

The nativization of English in Taiwanese magazine advertisements

Jia-Ling Hsu

Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University

Correspondence

Jia-Ling Hsu, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, National Taiwan University, 1 Roosevelt Road, Section 4, 10617, Taipei, Taiwan.
Email: jlhsu@ntu.edu.tw

Abstract

This study investigates from a sociolinguistic perspective how Taiwanese copywriters nativize English in Chinese-based advertising copy in Taiwanese magazines in response to the growing impact of globalization over a decade. Two corpuses of magazine ads are used for quantitative and qualitative analyses: 649 ads from a 1999 English-mixing magazine ads corpus and 1,505 ads from a 2009 corpus. The analysis demonstrates a clear trend of Taiwanese copywriters showing growing bilingual ingenuity by coining English phrases and sentences via recruiting verbatim translation based on Chinese grammar. The results of this study shed light on how nativization of English has been reinforced through copywriters' linguistic innovation and exploitation of grammatical and collocational deviations in an era of increasing globalization.

1 | INTRODUCTION

As 'the single most important language of globalization', English is the choice for global marketers and advertisers (Bhatia, 2006, p. 603). Due to the 'glocal' role of English (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013, p. 595), Englishization not only occurs to many languages in world advertising, localization or nativization is concurrently taking place in these languages. In Taiwan, one of the Expanding Circle countries (Kachru, 1985, pp. 12–13), English mixing is a very common strategy in advertising. It has become a mode of communication targeting the local audience, acquiring a life of its own via local copywriters' various strategies of manipulating English. This study addresses how Taiwanese advertisers have responded to the impact of globalization over a ten-year period by exploring the diachronic change in copywriters' nativization of English usage from phrasal to discourse levels in Chinese-based advertising copy in Taiwanese magazine ads, to investigate if and to what extent globalization intensifies nativization of Taiwanese English in a decade.

2 | PREVIOUS RESEARCH

As regards studies on the issues probed in this research, several areas of earlier research are reviewed, namely, the theoretical framework of nativization, nativization of English in China and the Chinese variety of English, the

influence of globalization on nativization of English in global advertising, mixing of English as an additional language in advertising in Chinese-speaking communities, including nativization of English in Taiwanese advertising, and the diachronic change in English mixing in advertising. When English comes in contact with other languages, as a result of the use of English in new sociocultural settings over an extended period of time in a non-native context, nativization of English arises. Nativization, as defined by Kachru (1981, quoted in Lowenberg, 1986, p. 1), pertains to systematic changes in the formal features at all linguistic levels in non-native contexts, which is the 'result of those productive linguistic innovations which are determined by the localized functions of a second language variety, the "culture of conversation" and communicative strategies in new situations, and the transfer from local languages' (Kachru, 1986, p. 21). These nativized innovations in second-language varieties of English go beyond mistakes, termed deviations, 'in using productive process for collocational innovation, in syntactic simplification or overgeneralization, and in the use of native rhetorical and stylistic devices' (Kachru, 1983, p. 7). Therefore, a deviation, as opposed to a mistake, is 'systematic within a variety, and not idiosyncratic' (Kachru, 1983, p. 45).

Originally, the term 'nativization' applied to institutionalized English varieties in the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1983, p. 37); however, as globalization becomes more pervasive worldwide, especially in global advertising, this term also applies to performance varieties in the Expanding Circle such as Chinese (Ma & Xu, 2017).¹ On nativization of English in China, Pei and Chi (1987) address the absorbing of several types of Chinese culture words into English via loan words such as 'silk' while Ma and Xu (2017) provide an overview of the current functional use of English in China and a review of Xu's works (2008, 2010) as one of the first systematic attempts to codify the linguistic features of Chinese English on phonetic, lexical, syntactic, discourse, and pragmatic levels. On the other hand, studies under the category of 'Chinese English' or 'China English' have been conducted extensively in recent years regarding the status, functions, sociolinguistic profile, linguistic features, second language learning issues, and translation, among others, of this newly emerging English variety (Ai & Yu, 2015; Deterding, 2006; Eaves, 2011; Gao, 2009a, 2009b; He & Li, 2009; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Liang & Li, 2017; Niu & Wolff, 2003; Pastor & Calderón, 2012; Xu, 2008, 2010; Yang, 2005, to name just a few). For example, Xu (2008, 2010) identifies thirteen major Chinese English features as a result of the transfer to English from some Chinese syntactic properties in the data drawn from interviews with university students, newspaper articles, and short stories. Ai and Yu (2015) examine some newly emergent ditransitive verbs, verb-complementation, and collocation in Chinese English. Liang and Li (2017) use two corpora, the Chinese English Corpus vs. the British National Corpus, to compare the collocational patterns of 'all-round'. Since the present study focuses on nativization of English in advertising, an exhaustive review of research on Chinese English will not be offered in this article. References relevant to the findings of this study will be cited in the discussion of results section. For a comprehensive list of more than two hundred references in the area of Chinese English as of 2015, see Bolton, Botha, and Zhang (2015).

