

individualistic vs. collectivistic narratives this indicates that the cultural difference in self-construal and cultural value is primed by the language that the respondent uses in telling the autobiographical memories narratives. These results indicate that since each individual is capable of either response, both cultural frames must exist and be very stable and distinctive from one another. Moreover, these bilingual-biculturals expressed more intense affect when the language at the time of the autobiographic retrieval was consistent to the language used at the time when the event took place.

Based on these findings, it shows once again the impact that language can have as an argument within a message. These results coupled with the findings from the narrative self-referencing indicate that the affective state surrounding would be highest when the language of the ad and the language of the autobiographic retrieval are consistent. Additionally, if the ad is in an individualist language, such as English, this may help facilitate the autobiographical memories narratives to be more self-oriented increasing the likelihood that narrative transportation creates an affective response. Again the implication here is that the language is being used as an argument that is impacting the persuasion attempt.

Language Variables as Peripheral Cue

In the ELM a message variable can also be a peripheral cue. Peripheral cues refer to any stimuli within the persuasion message that can affect attitudes without the processing of the message arguments. Peripheral cues have an impact in developing attitudes when motivation and/or ability are not present. Most of these peripheral stimuli

will affect attitude change without dramatically affecting argument processing. Like message arguments the stimuli that can be used as a peripheral cue can range in nature. In some cases the stimuli may even influence attitudes by causing affective states that become associated with the attitude object. It is important to note that many of these peripheral cues will be used without the message receiver's conscious knowledge. For example, people may come to dislike a person more after an interaction in an uncomfortably hot room than in a comfortable one, but may not be aware of the connection (Griffitt and Veitch 1971). Gorn (1982) found using music created a simple affective cue to modify attitude towards a product when the personal relevance of an ad was low.

Language Associations

Many times peripheral stimulus has an impact when the message receiver either conserves their cognitive resources or expends cognitive resources on another task. One result is that the message receiver will use extraneous cues that may have no intrinsic link to the message for their attitudes. For example, one might use the music in the background, the attractiveness of the spokesperson, etc. Another stimulus that could be used as a cue is the language itself. Advertisers may use a language as a linguistic symbol that creates positive associations in the mind of the receivers of the advertisement (Kelly-Holmes 2005). An assumption is that the associations individuals have about a language can be transferred to the product when the product is advertised in that language. Hornikx, van Meurs and Starren (2007) showed how the association people have for a language can be transferred to the advertisement that uses that language. For example, for

the French language the associations made were ‘beautiful’, ‘elegant’, and ‘simple’. However, for the German language, association like ‘businesslike’, ‘reliable’, and ‘boring’ were prevalent. In Hornikx et al. (2007) the more positive language associations the higher the ad appreciation, therefore language might be a heuristic used under low elaboration to evaluate a persuasion message. In this scenario the language being used is having an impact as a peripheral variable.

Language Frames

In addition to the association of the language, a language can also activate a mental schema, and within this schema certain persuasion rules, or inferences, maybe more accessible. As described before, the use of a persuasion rule or inference is typical when a stimulus is used as a peripheral cue. The Sapir- Whorf hypothesis states that the language we speak influences the way we see the world (Whorf 1956). In fact, for bilingual bicultural individuals the use of language has been shown to result in differences in behavioral decision making (Briley, Morris, and Simonson 2005), cognitive styles (Marian and Kaushanskaya 2004), individual’s reports of mood, and aspects of their self description as well as supposed chronic measures of self-esteem (Ross, Xun, and Wilson 2002). These results can be linked to the fact that many of these individuals have distinct behavioral tendencies that are strongly associated with a particular language (Phinney 1996). Therefore, a bilingual bicultural individual may think or feel differently when speaking one language over another due to the cultural values and ideals that are tied to that particular language (Marian and Kaushanskaya 2004).

Briley and Aaker (2006) found that cultural-based persuasion effects occurred when information is processed in the cursory, spontaneous manner, or used the peripheral route to persuasion. The influence of cultural judgments exerted its strongest effects when people gave their immediate reactions to advertisements because, these judgments are based on initial impressions and formed on the basis of chronically associable, commonly used constructs (e.g. cultural knowledge). Since the language affected attitude change when the information was processed in a cursory, or spontaneous, way this again shows language being used as a peripheral cue.

Language Domains

In this section we have shown how language can be used as a peripheral cue based on the associations one has with the language, and based on the activation of the cultural persuasion rule. In addition to those processes, language can be a peripheral cue by affecting processing fluency. Processing fluency is a metacognitive experience that accompanies individuals' thought process. These metacognitive experiences are then used as information for judgments and decision making (Schwarz 2004). Enhanced processing fluency has been found to be misattributed to liking, resulting in a preference for the recognized target (Bornstein 1989; Jacoby, Kelley and Dywan 1989; Reber, Winkielman, and Schwarz 1998).

Different manipulations to enhance processing fluency have been used such as changes in the figure-ground contrast (Reber et al. 1998), use of different colors (Reber and Schwarz 1999), and other physical features (Jacoby and Dallas 1981). According to processing fluency if a target (e.g., brand name, logo, text, etc.) can be processed more

easily, the metacognitive experience of processing fluency will result in a more favorable attitude toward the target (Lee 2004).

By studying bilinguals in multilingual settings, linguists have uncovered the factors that would lead bilinguals to use either of their languages in a particular occasion. The framework that examines the various factors that account for the appropriate language for a particular situation is called language domains (Fishman 1964; 1965; 1968; 1971; Goebel 2005; Nishimura 1993). The framework of language domains is based on sociolinguistic studies that observed bilinguals in various multilingual speech communities around the world (e.g., Coulmas 2005, Goebel 2005; Nishimura 1993; Yeh, Chan, and Cheng 2004). According to the language domain framework for bilinguals, there is proper use of a language at a particular time and place, and surrounding particular contents. As a result, bilinguals use particular words (belonging to certain content areas) more often in one language than another, so that the use of another language in these content areas may not lead to a positive reaction (Grosjean 1982).

Therefore, the proper usage of a language in persuasion contexts may lead to a fluency of words in the various languages spoken by bilinguals when the words relate to those contents. Such greater accessibility could result in processing fluency effects. These fluency effects would then lead consumers to experience an affective metacognitive state. These affective states may then be associated with the persuasion attempt affecting the message receiver's attitude in a persuasion context. This positive affective state is a result again of the language acting as a peripheral cue.

Code Switching

In addition, the language as a peripheral cue, the switching between two languages, or code switching could also be a peripheral cue. There are many different reasons for using code switching within an utterance, but one of the main reasons found for code switching is to emphasize a point or make salient the word or phrase within the conversation (Grosjean 1982).

In Luna and Perachhio's (2005) code switching research, the act of code switching had an impact by making the code switched word more salient to the reader. According to the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1991; 1993; 1999), the code switched element becomes marked because it is in contrast with the language context created by the rest of the phrase or utterance.

Perceptual salience of an object is the degree to which the object is more easily identified compared to the rest of the context. One can make information more salient by using different colors or sizes of type (e.g., using larger font in a color which contrasts with the other information presented) (Bettman, Payne, and Staelin 1986). In most consumer environments, the salience of different information varies widely, making some information identified more easily (Hutchinson and Alba 1991). In the past, issues of information salience surfaced in the public policy arena in the attempt to create the most effective warning labels and nutrition information (see e.g., Bettman, Payne, and Staelin 1986; Popper and Murray 1989).

This markedness is very similar to the concept of perceptual salience in that both are a result of an object becoming more salient because it stands out from the surrounding context. One contrast is that for a markedness language element the perceived saliency is due to the language context and not the visual context. The markedness of the element

will be caused by the individual's prior experience, expectations, or from other foci of attention (Fiske and Taylor 1984; Luna and Peracchio 2005). Due to code switching's prevalent use within certain language communities, for example Hispanics in the US, code switching has found its way into advertising targeting those populations (Luna et al. 2005).