On nativization of English in global advertising, Bhatia (1987, 1992, 2007) studies nativization of English in terms of its formal and functional properties in Indian advertising. He further provides wide-ranging overviews systematically concerning how globalization of English, namely, globalization and localization (nativization) of English, has prompted mixing of English with other languages in global advertising via copywriters' strategies of linguistic creativity, accommodation, as well as phonological and syntactic adaptations of English (Bhatia, 1992, 2006; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013). He notes that the 'glocal' role of English has brought about the homogenization of the global advertising discourse and the transformation of diversified English varieties (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013, p. 595). Martin (2006) investigates how globalization and the spread of English have affected French advertisers' strategies of employing textual and visual components in ads while targeting French consumers. The results show that the 'acculturation' or nativization of English such as the assimilation of English expressions into the French grammatical system is apparent throughout the whole corpus. Despite the stipulation of Toubon Law, which promotes French-only language use in ads, English has been 'transformed into a Frenlish variety specifically designed for advertising campaigns' (Martin, 2006, p. 211). Regarding the research on English mixing in Chinese-based advertising copy, nativization of English is hardly addressed. While some works focus on the exploration of cultural themes in TV commercials in

China and Hong Kong (Chan & Cheng, 2002; Zhang & Harwood, 2004), others involving English-Chinese-mixed ads in Mainland Chinese advertising are concerned with the role of English in identity construction of Chinese people (Gao, 2005; Li, 2016, 2017). For example, Gao (2005) examines the function of English in Chinese-English-bilingual web ads as a way of identity construction in China. Li (2016) uses positioning theory, originating in social psychology, to account for how English in Chinese magazine advertising locates, refashions, and reassesses Chinese people in their construction and formation of identity. Li (2017) uses the critical-cognitive analytical model to probe into the role English plays in identity constructions in Chinese people's daily life and their association with the local politics of English. Other than the two major areas of study, Wu, Feng, and Chan (2007) explore the multilingual mix of English, Cantonese, and the standard written Chinese in Hong Kong advertising. The analysis indicates that such hybridized variety of advertising texts serves the purposes of glocalization and will continue to emerge in the globalization process in Hong Kong advertising.

In the context of Taiwan, one of the Mandarin-Chinese-speaking communities, English mixing with Chinese in magazine advertising is examined by Chen (2006) and Hsu (2006, 2008, 2012, 2013a, 2013b). Chen (2006) observes that simple English expressions are primarily used to add colorfulness to ads and most student respondents regard the use of English in Taiwanese advertising quite positively, based on an analysis of code-mixed magazine ads and an attitudinal survey. Hsu (2006, 2008, 2012, 2013a, 2013b) explores the role, functions, linguistic features, and socio-psychological effects of English in Taiwanese print advertising, via a three-fold approach: discourse analysis, questionnaire surveys, and interviews conducted with copywriters. Hsu (2006, 2008) specifically investigates the public's attitudes toward nativized English patterns in advertising, with seven survey patterns drawn from a 1999 English-mixing advertising corpus consisting of magazines and newspapers. The analysis indicates that short phrases rather than sentences derived from verbatim translation of Chinese structure are preferred. Factors such as semantic interpretability of nativized patterns determine subjects' preference for the surveyed patterns. Despite a negative correlation between the subjects' English proficiency and their degree of preference for using nativized English in advertising, overall, the development of nativization of English in Taiwanese advertising is well received by the public. Lastly, diachronic studies are relatively scarce in the area of English mixing in advertising. Wu and Chan (2007), Ruellot (2011), and Hsu (2017) investigate the diachronic impact of globalization on copywriters' linguistic strategies of English mixing in magazine advertising. Wu and Chan (2007) observe a steady increase in the multilingual mix of English, standard written Chinese, and Cantonese in Hong Kong advertising in ten years. Ruellot (2011) concludes that the positive cultural and business associations of English symbolizing technological advancement and business efficiency have increased in English-mixing terms in French print advertising in eight years. Hsu (2017) notes a rise in the use of English nouns, noun phrases, product names, and personal names, alongside more exploitation of the device of changing parts of speech and coining English phrases and sentences for building up product image and enhancing product endorsements in Taiwanese cosmetics ads in a decade. In short, the above review indicates that so far studies on the diachronic impact of globalization on copywriters' linguistic strategies of nativizing English in Expanding Circle have been scanty. Consequently, the present study explores the diachronic development of nativization of English as an additional language in Taiwanese magazine advertising, by means of comparing the data drawn from two English-mixing magazine advertising corpuses. It is hoped that this study can shed light on how change of language use in advertising discourse is manifested as a response to the increasing trend of globalization.