Luna and Perachhio (2005) found that when code switching was used in ad slogans the product evaluations were based on the individual's positive or negative language schema of the code switched element within an ad slogan. This was attributed to the code switched word becoming marked, or more salient, much like the use of perceptual salience used in advertising.

When viewed through the framework of the ELM, results of the code switching found in Luna and Peracchio (2005) could be a result of the individual's attitude being affected by associative process. Due to this associative process individuals are likely to infer or associate their attitude towards the language and use it for developing their attitude towards the product. This is different from the biasing, which we will describe in more detail later, because in this scenario the individual is not taking their positive/negative feeling towards the language and looking for positive/negative arguments within the message. Instead in this scenario they are actually only taking their positive feelings towards the language and using those feelings as a cue about how they feel about the product without regard the message.

Language Variables Determining Extent or Direction of Processing

The last way a language variable can affect persuasion is by determining the extent or the direction of message processing. By affecting the direction of message processing the variables are either causing the message recipient to process in an objective or biased manner. Biased processing means that the variable either motives or enables the message recipient to generate skewed thoughts, or inhibit neutral thoughts in response to a message argument. Where as objective processing means either motivate or enable the subject to see the strengths of sound logical arguments and weaknesses of a flawed argument. The message variable can also affect the extent to which one processes. The extent refers to how the variable can impact the individual's motivation or ability to process the message.

Accents

As we have seen, language can be used as information; as a statement about the message sender's intentions, and language can also be used as a peripheral variable effecting judgments. Now we will show how language or accent can bias the message receiver. One way language can bias the message receiver, is based on the individual's pre-categorizations of the speech, style, or accent of the message's advocate. These pre-categorizations are based on the message receiver's own socialization and cultural values (Tajfel 1981). In fact many empirical studies have found that when two individuals interact for the first time the language used by each individual will be primarily used to evaluate each other (e.g. Giles and Powesland 1975; Bourhis and Sachdev 1984). In an effort to uncover people's attitudes towards languages within a given language community Lambert, Frankel, and Tucker (1966) studied attitudes towards French and

English languages in Montreal, Quebec. They asked monolingual English speakers and monolingual French speakers to evaluate the personalities of different recorded two and a half minute passages. The same passages were read in both English and French. Unbeknownst to the monolingual participants evaluating the recordings, the readers of the passages were the same, fluent bilingual individuals reading both the English and French version of the passage. Therefore there is no difference in personality between the English and the French readers, making the respondents personality rating an indication of their view of the language and not the person. The English monolinguals rated the English readers higher on 13 out of 14 personality traits. The personality traits evaluated were such things as intelligence, dependability, kindness, ambition, leadership, self-confidence, and likeability. The only trait the French readers were rated higher on was sense of humor. The interesting results were that the French participants rated the English reader higher than the French speakers in every trait expect religiousness and kindness. In fact, the French rated the English speaker higher than the English raters rated the English readers (Lambert et al. 1966).

On the surface these results may seem shocking, but it shows the results of attitudes that are developed within a community when two languages coexist. In most communities in which two languages exist one language used politically, economically, and culturally. A negative attitude is then developed for the minority group that is not in power and prestige by the majority group. This attitude is usually then amplified by the minority group which often downgrades themselves more than the majority group does (Grosjean 1982). These findings are not just limited to different languages, but also occur with language style and accent (Foon 1986; Lalwani, Lwin, and Li 2005). Accents many

times will convey certain information about the speaker which in turn creates an impression of the speaker (Strum, Klassen, and Bechtold 1988). Therefore because of this, the speech, style, or accent of the message will bias the message receiver toward the argument information helping or hindering in the persuasion process based on the receiver's attitude towards the language.

Language Directionality

One way a language variable can impact the extent to which one elaborates is by influencing the comprehension of a message argument. One of the ways language can have this effect is by altering the visual elements of a communication.

Visual elements play a vital role in communicating ideas in advertising (McQuarrie and Mick 1999). Research on the properties of visual elements in advertisements has shown that the stylistic properties of the advertisements' visual material can communicate descriptive concepts that affect perceptions (Peracchio and Levy 2005). The stylistic properties of an ad refer to a variety of factors that affect the manner in which the visual material is displayed; such as the orientation of objects displayed vertically or diagonally (Meyrowitz 1998). The ability of stylistic properties of an ad to communicate descriptive concepts is a result of "learned pictorial conventions or analogies that are shared among viewers and can be grounded in common observations" (Peracchio and Levy 2005 p.29; Dondis 1973; Kreitler and Kreitler 1972; Messaris 1997). This means that the ad's stylistic properties may create divergent meanings between people, but usually converge among individuals within a given culture since

these viewers have shared common observations (Hatcher 1974; Kreitler and Kreitler 1972).

Languages can differ in their writing symbols, such as alphabetic vs. logographic, but more significantly they can also differ in these writing symbol's directionality. Directionality can be defined as the normal orientation of the writing symbols. In most contemporary writing systems, the directionality is internally unidirectional, meaning they are presented and read in one direction only (Starr 2005). The most common way to present and read a writing system is left to right, as in English and Spanish; however there are other types of directionality such as right to left, as in Arabic and Hebrew, and top to bottom combined with right to left, as in Mongolian (Coulmas 1996).

Since language is a significant shared, common learned element of culture, language directionality may influence the way one interprets these stylistic properties. For example, if an individual continually reads from top to down and left to right, that individual will have an unconscious sense that the top left corner is visually where one should begin looking at an image. However, if the individual's language is written and read from top to down and right to left, the individual will have an unconscious sense that the top right corner is visually where one should begin looking at an image.

Many ads depend on the anticipated movement of reading, but are ethnocentric in their view. For example, Scott (1994) describes a Max Factor ad in which the arrangement of the visual elements depended on the "normative" practices of reading the ad, with "normative" describing the ethnocentric western view of reading ads. Typically the visual placements of words and pictures are strategically placed by the advertisers in an effort to communicate their message arguments in the most persuasive manner

possible. However, if ads are replicated in other languages, languages that differ in directionality of writing symbols the strategic placement of the message arguments will no longer flow as planned. This effect on the visual elements of a communication can lower comprehension of the ad lowering the ability in which the message arguments are processed.

Visuals and Word Play

In addition to language directionality, language can also diverge in the use of vowels and consonants. For instance, the current Hebrew alphabet still follows much of the traditional Biblical Hebrew guidelines, in which vowels are normally not indicated. In these languages vowels are usually inferred from the combination of letters or from the context of the written passage instead of formal letters. This phenomenon is also true of the Arabic language. Since the Arabic language is ranked as one of the most influential languages in the world with over 200 million native Arabic speakers (Weber 1997), this is a very relevant issue for advertisers to understand. This is not to say that the Hebrew and Arabic languages never use vowels in their texts, there are occasions in which the vowels will be used. In the case of the Hebrew language it is usually a result of weak consonant combinations with a previous vowel causing the vowel to become silent. However, in the Arabic language short vowels are generally not written, but are sometimes used when the word would otherwise be ambiguous and could not be resolved simply from context (Garry and Rubino 2001). Since the context and surroundings of the words have a vital role in words meaning interpretation, a larger emphasis must be placed on the surrounding context such as other text as well as graphics and pictures.

The use of rhetorical figures such as metaphor or rhyme is a type of word play that is used regularly in ads (Grinnell 1987). Advertising resonance is the play or twist on words within an ad's structure that serves to produce multiple meanings to its message receiver (McQuarrie 1989). One of the more commonly used forms of resonance is when the wordplay is combined with a relevant picture to create ambiguity and incongruity (McQuarrie and Mick 1996). In McQuarrie and Mick (1996) they found that about 15% of all magazine print ads used in top magazines used this type of resonance. The reason for using this type of resonance is that it often has a positive impact on ad liking. However, one caveat to this positive effect is that it is dependent on the ability of the message recipient to adequately comprehend the resonance placed in an advertisement (McQuarrie and Mick 1996).

With languages such as Hebrew and Arabic having such a strong dependence on the surrounding context, the common practice of resonance in print advertising, that intentionally creates ambiguity and incongruity, will likely inhibit the message receipts ability to adequately comprehend the message. Therefore, use of resonance in print advertisement under these circumstances may in fact cause decreased comprehension. As discussed with language directionality this decreased comprehension can then result in a reduced ability of the message recipient influencing the elaboration of the argument.

General Discussion

In this paper we have discussed many different ways that language can have an impact on message persuasion. We have shown how language can be used as an argument, a peripheral cue, and used to affect the extent and direction of elaboration on a

persuasion message. These proposed affects of language are by no means exhaustive, these are just a few examples used to illustrate languages yet unexamined influence on persuasion.

One of the important factors to consider when interpreting these propositions is that each situation and person is unique. Because of this uniqueness the same language variable might be considered a persuasive argument for one person, a peripheral cue for another person, and might impact the extent or direction of elaboration for yet another person. For example, the first proposition that was made stated that the use of the minority language in a persuasion attempt could be seen as accommodating and thus seen as a persuasive argument for a positive attitude. That same use of the minority language in a persuasion attempt could be viewed by another individual and that language use could activate a language based schema. This schema could then activate persuasion rules, or inferences used in the peripheral processing of the persuasion attempt. For another individual the use of the language could bias the message receiver based on the individual's pre-categorizations of the language. This bias then ultimately influences their attitude in regards to the persuasion attempt. The key point here is that there is not a definitive answer to the validity of each argument.

This chapter showed the impact of language choice on persuasion, and sought to articulate the various effects the use and choice of language can have in a multilingual environment. In the next chapter we use a series of empirical studies to demonstrate the impact language domains, one of the language variables proposed in this chapter, on communication and persuasion in advertising. These studies demonstrate the impact of

language domains on communication and persuasion, and uncover the underlying processes that are driving the results.

Chapter 2: The Influence of Language Domains in Advertising

In countries around the world, increased exposure to multiple languages has created a multilingual environment that is becoming more prevalent in consumer-based interactions. For example, today in the US, over 300 languages are spoken by the population (Grimes 2000). With the Hispanic population representing 14% of the total US population and nearly one trillion in buying power (Downey 2007), businesses are becoming more aware of the growth and economic power of the multilingual population, and are trying to understand the implications of this growing community.

In an effort to capture this growing bilingual market, companies like General Motors, H&R Block, Chase Manhattan Bank, and politicians like New York City's mayor Michael Bloomberg have all run ads in Spanish trying to target the Hispanic population. Citibank recently ran advertisements with an emotional and family oriented appeal, some of which were exclusively in Spanish. For example, two of the ads said, "Si escriben un libro sobre tu vida, que no sea de economía." (Translation: "If they write a book on your life, it shouldn't be about economics.") or "Qué les vas a contar a tus nietros? Dinero?" (Translation: "What are you going to tell your grandsons about? Money?"). Despite this increased use of Spanish language in advertising, consumer research has not fully explored the impact that Spanish languages can have on message processing. Surprisingly, much of past research in marketing communications has focused on one single language or on monolinguals and how they process information (Usunier 1996), generally ignoring the language of communications with bilingual consumers. This leaves many unanswered questions about how to effectively

communicate to this growing multilingual community. One question that is of particular interest in our research is: Under what circumstances should advertisements be translated to the targeted Hispanic bilingual target population's native language of Spanish?

In recent years, in an effort to fill the dearth of knowledge in this area, there has been greater focus on language research in marketing journals. For example, research has investigated impact of code-switching on ad persuasion (Luna, Lerman, and Peracchio 2005; Luna and Peracchio 2005), the effect of gender agreement on brand names (Yorkston and De Mello 2005), and the influence that different language processing styles have on recall of and attitude toward an advertisement (Tavassoli and Lee 2003; Zhang and Schmitt 1998).

In Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone's (1994) sociolinguistic research, U.S. Hispanics' response to the use of the Spanish language in advertising was investigated. The results indicated that, in general, advertisers should use a mixture of the minority language and the majority language to balance the connotations of each language. Koslow et al. (1994) thus began to consider the potential impact of language use on ad evaluations. In Luna and Peracchio (2001) psycholinguistic research, bilinguals' recall for advertisements was influenced by which language the bilingual was most proficient in. Their results indicated that second-language advertisements result in inferior recall as compared to first language advertisements, but the effect was moderated by picture-text congruency. Although not explicitly explored in that research, the findings suggest that knowledge could be more accessible in one language than in another. Our research extends those two articles by exploring content-related factors that should guide language choice in advertising to bilingual markets.

Using the established sociolinguistic platform of Koslow et al. (1994) and psycholinguistic platform of Luna and Peracchio (2001) the focus of this paper is to explicitly investigate how the use of different languages can alter the accessibility of certain concepts in bilinguals. We suggest that the effect of matching ad content to the concepts made accessible by the ad's language can lead to higher evaluations of the advertisement. In study 1, we show that ads can lead to higher evaluations in one language over another depending on the ads' content. More specifically, for Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S., we find that when an ad is shown in Spanish (English) and the ad's content area is associated with the Spanish (English) domain, ad evaluations are higher than when the same ad is in English (Spanish). In study 2, we show that, for bilinguals, the language of a word can affect the word's accessibility, suggesting that study 1's results could be due to processing fluency. This study shows how the everyday usage of a language in different contexts can lead to greater accessibility of words in the various languages spoken by bilinguals when the words relate to those contexts. Such greater accessibility results in processing fluency effects, which lead consumers to experience an affective metacognitive state that influences ad evaluations. In study 3 we further investigate processing fluency as the driver of our results in study 1. Taken together, all of the studies suggest that the language of an ad can affect the accessibility of the ad information, resulting in the experience of processing fluency. This processing fluency then results in a positive affective reaction to the ads.

Language Domains

An important concept in sociolinguistic research on bilingualism is what linguists refer to as "language domains." Sociolinguistic research on language domains (Fishman 1964; 1965; 1968; 1971; Goebel 2005; Nishimura 1993) examines the various factors that account for the appropriate language for a particular situation. Fishman (1965) in his seminal work defines language domains as the context that dictates the 'proper' usage, or common usage, of one of the available languages or language varieties that is chosen by interlocutors on particular occasions to discuss a particular content (Fishman 1965). In other words, the language domain framework seeks to answer to the question of what factors influence language choice in a multilingual setting; for example, the factors that would lead bilingual Hispanics in the U.S. to use either English or Spanish in a particular occasion.

The framework of language domains is based on sociolinguistic studies that observed bilinguals in various multilingual speech communities around the world (e.g., Coulmas 2005, Goebel 2005; Nishimura 1993; Yeh, Chan, and Cheng 2004). Through observation of various multilingual speech communities, the language domain theory was established. By observing the interactions of multilinguals in different speech communities, ethnographers were able to uncover underlying patterns that repeatedly emerged and dictated the proper use of a language at a particular time and place, and surrounding particular contents.

The concept behind language domains was brought to the forefront by Schmidt-Rohr classic work ([1932]1963), in an attempt to understand the varying uses of German languages in a pre-Second World War multilingual setting. Schmidt-Rohr (1963), and other investigators who later added to Schmidt-Rohr's work, charted and compared

language choices in multiple settings and identified key variables that dictated the language choice. These variables helped to explain language usage and attempted to define major interaction situations that occur in multilingual settings. It has been found that the proper use of a language, as dictated by a language domain, is so ingrained into a multilingual that the appropriate language is usually chosen unconsciously with no extra time or effort (Grosjean 1982).

One of the main factors identified in the language domain framework is the content of the discourse. Content of discourse is comprised of two variables: type of vocabulary and content. Type of vocabulary simply refers to the uniqueness of words that some languages may posses surrounding a certain topics that other languages may not possess. For example, many of the Spanish words dealing with food preparation have no direct English translation; therefore, discussions surrounding cooking traditional Hispanic dishes rarely occur in English.