3 | METHODOLOGY

3.1 | Data collection

Firstly, English mixing and nativization are defined by following Kachru (1983, 1986). English mixing is broadly defined as the transfer of English words, phrases, and sentences into Chinese at inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels

TABLE 1 Sources of ads

1999 English-mixing magazine ads corpus	2009 English-mixing magazine ads corpus
25 magazines, 649 ads	60 magazines, 1505 ads

(Kachru, 1986, p. 64). Nativized patterns refer to those as surveyed in this study which deviates systematically from standard English (Kachru, 1983, p. 45). 'Systematically' further means that the patterns of deviation are consistent in various advertisements created by different copywriters. Data drawn from two corpuses of English-mixing magazine ads which were constructed by Hsu in 1999 and 2009 respectively are used for quantitative and qualitative analyses. Table 1 indicates that the 1999 corpus consists of 649 ads gathered from 25 magazines of 37 product types, covering a variety of genres such as women, men, travel and health. The 2009 corpus consists of 1,505 ads collected from 60 magazines of 44 product types, covering ten genres such as men, women, sports, home, and news.² The 2009 corpus was built by following the sampling criteria and procedures of 'The Corpus of Asian Magazine Advertising' proposed by Moody and Hashim (2009) to study lexical innovation as an important linguistic strategy in advertising in Asian languages.³ For methodological details, refer to Moody and Hashim (2009). In building these two corpuses, strict manual process is employed in the identification and coding of all the Chinese-English mixed units in ads as well as the assignment of syntactic categories of English tokens in the mixed units. Depending on its syntactic function in the mixed context, each English token is assigned a linguistic category, lexical (brand names, nouns, and verbs, for example), phrasal, or sentential. Nativized usage, namely, systematic non-standard English usage, from lexical to discourse levels, is additionally marked in the corpuses. For the purpose of the present study, only the non-standard usage from phrasal to discourse levels marked in both corpuses are selected for data analysis.⁴ Additionally, nativized usage, non-standard usage, and deviant usage will be used interchangeably henceforth throughout this article.

3.2 | Data analysis

The two datasets of non-standardized English usage are analyzed and compared quantitatively and qualitatively. For quantitative analysis, features of non-standardized English usage are employed, referring to phrases, clauses, sentences, or pieces of discourse of monolingual English or English mixed with Chinese, which contain English usage showing 'inter-variety differences' (Xu, 2008, p. 5).⁵ When discussing results of the analysis, data will be presented according to the most prominent type of deviation contained in the non-standardized features on the following grounds. Firstly, multiple occurrences of deviation based on types of non-standardized usage may be contained in one single feature. The same feature will not be presented several times based on each type of deviation. Secondly, the majority of deviant patterns are practically verbatim translation of Chinese structure into English wording. When other more distinct and specific types of deviation as a transfer of Chinese grammar can be identified in the verbatim translation patterns, these patterns will be categorized into other types of deviation. Only when deviation resulting from verbatim translation occurs on such a global and prominent level structurally is it assigned to the category of verbatim translation. The data also comprise punctuation deviations such as those commonly known as comma splices, the use of a comma to join two independent clauses, due to a transfer from Chinese grammar, and those involving misplacement of commas in a sentence.⁶ Because language deviation techniques serve as an efficient strategy for attention-getting in advertising in the Inner Circle countries (Chi & Hao, 2013), all the deviant patterns surveyed in the present study have been screened and filtered by Google searches and two American colleagues of mine to ensure that the data used for analysis are a result of local copywriters' linguistic ingenuity. For quantitative analysis, frequency counts, percentage, frequency of linguistic features per ad, and ratios are used.⁷

4 | RESULTS

4.1 | Quantitative analysis

The ratio 2 in Table 2 indicates that non-standard English features double per ad in ten years. As indicated by Table 3, a comparison of the two datasets shows a growing level of structural complexity in the 2009 dataset. While phrases constitute almost seventy per cent of nativized English features in the 1999 dataset, sentences compose half of nativized features a decade later, showing a three-time proportional increase. Additionally, a clause-type feature appears. Table 4 indicates that new types of deviation such as omission and misuse of third person singular present tense, misuse of articles and plural markers, false parallelism, and unintelligibility of texts emerge in the 2009 dataset, showing a wider variety of nativized usage. While deviant parts of speech constitute the most prominent type of deviation in both datasets, various types of nativized usage are relatively more evenly distributed in the 2009 dataset and the type categorized as linguistic ingenuity doubles proportionally in a decade. In sum, the quantitative analysis of the two datasets indicates a growth in the number of nativized English features, the structural complexity of these features, and the variety of types of deviation identified in these features after a decade.