Content refers to the subject matter that the bilingual parties are discussing. In language domain research, five main content areas have been found to consistently arise in multilingual communities: family and friends, work, school, church, and government. The content areas of family and friends and church commonly fall into the domain of the minority language. The content area of work, school, and government commonly fall into the domain of the majority language. Since people tend to move to areas where they have family or people they know, for many bilinguals the use of the minority language becomes the language of their home life or of the community in which they live. The use of the minority language in these contexts can be the result of many different reasons ranging from a bilingual having learned to discuss a content in a particular language, the

language's lack of specialized terms for the chosen content, or simply because use of the language to discuss the content would be considered strange or inappropriate based on the norms of that language community (Grosjean 1982). This would suggest that bilinguals have learned from an early age to deal with certain contents in a particular language, and that there is probably an ease with which a bilingual can discuss certain content in a particular language over another. Since it is the case that the bilingual uses particular words more often in one language than another, these situations will result in greater comfort when discussing content in one language over another.

Language Domains in Advertising

In sociolinguistics, the impact of content area on language choice has been repeatedly observed and examples of language choice being based on content area are wide-ranging. Recent work by Winter and Pauwels (2000) re-emphasizes the impact of family, home, and church on language choice. Language domain research establishes that there is a greater ease and comfort in discussing certain contents in one language over another. Much of the sociolinguistic research done in the area of language domains has used ethnographic or observational methodologies, where as we will extend this research by using empirical methodologies to show both the existence and the effect of language domains on ad processing.

Consumer research following a sociolinguistic approach has explored the question of what language should be used in advertising targeting bilinguals. For instance, Koslow et al.'s (1994) research indicated that, in general, advertisers should use a mixture of the

minority language and the majority language, and that attitudes towards ads using only the minority language will be the lowest (vs. bilingual or majority language ads). We extend Koslow et al.'s (1994) findings by uncovering conditions in which the ads using only the minority language will actually have higher evaluations. Additionally, while Koslow et al. (1994) explained their results based on bilinguals' language and advertiser perceptions, we consider the typical use of a language in varying contexts as a determiner of attitudes toward ads in each of the two languages of a bilingual. This research therefore extends the current understanding of bilingualism's effect on advertising by uncovering additional antecedents to effectively communicating to bilinguals.

In Luna and Peracchio's (2001) psycholinguistic research, bilinguals' recall for advertisements was influenced by which language the bilingual was most proficient in. Their results were explained by the Revised Hierarchical Model, or RHM. The RHM model describes how bilingual individuals process words corresponding to two languages. The model suggests that the meaning of words processed in bilinguals' most proficient language is more easily processed than the meaning of words in their less proficient language. Luna and Peracchio's (2001) findings show that, while this may generally be true, that main effect is moderated by ad design factors, like the use of congruent pictures. Although not directly addressed in that research, the findings imply that the meaning of a word may be more accessible in bilinguals' most proficient language. In our research, we focus on the issue of knowledge accessibility. In particular, we investigate the interaction between surface/perceptual features of a word and the meaning (semantic and pragmatic) of that word. That is, we argue that words will be more accessible when the language in which they are coded is the language typically used

to discuss a particular domain. While Luna and Peracchio (2001) implicitly investigated the accessibility of meaning in one language versus another, depending on language proficiency, we explicitly investigate the accessibility of words in one language versus another depending on the context. Also, while Luna and Peracchio's (2001) showed a difference in recall as a result of language use, we extend the literature by investigating ad evaluations.

As discussed, this research extends previous bilingual research by exploring content-related factors that should guide language choice in advertising to bilingual markets. We also extend existing language domain theory by using an experimental methodology to show the existence of language domains and their effect on advertising effectiveness, and by uncovering the psycholinguistic process underlying the language domain theory, which is a sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Finally, we also extend the processing fluency literature (Jacoby and Dallas 1981; Schwarz 2004). Our research shows how the everyday usage of a language in different contexts can lead to greater accessibility of words in the various languages spoken by bilinguals when the words relate to those contexts. Such greater accessibility results in processing fluency effects, which lead consumers to experience an affective metacognitive state that influences ad evaluations. This process will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

The above discussion of language domains leads us to study one. In our studies, we focused on a particular bilingual population—Spanish-English Hispanic bilinguals, due to their relevance in the U.S. market (Benson 2001; Koslow et al. 1994; Luna and Peracchio 2005). However, our findings can extend to any bilingual population. The

purpose of study one is to investigate whether ads that use the appropriate language for the language domain content area will be preferred over ads that do not use the appropriate language for the language domain content area. More specifically, for Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S., we predict that when an ad is shown in Spanish and the ad's content area is associated with the Spanish domain (i.e., friends and family), ad evaluations will be higher than when the same ad is in English. Similarly, when an ad is shown in English and the ad's content area is associated with the English domain (i.e., work), ad evaluations will be higher than when the same ad is in Spanish.

Study 1

The goal of study 1 is to uncover if language domain theory can help predict the language that will be more effective for ads targeting bilinguals. Since bilinguals use particular words (belonging to certain content areas) more often in one language than another, advertisements that follow the language domain norms should result in higher evaluations. As discussed earlier, bilinguals learn to discuss certain content areas in a particular language, so the use of another language in these content areas may not lead to a positive reaction (Grosjean 1982).

Method

An experiment was conducted in which two factors were manipulated between-subjects: language and content area. The instructions, ad evaluations, demographic

information, language proficiency scales and advertisements were presented in the same language, either in English or Spanish, and the ad copy was manipulated to reflect a work or a friends and family content area.

Stimuli. The study material consisted of three print ads: a cell phone ad, a furniture store ad, and an Internet provider ad. All advertisements included a picture with text located above and below the picture. The ads were pretested in focus groups to ensure that they were realistic and understandable, and that the Spanish words were common to the different variants of Spanish that potential respondents might speak. The advertisements consisted primarily of text and contained no explicit cultural cues. All advertisements were written in English and translated to Spanish by a fluent native speaker. The content areas of work and friends and family were chosen since a great deal of advertising is centered on these areas compared to, for example, the church or government domains. Every respondent saw the same advertisement with at most five words changed across conditions. The changed words had the effect of manipulating the content of the advertisements from a family and friends ad to a work-related advertisement and vice versa. By simply changing one or two words of text, the content area for each advertisement was changed, while keeping all the other material the same.

Respondents. A total of 56 English-Spanish bilinguals participated in the study. The respondents consisted of 18 males (6 born in US and 12 born outside US) and 38 females (12 born in US and 26 born outside US). All respondents were highly proficient in both languages, scoring above 3.67 on a self administered five-point 22 item language

proficiency scale adapted from Luna and Peracchio (2001). In this research, we define a person as a bilingual if they could perform various tasks in each language. These tasks include understanding cooking directions, reading popular novels without using a dictionary, filling out a job application form requiring information about their interests and qualifications, or writing a letter to a friend. All respondents had at least a high school diploma. The respondents were of various different national origins (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the US). Respondents received course credit for their participation.

Procedure. Respondents received a booklet that includes the three experimental ads and several filler ads. The order of the ads was varied. Respondents were randomly assigned to each cell. Half of the respondents were given booklets containing instructions and the advertisements in English. The other half was given booklets containing instructions and the advertisements in Spanish. Respondents were asked to view the advertisements one at time. After viewing each advertisement the respondents were asked to provide their ad evaluations on a series of scales, indicating their liking of the advertisement. Ad evaluations were collected on a seven-point five item scale (Dislike very much / Like very much, Very bad / Very good, Very unpleasant / Very pleasant, Not at all satisfactory / Very satisfactory, Very unfavorable / Very favorable), where higher scores meant more favorable evaluations. An advertisement evaluation index was formed for each advertisement by averaging responses to the evaluation scales (α = .964). After viewing all the advertisements, respondents filled out demographic and language fluency

scales. Finally, respondents completed a check to confirm that they typically used English (Spanish) in work (friend / family) situations and were dismissed.