4.2 | Qualitative analysis

As shall be demonstrated in the following discussions, the nativized patterns surveyed in this study result from the direct transfer from the Chinese language, mainly via verbatim translation of Chinese structural meaning into English wording during the process of mixing English by Taiwanese copywriters. In the following sections, to show how Chinese is structurally transferred to the nativized English patterns, I will first provide a brief description of Chinese structural characteristics relevant to the surveyed patterns under study. Next, I will address the rationales concerning why copywriters use verbatim translation as an advertising strategy in coining English expressions. Then I will present the qualitative analysis of the two datasets. In illustrating the characteristics of nativized patterns, 'standard English' rules

TABLE 2 Frequency of non-standardized English features over a ten-year period

	1999		2009		Ratio (Frequency per ad)
	Frequency	Frequency per ad (n = 649)	Frequency	Frequency per ad (n = 1,505)	
Features	22	3.4%	104	6.9%	2

Note: Ratio = the frequency of non-standardized English features per ad in the 1999 dataset divided by the frequency of non-standard English features per ad in the 2009 dataset.

TABLE 3 Frequency of total linguistic categories of nativized English features

Categories	1999		2009	
	Frequency	Percentage (n = 22)	Frequency	Percentage (n = 104)
Phrases	15	68.2%	42	40.4%
Clauses	0	0%	1	1%
Sentences	4	18.2%	55	52.9%
Discourse	3	13.6%	6	5.8%
Total	22	100%	104	100%

TABLE 4 Frequency of types of deviation identified in English nativized features

Categories of deviation	1999		2009	
	Frequency	Percentage (n = 31)	Frequency	Percentage (n = 133)
Deviant parts of speech	8	25.8%	24	18%
Omission of articles	3	9.7%	4	3%
Misuse of articles	0	0%	5	3.8%
Collocational deviation	4	12.9%	12	9%
Omission of plural markers	5	16.1%	10	7.5%
Misuse of plural markers	0	0%	3	2.3%
Verbatim translation	3	9.7%	8	6%
Linguistic ingenuity	1	3.2%	10	7.5%
Comma splices	2	6.5%	6	4.5%
Other misuse of punctuations	2	6.5%	5	3.8%
Omission of copula verb	1	3.2%	3	2.3%
Deviant usage of tense and aspect	1	3.2%	3	2.3%
Null subject	1	3.2%	2	1.5%
Omission of third person singular present tense	0	0%	6	4.5%
Misuse of third person singular present tense	0	0%	5	3.8%
Other deviant grammatical usage	0	0%	10	7.5%
False parallelism	0	0%	9	6.8%
Unintelligibility of text	0	0%	8	6%
Total	31	100%	133	100%

are applied to compare and highlight the inter-variety differences between standardized English and the advertising English variety under study.

4.2.1 | Characteristics of Chinese grammar

According to Li and Thompson (1981, p. 11) and Norman (1988, p. 10), Chinese is an isolating or analytic language, in which inflectional and derivational morphemes are practically nonexistent. There is no inflection. Namely, each word is composed of just a single morpheme, having only one grammatical form. Grammatical relationships of words are mostly shown by word order or by the use of independent grammatical particles, rather than by affixes or by internal changes in the word itself (Norman, 1988, p. 10). In addition, Chinese is an aspect and not a tense language (Norman, 1988, p. 163). Verb tense is therefore not marked. The category of number (singular or plural) is not obligatory in any context, and if plurality is intended, it is usually expressed by a separate word such as 許多 (xuduo, 'many') (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 11). Chinese also lacks articles. Therefore, Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 10–11) note that compared with other languages with rich morphological inventory such as Latin and English, one of the most striking features of Chinese is 'the relative simplicity of the words of Chinese' and 'its general lack of complexity in its word formation'. Another two characteristics of Chinese are the null subject in a piece of discourse and the omission of copula verbs before adjectives. Li and Thompson (1981, p. 15) observe that Chinese is a topic-prominent language while English is a subject-prominent language. In Chinese, in a piece of discourse, as long as the subject can be understood and inferred from the context, it is omitted. Wang (1945, pp. 97–98) notes that a descriptive sentence in Chinese takes adjectives as predicates and does not require the presence of any verb before the adjectives in the predicate. Chao (1968, p. 88) states that adjectives in Chinese serve as 'a species of verbs'; they can be used as full predicates and do not need the copula 是 (shi, 'is') to make them predicates.

4.2.2 | Rationales regarding why Taiwanese copywriters use verbatim translation in advertising copy

Based on interviews with Taiwanese copywriters, on the one hand, English in advertising primarily serves as a graphic design and as mood enhancer in creating desired socio-psychological effects such as internationalism, appeal to the younger generation, and premium quality (Hsu, 2012, p. 223, 2013a, p. 51). On the other hand, some copywriters assume that no one would read the advertising text closely (Hsu, 2012, p. 225). Therefore, full English accuracy is not a concern in the copy design. Moreover, copywriters' general English proficiency is limited (Hsu, 2012, p. 222). Consequently, as a means of convenience in creating English phrases and sentences in Chinese-based advertising copy, Taiwanese copywriters mainly capitalize on a verbatim translation of Chinese structural meaning into English wording, regardless of the grammatical forms of the English words they use, as long as these words match the literal meaning of the Chinese counterparts. In some cases, unintelligibility of texts arises. The following types of deviation occur in nativized features as a consequence of coping with Chinese grammar: using commas to join two sentences (comma splices), using deviant parts of speech, using no plural forms and articles for countable nouns, deleting or misusing third person singular present tense, omitting copula verbs before adjectives, using null subjects, and breaking collocational rules. In sum, Taiwanese copywriters utilize English for 'intentional' purposes; however, the result is an 'unintentional' transfer of Chinese structure to English by way of verbatim translation, showing 'systematic, regular and productive' deviation (Pandharipande, 1987, p. 156).