To ensure the respondents did not guess the purpose of the study, each respondent was asked to write any thoughts or comments about what they thought the study was about. No respondent was able to guess the purpose of the study.

Results and Discussion

To verify that the language typically used by our respondents in the two content areas corresponded correctly with our manipulations, the participants were asked to answer questions about their language use. The respondents rated their language use on a seven-point scale where 1= Never and 7 =Always. When asked what language is spoken at home, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish $M = 5.75$ vs. English $M = 4.32$; $t(55) = 4.04$, $p < .001$). When asked what language is spoken at work, English was the dominant answer (English $M = 6.17$ vs. Spanish $M = 3.69$; $t(55) = -7.34$, $p < .001$). When asked what language is most comfortable to speak with family and friends, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish $M = 5.96$ vs. English $M = 3.68$; $t(55) = 6.64$, $p < .001$).

The results were analyzed as a 2 (Language: Spanish or English) x 2 (Content Area: Work or Family and Friend) between-subject ANOVA (see table 1 for means and standard deviations).

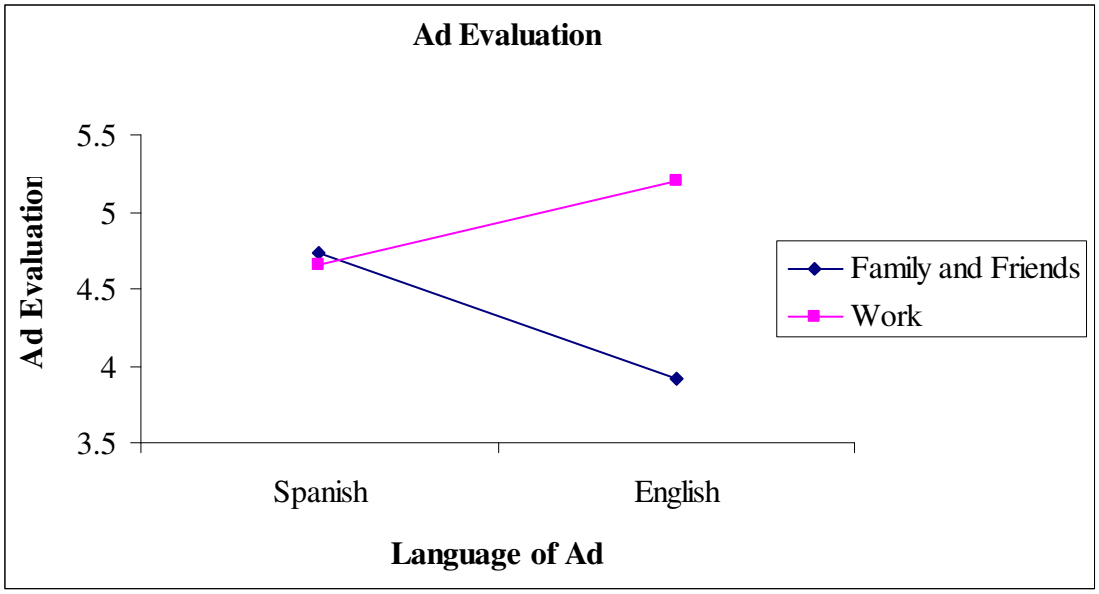
Table 1: Language Domain Effect on Ad Evaluation

	Family & Friend		Work	
	Spanish	**English**	**Spanish**	**English**
Ad Evaluations:	4.739	3.913	4.659	5.207
	(0.227)	(0.219)	(0.219)	(0.212)

Note- Standard Deviations are in parenthese.

The goal of this study was to find if ad evaluations would be higher when ad language is congruent with language domain content area. Ad replication did not interact with any of the factors (F's < 1), so we formed evaluation indices for each condition. The evaluation index yielded a two-way interaction between language and content area ($F(1, 52) = 10.33$, $p < .01$). These results confirm the expectations. When an ad is shown in the linguistic minority language and the ad's content area is associated with the linguistic minority language domain, the ad evaluation will be higher than the same ad in the majority language (Friends and Family ad minority language $M = 4.74$ vs. Friend and Family ad majority language $M = 3.91$; $F(1, 25) = 5.39$, $p < .05$). Also confirming expectations, when an ad is shown in the majority language and the ad's content area is associated with the majority language domain, the ad evaluation will be higher than the same ad in the minority language (Work ad majority language $M = 5.21$ vs. Work ad minority language $M = 4.66$; $F(1, 27) = 4.95$, $p < .05$) see figure 1.

Figure 1: Language Domain Effect on Ad Evaluation (Study 1)



The results of study 1 extend Koslow et al. (1994) by showing that minority-language (i.e., Spanish) ads can result in higher evaluations than majority-language (i.e., English) ads in some situations. Our results indicate that advertisements are evaluated higher when the advertisements language matches the language in which the content of the ad is typically discussed than when it is not. This study contributes to the existing research by finding the parameters within which the use of the minority language will be effective.

The next step in this analysis is to investigate the processes that are driving the higher evaluations for Spanish ads in friends and family domains and English ads in work domains. One plausible explanation for these results is that the typical use of a language in a particular domain makes domain-specific knowledge more accessible in that language, leading to fluency effects on evaluations.

The Role of Processing Fluency

The results of study 1 indicates that when the language used in the ad matches the language typically used to discuss the domain content of the ad it results in higher evaluations. The higher evaluations are possibly a result of the language used in the ad making the domain-specific knowledge may be more accessible. This increased accessibility could be then leading to fluency effects on evaluations.

Mere exposure research has shown that recent and repeated exposure to a target renders the target more readily accessible in memory; in turn, this increased accessibility enhances the ease with which people identify and recognize the target in subsequent

encounters (Jacoby and Dallas 1981). This process is referred to as processing fluency. This processing fluency is a metacognitive experience that accompanies individuals' thought process. These metacognitive experiences are then used as information. Individuals draw on this information for judgments and decision making (Schwarz 2004). Enhanced processing fluency is then misattributed to liking, resulting in a preference for the recognized target (Bornstein 1989; Jacoby, Kelley and Dywan 1989; Reber, Winkielman, and Schwarz 1998).

It has been shown that this enhanced processing fluency can influence affective judgments of a target without being a result of repeated exposure. That is, fluency leads to positive affect, which then can influence target object evaluations positively. Different manipulations to enhance processing fluency have been used such as changes in the figure-ground contrast (Reber et al. 1998), use of different colors (Reber and Schwarz 1999), and other physical features (Jacoby and Dallas 1981). This enhanced processing fluency then results in an more positive affective judgment of the target. Therefore, if the target (e.g., brand name, logo, text, etc.) can be more easily processed, the metacognitive experience of processing fluency will result in a more favorable attitude toward the target (Lee 2004). To confirm our theorizing, we need to examine the notion of knowledge accessibility in different languages.

Accessibility is defined as the activation potential of available information (Higgins 2000). There are two types of accessibility: temporary, which is a short term readiness or activation potential of a construct, and chronic, which is generally a result of frequent exposure to a stimulus (Higgins, King, and Marvin 1982). Since the existence of language domains suggests that bilinguals use particular words more often in one

language than another, for this research we are mainly concerned with chronic, or long-term accessibility. In a study by Gardner et al. (1987) it is demonstrated that a subject's response time for lexical decision tasks were a reflection of their familiarity with the word. In the study, three groups of subjects with three different expertises were faster to respond to words corresponding with their expertise over other subjects and over neutral words that they were shown (Gardener et al. 1987). These results are due to the expert's chronic accessibility, repetition and exposure to words in their field of interest due to that vocabulary in their daily life. So if in fact bilinguals are more familiar with certain words in a particular language, similar to the findings by Gardner et al. (1987); one could surmise the result should be faster response times for those words in that language. Respondents in a lexical decision task are shown strings of letters on a computer screen and instructed to identify words from non-words as fast and as accurately as possible. A non-word is a string of letters that does not make a word. An example of a non-word is "fersfte", since "fersfte" is not a word in English or in Spanish. A word is a string of letters that does make a word. An example of a word is "tree" since this is an English word. In the Gardener et al. (1987) study, three groups of respondents with expertise in three different domains were faster to respond to words corresponding with their expertise over other respondents and over neutral words that they were shown. These results are due to the expert's chronic accessibility stemming from repetition and exposure to words in their field of interest in their daily life. So if in fact bilinguals generally discuss certain domains in a particular language, one could surmise that domain-specific words in that language would result in faster recognition times than in another language. These ideas lead us to the conclusion that increased accessibility for

words in a particular content area in a given language should manifest itself in lexical decision tasks, such that more accessible words should result in faster recognition times for word identification.