4.2.3 | The analysis of the 1999 data

In addressing the analysis of the 1999 dataset, types of deviation observed in nativized features will be presented in only one section, according to a descending order of frequency of these features, due to the limited size of the data. The data analysis shows that as indicated by Table 4, among the 31 occurrences of non-standardized usage, 90 per cent of them result from a transfer of Chinese grammar and 68 per cent of them arise from verbatim translation of Chinese structure. Moreover, a quarter of them pertain to usage of deviant parts of speech. The following are some of the examples.⁸

- (1) new open
- (2) INTERNETED TECHNOFFICE 科技總部
- (3) easy play

Example (1) is a verbatim translation of the Chinese phrase 新開幕 (xinkaimu) to inform ad readers of the new opening of a department store. *New open* and *grand open* are commonly used in Taiwan and Japan. Example (2) provides a rare case of changing the noun *internet* into an adjective. In this advertising line, the English phrase and its Chinese verbatim translation 科技總部 (kejizongbu) stand side by side. Example (3), a phrase used to advertise DVDs, is a verbatim translation of the Chinese expression 容易播放 (rongyibofang), meaning 'play the DVD easily' (Figure 1). In Chinese, some adjectives such as 容易 (rongyi, 'easy') can co-occur with verbs. This device of analogical patterning, as a transfer of Chinese structure, consisting of phrases conjoining an English adjective *easy* with an English verb, abounds in newspapers ads in 1999. Instances include *easy play*, *easy select*, *easy go*, *easy talk*, *easy touch*, and *easy show* (Hsu, 2006, p. 183, 2008, p. 168). Apart from deviant parts of speech, verbatim translation per se as an advertising strategy is evident in the following three examples.

- (4) 太陽假期 無限驚奇 Sun Vacation Very Surprise
- (5) 保證 No Shopping, No Optional
- (6) The Most Impressive Shock and Moving,
it may be the Only Time of all Life.
For Some Fortuneness [sic] and Opportunity
We can't Meet them any Longer if we missed.



FIGURE 1 Acer DVD advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Examples (4) and (5) occur in the same ad promoting travel packages. In (4), both the Chinese phrase and its English verbatim translation stand side by side in the same line, meaning 'Sun vacation tour packages are very surprising'. In this advertising line, a descriptive sentence, omission of copula verb before the adjective and the use of deviant part of speech, a verb for an adjective, concur. Example (5) uses simple English words to denote the verbatim translation of the Chinese expressions 保證無購物, 無自費行程 (*baozhengwugouwu, wuzifeixingcheng*), meaning 'We guarantee that there will be no shopping tours and no optional tours at your expense in our tour packages'. Example (6) is a verbatim translation of the following Chinese paragraph:

最令人印象深刻之震撼和感動,
 zuilingren yinxiangshenkezhi zhenhan he gandong
 這可能是此生唯一一次。
 zhekenengshi cisheng weiyiyici
 因為有些運氣和機會
 yinwei youxie yunqi he jihui
 我們如果錯過, 永遠不會有機會再遇見。
 womenruguo cuoguo yongyuan buhui youjihui zaiyujian

In this example, words such as *moving* and *for* serve as the literal meanings of 感動 (*gandong*, 'be moved') and 因為 (*yinwei*, 'because'), while *meet*, serving as the literal meaning of 遇見 (*yujian*, 'meet'), co-occurs with *fortuneness* [sic] and *opportunity*, violating standardized English collocation rules. Moreover, the verb *miss* shows use of past tense form for the present tense, suggesting 'producing sentences without concordance of tenses', termed 'adjacent default tense' as well, a feature also observed in Chinese speakers of English (Yan, 2002, p. 231) and university students and newspaper articles writers (Xu, 2008, p. 9).

4.2.4 | The analysis of the 2009 data

An analysis of the 2009 dataset shows that similar to the findings in the 1999 dataset, the majority of non-standardized usage in the 2009 dataset results from a verbatim translation of Chinese structure into English wording. However, as indicated by Tables 2–4, non-standardized usage not only increases in quantity but also in variety in a decade, and non-standardized English sentences increase three times proportionally in ten years, showing a growing level of structural complexity in nativized features.