Study 2

The goal of study 2 is to uncover if bilinguals have an increased accessibility for a particular content area in a particular language. As discussed earlier, increased accessibility could result in processing fluency, which then leads to higher ad evaluations when the language matches versus mismatches the content area of the ad. As indicated in previous word accessibility studies (Gardner et al. 1987), if bilinguals do have greater accessibility for a particular content area in a particular language, response times in a lexical decision task will be faster for those words in that language than in another language.

Method

An experiment manipulated one factor between-subjects, Domain-Language match (vs. mismatch). Half the respondents were exposed to words in which the language matched the language generally used the word' domain, and the other half was exposed to words in which the language mismatched the word's domain. All respondents were exposed to words in both languages, but all words shown to every respondent were in the same Domain-Language matching condition. This was done to control for potential

language proficiency issues. Since each group was asked to perform a task in both languages, the participant's potentially greater proficiency in one language over another was offset by the randomization of assignments to the two conditions. Thus, one group was asked to perform word recognition tasks on English words that are congruent with the majority language domain, and also perform word recognition tasks on Spanish words that are congruent with the minority language domain. The other group was asked to perform word recognition tasks on English words that are not congruent with the majority language domain and also perform word recognition tasks on Spanish words that are not congruent with the minority language domain. Respondents were assigned randomly to either the matched or mismatched conditions.

Stimuli. The study consisted of forty-seven words (14 work-related words, 14 friend-and-family-related words, and 19 random practice words) and an additional forty-six non-words. The lists of words were pretested in focus groups to ensure that they met the following criteria: first that they were either work-related or friend and family-related words, and second that the Spanish words were common to the different dialects of Spanish that the respondents spoke. For example, job, boss, and hire were used for the work-related domain; family, dad, and friend were used for the friend and family related domain; shoe, door and apple were used as random practice words.

Important factors to consider in word recognition tasks are that word frequency and word length are usually highly correlated to reaction times. This means that the higher the frequency of a particular word in a language, the faster the word recognition will be (Harley 2001). To ensure that word frequency was not a factor in the analysis,

English and Spanish word frequencies were compared using their average frequency rate per million words (Davies 2006; Francis, Kučera, and Mackie 1982). The lists of words were analyzed to ensure that the mean of the word frequency for each final list of words was not significantly different from each other, so the average word frequency for the matched list (Spanish friends and family and English work) and the mismatched list (Spanish work and English friends and family) were not significantly different from one another (Matched words M = 280.82 vs. Mismatched words M = 327.79; $t(27) = -.39$, $p > .10$). Word length was used as a covariate in the analysis because word length are usually highly correlated to reaction times (Basnight-Brown and Altarriba 2007) and the Spanish words used in this study were sometimes longer than their English equivalent.

Procedure. A lexical decision task is used in this study to provide further insight into the process that is driving the results of the first study, since more accessible words will result in faster recognition times in a lexical decision task. The study was conducted using computer software that recorded reaction time and accuracy of the word recognition task. Each respondent sat in front of a computer and was given instructions to identify words from non-words. If the text on the screen was a word (e.g., "tree"), the respondents were instructed to press the letter "Q" on the keyboard. If the text on the screen was a non-word (e.g., "fersfte"), the respondents were instructed to press the letter "P" on the keyboard. Respondents were then told to try their best to correctly identify the words and the non-words as fast and as accurately as possible. Respondents were then shown a few of the words and non-words for practice. After the practice trials, respondents were told that the practice was over and the real study would now begin.

However, to avoid effects due to nervousness, the respondents were not told that the next six words and non-words were still practice and were not recorded as part of the study. The order of the words and non-words, English and Spanish blocks, and match versus mismatch assignment were all completely randomized. After performing the word and non-word trials the respondents filled out demographic, and language fluency scales. Finally, respondents completed a manipulation check and were dismissed.

Respondents. A total of 30 English-Spanish bilinguals participated in the study. Respondents were Hispanics living in a Northeastern city. There were 13 males and 17 females. All respondents were highly proficient in both languages, scoring above 3.50 on a self administered five-point 22 item language proficiency scale adapted from Luna and Peracchio (2001). All respondents had at least a high school diploma. The respondents were of various national origins (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the US). Respondent were paid $10 for their participation in the study.

Manipulation Check. To verify that content area and language corresponded correctly with our manipulations, the participants were asked to answer questions about their language use. The respondents rated their language use on a seven-point scale where 1= Never and 7 =Always. When asked what language is spoken at home, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish M =5.93 vs. English M = 4.03; $t(29) = 4.57$, $p < .001$). When asked what language is spoken at work, English was the dominant answer (English M = 6.30 vs. Spanish M = 3.17; $t(29) = -8.39$, $p < .001$). When asked what language is most

comfortable to speak with family and friends, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish $M = 5.87$ vs. English $M = 3.67$; $t(29) = 5.32$, $p < .001$).

Results. Following established procedure for analyzing lexical decision task reaction times (Lemhöfer and Dijkstra 2004), only reaction times for correct decisions were considered. The overall error rate was less than 1 percent. Furthermore, reaction times that laid more than two standard deviations away from both the item and the participants' mean (for the given condition) were considered outliers and were discarded from the analysis (accounting for an additional 5.71%). In total 6.66% of the data was excluded (see table 2 for breakdown of outliers and error rates).

Table 2: Lexical Decision Task

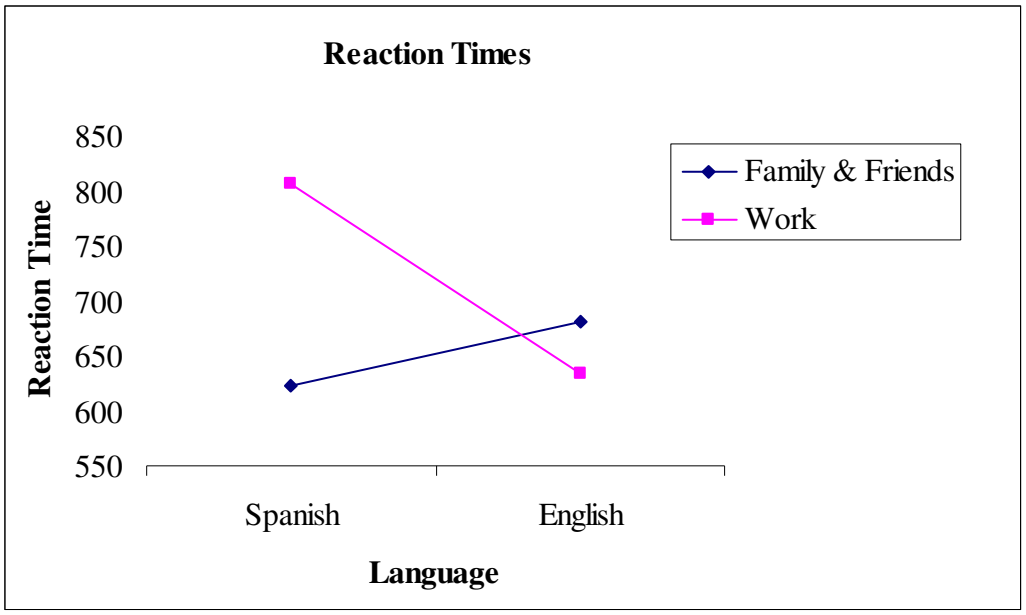
	English			
	Data Used	**Above 2 Std. Dev.**	**Below 2 Std. Dev.**	**Incorrect**
Friend & Family-Mismatch	187	10	12	1
Work-Match	203	3	2	2
	Spanish			
	Data Used	**Above 2 Std. Dev.**	**Below 2 Std. Dev.**	**Incorrect**
Friend & Family-Match	204	1	3	2
Work-Mismatch	190	10	7	3

Chi-Squared Test of Homogeneity

	Chi Square	**df**	**p**
Between Conditions:	23.5068	9	0.0052
Spanish vs. English:	1.3537	3	0.7164
Match vs. Mismatch:	19.9813	3	0.0002
Friend & Family vs. Work:	2.17	3	0.5375

A linear mixed effects model revealed a significant interaction effect for language and domain, including word length as a covariate ($F(1, 878) = 37.01$, $p < .001$). The planned contrasts showed that, when a word is shown in a minority language, Spanish, and the word belongs to the language domain associated with the minority language, the word is recognized faster than the same word shown in the majority language, English (Family and Friend words Spanish $M = 637.78$ vs. Family and Friend words English $M = 695.38$; $F(1, 875) = 4.06$, $p < .05$). Also confirming expectations, when a word is shown in the majority language, and the word belongs to the language domain strongly linked to the majority language, the word is recognized faster than the same word shown in the minority language (Work words English $M = 643.61$ vs. Work words Spanish $M = 825.37$; $F(1, 875) = 40.49$, $p < .001$) see figure 2. With word frequency and length both being accounted for, we can conclude that indeed the minority (majority) language content areas are more accessible in the minority (majority) language.

Figure 2: Lexical Decision Task (Study 2)



Discussion. These results shed some light on the process driving study 1's results. The lexical decision tasks of study 2 show an increased accessibility for words in a particular content area in a particular language (matching words). It has been shown that increasing the ease of processing of a target can result in the metacognitive experience of processing fluency (Jacoby and Dallas 1981; Reber and Schwarz 1999; Reber et al. 1998), and that this increased accessibility will result in enhanced processing fluency, which then may be misattributed to liking, leading to a preference for the ad with the increased accessibility.

Since matching words are more accessible, this accessibility may be causing perceptual fluency, which then leads to a positive judgment of the target. Since individuals usually cannot distinguish clearly between the different sources of affect they experience at any given time, they may misattribute their current mood to the object they are judging (Schwarz and Clore 1983, 1996). Yueng and Wyer (2004) found that by priming positive affect, the positive affective state can then be used as information to evaluate a product. Therefore, the goal of study 3 will be to see if the difference between ad evaluations found in study 1 can be eliminated through the use of an affective prime. If the difference in ad evaluations can be eliminated by the use of an affective prime, the results would indicate that the higher evaluations for matching ads result from an affective reaction based on processing fluency, which is itself caused by the greater accessibility of domain-specific words when their languages match their domains.

Study 3

The purpose of study 3 is to create a condition in which the difference in ad liking in the mismatched condition, the condition in which the language of the word is mismatched with the word's language domain, is eliminated through the use of an affective prime. If the difference in ad evaluation can be eliminated, this would indicate that it is affect that is causing the difference in ad liking, giving credence to our fluency explanation for the effect of matching ad language to domain language on ad evaluations.

Method

Design and Procedure. This study was a 2 (Language: Spanish or English) x 2 (Affect: Positive Affect or Neutral Prime) between-subject design. Only friend and family ads were used in this study. The order of the filler and target advertisements in the questionnaire was varied. Respondents received two booklets, both in the same language condition, and were told that they would take part in two unrelated studies.

The first booklet that the respondents received included the positive affect prime (or the neutral prime). To prime respondents, we adapted procedures from previous studies (Adaval 2001; Cohen et al. 2000; Schwartz and Clores 1983; Yueng and Wyer 2004). The respondents were told that the study was concerned with the construction of a database on personal experiences of college students. In the positive affect prime condition, respondents were asked to write about a recent event that was very important to them and that made them feel happy when they thought about it. In the neutral prime, the respondents were asked to write about everything they had to eat the day before. Both

respondents were told to imagine the experience in as much detail as possible and try to re-experience the feelings they had at the time. They were asked to take seven minutes to write down their story. After completing their stories, the respondents will then be told to move on to the other booklet.

The affect and neutral prime were pretested to ensure their validity. Using a five-item ten-point affect scale, 84 respondents rated how they felt after completing the writing task. Pretest respondents were not told prior to the writing task that they were going to fill out the scale. The results showed that the positive prime led to more positive affect than the neutral prime (Positive affect $M = 7.60$ vs. Neutral affect $M = 6.11$; $F(1, 82) = 10.96$, $p < .001$).

After completing the primes, the respondents then started filling out the advertising study, which consisted of five experimental ads and several filler ads. The order of the ads was varied. Respondents were asked to view the advertisements one at time. After viewing each advertisement, respondents were asked to provide their ad evaluations. Similar to study 1, ad evaluations were collected on a seven-point five item scale, where higher scores meant more favorable evaluations. An advertisement evaluation index was formed for each advertisement by averaging responses to the evaluation scales ($\alpha = .9024$). After viewing all the advertisements, respondents filled out demographic and language fluency scales. Finally, respondents completed a manipulation check and were dismissed.

Respondents. A total of 56 English-Spanish bilinguals participated in the study. There were 22 males and 34 females. All respondents were highly proficient in both

languages, scoring above 3.50 on the same scale used in studies 1 and 2. All respondents had at least a high school diploma. The respondents were of various different national origins (Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the US). Respondents received course credit or were paid for their participation.

To ensure that respondents did not guess the purpose of the study, they were asked to write any thoughts or comments about what they thought the study was about. No respondent was able to guess the purpose of the study.

Results and Discussion. To verify that the content area language corresponded with our manipulations, respondents were asked to answer questions about their language use. Respondents rated their language use on a one to seven scale where 1= Never and 7 =Always. When asked what language is spoken at home, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish $M = 5.18$ vs. English $M = 4.44$; $t(55) = 2.32$, $p < .05$). When asked what language is spoken at work, English was the dominant answer (English $M = 5.79$ vs. Spanish $M = 3.84$; $t(55) = -5.73$, $p < .001$). When asked what language is most comfortable to speak with family and friends, Spanish was the dominant answer (Spanish $M = 5.14$ vs. English $M = 4.16$; $t(55) = 2.79$, $p < .01$).

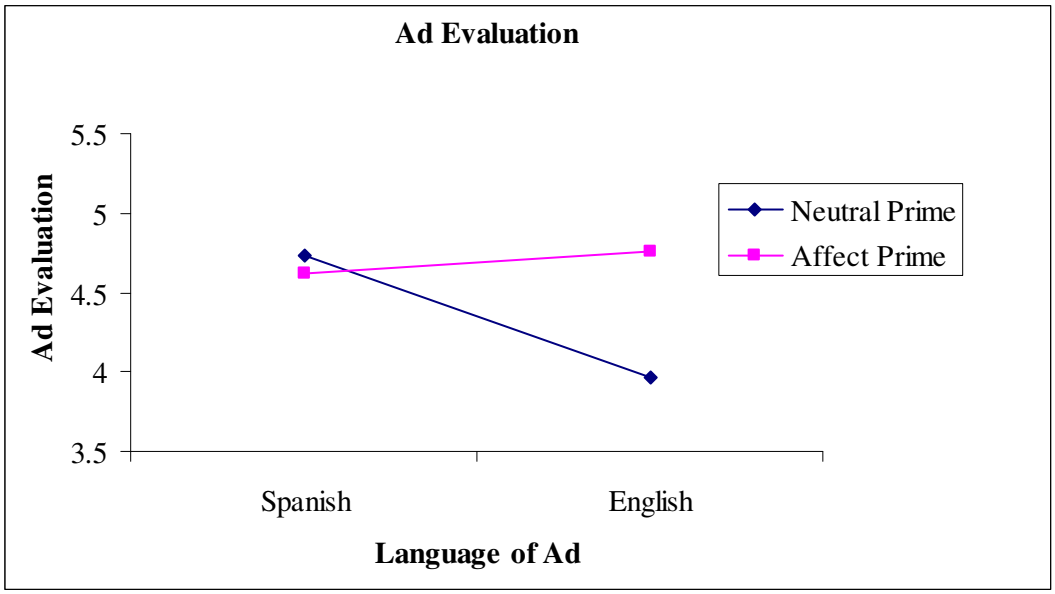
The goal of this study was to eliminate the evaluation advantage of matching ad language to domain language, thus showing that fluency-triggered affect led to higher ad evaluations in the matching condition. Ad replication did not interact with any of the factors (F's < 1), so we formed evaluation indices for each condition. The ad evaluation index yielded a two-way interaction between Language and Affective Prime ($F(1, 52) = 4.94$, $p < .05$) (see table 3 for means and standard deviations).