Types of deviation common to 1999 and 2009 datasets

In addressing the analysis of the 2009 dataset, I will first present the types of deviation common to both datasets and then the newly emerging types of deviation found in the 2009 dataset.

Use of deviant parts of speech

As in the 1999 dataset, using deviant parts of speech constitutes a primary type of deviation in the 2009 dataset. Three subtypes are discerned, with the latter two newly emergent in the 2009 dataset. The first subtype, by means of using English words regardless of their parts of speech as long as their English literal meanings fit into the context, is exemplified in (9) to (13).

- (9) SO SHOCK!!!.
- (10) THE PASSION PEOPLE
- (11) RAYCH, ESPECIALLY STYLE
- (12) 結髮一輩子 Always Happiness
- (13) IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE LIFE FULL OF LIMITLESSLY

In Example (11), *style* rather than *stylish* is used to describe the elegance of bikes manufactured by Raych, a Japanese bike brand. (12) is an advertising expression promoting information on brides' hairstyles by a magazine. In this expression, 結髮 (jiefa, 'bind up the bride's and the groom's hair') is a traditional synonym for getting married whereas 一輩子 (yibeizi) means 'for a lifetime'. The English expression is a verbatim translation of 永遠幸福 (yongyuanxingfu, 'always happy'). Actually, in Chinese, as in English, the adverb 永遠 'always' should precede an adjective. However, the copywriters creating this ad use a noun to serve as the English literal meaning of 幸福 'happy', thus creating a deviant part of speech and an English expression reversing the word order according to standardized English.

The second subtype consists of inconsistent parts of speech in phrases or sentences.

- (14) violent, bloodily & strange
- (15) MAKE A HEALTHY& BEAUTIFULLY WISH!
- (16) keeping your bathroom comfort and refreshing all the time.

Example (14) is used to describe the styles of clothing manufactured by the brand of Coney, targeting urban and cute girls. The third subtype is composed of utilizing changing parts of speech for special purposes.

- (17) EXTREME YOUR BODY MOVING 超越體能極限

Example (17) is used to advertise cycling wear. In this example, the English and the Chinese equivalent expressions stand side by side, meaning 'push your physical strength to extremes', where the English noun *extreme* functions as a verb to mean 'push to extremes' and *body moving* refers to 體能 (tineng, 'physical strength'). Copywriters who may not know the proper English translation of 體能, 'physical strength', create their own version of English expressions since cycling concerns the moving of one's body.



FIGURE 3 Honda Civic sedan advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Omission of plural markers

Plural forms are omitted in instances such as *3 Perfect Design*, *SEXY WOMAN of extraordinary beauty*, and *THE MOST VERSATILE RUNNING SHOE EVER* whereas a plural marker is added to an uncountable noun, as in *Beauty is not a matter of skins*.

Omission of articles

Omission of articles arises in instances such as *world love you* and *LET'S JOIN PARTY!*. Ironically, superfluous articles are found in examples such as *Formulated in the Japan* and *Taste Comes From The Details*. These two examples as well as the superfluous plural markers added to uncountable nouns demonstrate that while local copywriters may be aware of standard English grammatical rules, the rules are misapplied. Misapplication of English grammatical rules is a new type of nativized usage emerging in the 2009 dataset.

Omission of copula verbs

Omission of copular verbs is evident in the following instances since no copula verb is required before adjectives in Chinese.

(18) DRIVING COOL

(19) WE DO ANYTHING YOU AFRAID TO DO SINCE 2009

Example (18) is a slogan used to advertise sedans; in this advertising line, the copula verb is omitted, rendering this English expression unintelligible to native speakers of English (Figure 3). Example (19) is an advertising line to challenge magazine readers to view explicit photo albums featuring almost nude women.

Use of comma splices

The following are instances that demonstrate the use of comma splices or run-on sentences.

(20) ROCK YOUR FASHION STYLE, SHOW YOUR ATTITUDE

(21) Hiphop is an old school fashion, Now I give u Hippy!

Example (21) is an advertising line promoting the service offered by a boxer company. As observed in the 2009 dataset, while copywriters use a comma to connect two independent clauses, they use periods systematically to end phrases such as *THE ORIGINAL* and *HANDWOVEN FROM WEATHER-RESISTANT DEDON FIBER*.

Pure verbatim translation

The device of using verbatim translation of Chinese structural meaning into English wording is exemplified as follows:

(22) 2005 REBORN

(23) A SUB-ZERO IS JUST A REFRIGERATOR, LIKE A DIAMOND IS JUST A STONE

(24) EVERYTHING IS ORIGINALITY!