Table 3: Affect Prime Effect on Ad Evaluation of Minority Language Topic Area				
	Neutral Prime		Affective Prime	
	Spanish	English	Spanish	English
Ad Evaluations:	4.667	3.944	4.62	4.693
	(0.213)	(0.187)	(0.198)	(0.198)

Note- Standard Deviations are in parenthese.

In the conditions in which a neutral prime was used, the results replicated the results of study 1, in that when ads were shown in the minority language and the ads' content area was strongly linked to the minority language domain, ad evaluations were higher than the same ads in the majority language (Friend and Family ads Spanish M = 4.73 vs. Friend and Family ads English M = 3.97; $F(1, 24) = 5.10$ $p < .05$). In the positive affect condition, however, when the ads were shown in the majority language and the ads' content area was strongly linked to the minority language domain, ad evaluations were no higher than for the same ads in the majority language (Friend and Family ads Spanish M = 4.62 vs. Friend and Family ads English M = 4.76; $F < 1$) see figure 3.

Figure 3: Affect Prime Effect on Ad Evaluation of Minority Language Topic Area (Study 3)



The goal of study 3 was to see if the difference between ad evaluations found in study 1 could be eliminated through the use of an affective prime. Since we were able to replicate the ad evaluations of study 1 (neutral prime condition), but also eliminate the difference in ad evaluations by the use of an affective prime, the results indicate that the differences in ad evaluations are the result of some domain areas being more accessible in certain languages. This domain area accessibility is then causing processing fluency, which then results in a positive affective reaction. We can therefore infer that this fluency-triggered affective reaction is causing the difference in ad evaluations.

General Discussion

The purpose of this research was to investigate the effect of language domains on advertising. A series of studies demonstrates that language domains are relevant to advertising evaluations. Specifically, in study 1 we found that when ad language and ad content were matched (vs. mismatched) with the norms of language use, for example when the text is in English and the domain of the ad is work, the advertisement received higher evaluations. In study 2, we show that words that match the language typically used in a domain are more accessible. This leads to our theory that the effect of matching the language of the ad to the domain's language is driving the advertisements higher evaluation through processing fluency. In study 3, we find that the effect of mismatching ad content and ad language can be nullified by the use of a positive affective prime. These results further implicate processing fluency as the driving force for higher evaluations of ads that match ad language and domain language.

This research extends Luna and Peracchio's (2001) work by investigating bilingual language processing of single-language ads beyond message recall. That is, we consider ad evaluations. Further, we uncover the underlying process that is driving the evaluations results (i.e., our word accessibility/fluency framework), thus extending the current understanding of bilingualism's language processing effects on communication. Additionally, we extend Koslow et al.'s (1994) findings, uncovering conditions in which minority language ads have superior evaluations (when ad language matches domain language), therefore uncovering additional antecedents to effective communication with bilinguals. This research also extends the existing language domain theory by using an experimental methodology to show the existence of language domains and their effect on advertising. We also uncover the psycholinguistics process underlying language domain theory.

Additionally, we extend the processing fluency literature. Our research addresses a variable leading to fluency that had not yet been discussed in the processing fluency literature; that is, the accessibility of a language's words. This processing fluency, as discussed in prior literature (Jacoby and Dallas 1981; Reber and Schwarz 1999; Reber et al. 1998), results in an affective metacognitive state which then results in higher target evaluations. In essence, this research shows how language selection in communications with bilinguals has processing fluency implications which, prior to this research, had not been discovered.

One of the most important ways to engage and strengthen a marketer's relationship with customers is through language choice. As Nelson Mandela once stated: "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to

him in his language that goes to his heart." To see how this notion can be practically applied, this article presents a new perspective on the use of the minority language to engage consumers. The results of this paper outline how each multilingual speech community has language domains that dictate the proper use of each language for particular contexts. It is important for the advertiser to understand which language is appropriate for which circumstance.

The findings of this study have practical implications for the fields of consumer behavior and advertising. In sum, this research shows it is important to carefully consider which language to use depending on the target audience. Since it is of utmost importance for marketers to show that they understand and have common interests with their consumer base, this research illustrates that understanding the language usage of a community may be a critical first step.

For this study, we used content areas that yielded relatively consistent results across language communities. For most language communities, the minority language is one that is used at home and with friends, and the majority language is associated with work. In the case of this study, the minority language was Spanish. In this study, English was the majority language. Future research may look at other language communities in which this is not the case.

One could argue that since we used Hispanic bilinguals in the US, the existence of language domains are a result of the acculturation process, and in many cases they are. The acculturation process is defined as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield,

Linton, and Herskovits 1936, p152). This acculturation process is said to occur at two different levels: the population (the ecological, cultural, social, and institutional) and the individual (the behaviors and traits of the person) levels (Berry 1989). For a complete review of acculturation see Berry (1989). However, it is not always the case that a language community has two languages used by its people that it is a result one groups acculturating into the community. In Holland over the past two decades English has become the language of the academia domain, and yet Dutch has remained the official language and is used in every other domain (Coulmas 2005). In the case of Holland the use of English in the domain of academia can not be attributed to acculturation.

Other future research may look at the impact that code-switching (Luna, Lerman, and Peracchio 2005; Luna and Peracchio 2005) can have on language domains. Code-switching is a result of two languages coexisting within the same community and is defined as the mixing of several languages in the same phrase or utterance (Wei 2004). Code-switching in many bilingual communities is used on a daily basis in communication interactions (Grosjean 1982). With the recent surge in Hispanic targeted advertising, code-switching has even found its way into advertising. It has been hypothesized that the social motivation behind code switching is to emphasize a desired or perceived group membership or interpersonal relationship (Luna and Peracchio 2005). According to the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1991,1993,1999), the code-switched element becomes marked because it is in contrast with the language context created by the rest of the phrase or utterance. This markedness is very similar to the concept of perceptual salience in that both are a result of an object becoming more salient because it stands out from the surrounding context. With code-switching, a marked language

element' perceived salience is due the language context, not the visual context. The markedness of the element will be caused by the individual's prior experience, expectations, or from other foci of attention (Fiske and Taylor 1984; Luna and Peracchio 2005).

Thus, code-switching results in the salience of the foreign-language element, which activates the associations that individuals link to that language (i.e., the language schema; Luna and Peracchio 2005). Our research suggests that language domains may also impact the interpretation of a code-switched element. For example, if the language domain for a particular topic area, such as family, is Spanish and an ad were written mostly in Spanish but code-switching into English, the resulting interpretation of the message could be negative in comparison to the same ad written in English and code-switching into Spanish. This would be a result of the English element being marked, activating the English language schema, which may not be congruent with the family domain.

With the vast amount of sociolinguistic research done on language domains, it is surprising how little the marketing literature addresses the idea. This research fills that void and also integrates prior sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and the growing literature in processing fluency to explain this phenomena's impact on advertising. This further understanding of the language domain process that underlies bilingual consumer's reactions to advertisements will be a significant help to companies in their communications with this growing community.

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