In Example (22), serving as a verbatim translation of 2005 年重生 (2005 nian chongsheng, 'born again in 2005'), the simple English word *reborn* is made use of to mean 'The brand of Compass Apparel has come back to the market in 2005 again'. In Example (23), the English preposition *like*, which serves as the literal meaning of 好像 (haoxiang, 'like'), an adverb in Chinese, allows two sentences to be connected structurally. Example (24) demonstrates deviant usage violating the word order of standardized English while following Chinese structure. It comes from 什麼東西都可能是創意 (shenmedongxi doukeneng shi chuanyi, 'Anything could be originality'), a Chinese advertising line showcasing the brand spirit in designing young men's trendy clothing. Here copywriters reverse the word order by following the structural word order in Chinese.

Collocational deviation

Standardized English collocational rules are violated in the following examples of verbatim translation, where selectional restriction violations are evident between the head noun and its modifier (25), between the subjects and verbs (26–28), and between the verbs and objects (28–30).

(25) Welcome to Comfortable world

(26) Summer have fun

(27) ORIGINAL DESIGN PURSUE PERFECTION & REMARKABLE TECHNOLOGY

(28) Street doodle is leading my whole new life and occupies my heart sine [*sic*] 2001!

(29) Revive Your Skin Power

(30) Water Your Skin

In Example (25), the literal translation of 舒服的 (shufude, 'comfortable') and 世界 (shijie, 'world') can allow these two expressions to co-occur by following Chinese semantics. Example (26), a verbatim translation of a Chinese descriptive sentence 夏天有趣 (xiatian youqu, 'summer have fun'), meaning 'summer is fun', shares the same structure as its English counterpart. However, with omission of the copula verb and the adjective 有趣 containing the English literal meaning of 有 (you, 'have'), copywriters produce this usage violating English co-occurrence restriction rules. Examples (27) and (28) demonstrate that in Chinese, animacy of subjects is irrelevant in the co-selection between the subjects and the verbs 追求 (zhuiqiu, 'pursue') and 帶領 (dailing, 'lead') in *lead my life* in the advertising line featuring the brand of Street doodle which manufactures young men's clothing. Likewise, in Chinese, 佔據 (zhanju, 'occupy') can co-occur with 我的心 (wodexin, 'my heart').

Concerning the usage of *skin power* appearing in Example (29), there may be two sources of influence. On the one hand, the verb 恢復 (huifu, 'revive') in Chinese can be collocated with 力量 (liliang, 'power'), meaning 'revive the power of your skin'. On the other hand, *skin power* may be borrowed from the brand name and product names of a Korean cosmetics brand as appearing in *It's Skin Power 10 Formula Effector Line* and *It's Skin Power 10 Formula Propolis 30 ml*. In these two lines, *It's Skin* is the brand name and *Power 10 Formula* is the name of the product series. Perhaps due to the

way the brand name and the product names are sequenced, *skin power* stands out on its own and is borrowed by Taiwanese copywriters. Example (30) comes from the translation of 水潤你的肌膚 (shuirunnidejifu, 'water and moisturize your skin'). Copywriters who may not know the English word for 潤 (run, 'moisturize') employ the easy word *water* to stand for both words of 水潤 (shuirun, 'water and moisturize'), rendering a non-standard usage of treating skin like plants.

Local linguistic ingenuity

Besides recruiting verbatim translation, copywriters also show their linguistic ingenuity in coining English expressions, as displayed in the following instances.

- (31) utopia for your feet.
- (32) 我們要一起 YOHO BIKE !
- (33) CRAZY YOUR LIFE!!!
- (34) I am miss SHARK, white not?
- (35) Have a good 水喔
- (36) Skin Power Up

Example (31) shows how Taiwanese copywriters apply an uncommon noun in Taiwan to shoes in the advertising copy. Examples (32) to (34) pertain to the device of putting brands into words and making them stand out, an advertising strategy used in *Inner Circle* (Chi & Hao, 2013, p. 88). The Chinese-English-mixed expression in (32) means 'We'll YOHO BIKE together!' Yoho is the brand name of Yoho Bike Hotel, which promotes its travel services. In Example (33), *Crazy*, serving as a verb, is borrowed from CRAZYBOMB, the brand name of young men's trendy clothing. The whole sentence reads, 'By wearing clothing made by CRAZYBOMB, consumers can get wild and crazy'. Example (34) appears in the following text:

The brand miss Shark has come up with a breakthrough solution to skin whitening: I am miss SHARK, white not? AKEMI, the brand ambassador, recommends this brand.

In the above text, *white* in *white not* may serve as the literal meaning of the Chinese word 白 (bai, 'white') in 小白鯊 (xiaobaisha, 'a small white shark'), the Chinese brand name of miss SHARK, or 白 in the phrase 美白策略 (meibaicelue, 'a solution to skin whitening'), to emphasize the skin-whitening effects of advertised products.

Example (35), celebrating the opening of a new channel of MTV (Music Television), is a mixed sentence of English and Southern Min dialect, one of the local dialects in Taiwan (Figure 4). By way of using Chinese characters 水喔 (shuio, 'water and exclamation marker') to stand for the phonetic form of the local dialect expression *sui o*, a compliment meaning 'a good job', the successive placement of *good* in both English and Southern Min dialect in the advertising line highlights the effect of attention-getting and creating the ambiance of 'being super good'. Example (36) showcases a device combining the previously illustrated phrase *skin power* with an adverb *up*, which functions as a verb and means 'increase or upgrade' (Figure 5). The whole expression reads, 'Women's skin can be upgraded'. The usage of *up* may be borrowed from Japanese due to the close cultural ties between Taiwan and Japan. In Japanese, *up*, serving as a noun, often appears in katakana script, a syllabic phonetic script denoting the correspondence between sound symbols and script, in instances such as キャリアアップ (career up, 'upgrade one's career'). As witnessed in cosmetics ads in the 2009 data, using adverbs such as *up*, *down*, and *out* to function as verbs meaning 'increase, upgrade', 'decrease', and 'be removed' respectively is a popular device, with *up* being most frequently used of the three (Hsu, 2017, p. 265). Instances include 浮腫 OUT, 臉部線條 UP (fuzhong OUT, lianbuxiantiao UP, 'facial swelling to be removed, facial contour to be upgraded') and *mod's hair Down* 無燥感 (mod's hair Down wuzaogan, 'the styling mousse of Mod's hair decreases dryness of hair').

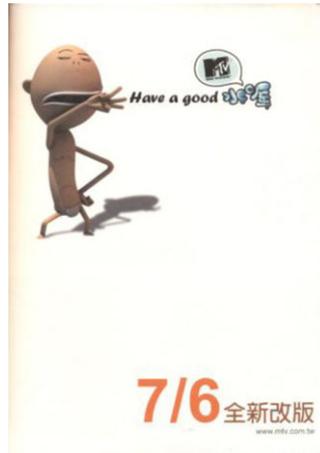


FIGURE 4 New channel of MTV (Music Television) advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



FIGURE 5 SK-II skin revitalizing cream advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

New types of deviation observed in the 2009 dataset

Discussed next are new types of deviation found in the 2009 dataset: omission and misuse of third person singular present tense, coinage of false parallelism, and unintelligibility of texts.

Omission and misuse of third person singular present tense

Third person singular present tense is omitted in the following instances.

- (37) TAIPEI XIMEN REOPEN
- (38) Moragannz Casa give you more and more
- (39) I love you the way you let me know how much you love me so
I love how much you care the love you show to me
I love to hear you say 'okay' that make me feel so good

Examples (37) and (38) deliver the messages that an outlet store of young men's clothing reopens at Ximen Section in Taipei while Moragannz Casa, a home furniture brand, can offer customers more than expected. Example (39) promotes wedding rings. Whereas omission of third person singular present tense occurs in some of the ads, seven cases of using third person singular present tense are spotted in the following instances.

(40) Meets Greece 遇見希臘

(41) The Chang-Yun system furniture 15 years high quality management team, devotes in the room the furniture innovation and the research and development. Persisted imports the environmental protection healthy.

(42) I sit at my window this morning where the world like a passer-by stops for a moment, nods to me and goes.

(43) This new range, not only provides bathrooms for singles or families, with comfort and functionality, but also offer older users, functions that make daily hygiene tasks easier.

Example (40) witnesses an extra adding of third person singular present tense in this imperative sentence; the English expression and its Chinese verbatim translation (yu Jian Xila) stand side by side in the same line, used to promote a local wedding service in the design of bridal gowns in the Greek style. Example (41), drawn from an ad featuring home furniture, constitutes a verbatim translation. While both verbs in the text, *devote* and *import* take third person singular present tense, in the second sentence, *Persisted imports the environmental protection healthy*, a translation of 持續進口環保健康 (chixujinkouhuanbaojiankang, 'The Chang-Yun system furniture management team continuously imports furniture benefiting ecosystem and human health'), zero subject occurs as a consequence of the same subjects being mentioned in the first sentence, thus rendering *imports* a non-standardized usage.

Example (42) shows use of present tense forms for the past tense in an advertising line featuring men's evening wear. In Example (43), which features bathroom fittings and fixtures, use of third person singular present tense is inconsistent between *provide* and *offer*, apart from deviations in word spacing and misplacement of commas. The above illustration shows that although copywriters creating the above ads may be aware of using third person singular present tense in their copy, the final outcome of their creations violates standardized English grammar nonetheless. In sum, the above analysis indicates that Taiwanese copywriters have difficulties in inflecting the third person singular present tense verb forms, a feature also observed in the use of English by Chinese speakers (Yan, 2002, p. 231), due to the influence of Chinese grammar.

Creating false grammatical parallelism by the use of parallel English structure or English rhyming

An innovative rhetorical strategy of coining English by Taiwanese copywriters as witnessed in the 2009 dataset is the use of parallel English structure and English rhyming, creating false and ungrammatically parallel forms.

(44) We'll Beautify and Beatify your Dreams

This advertising line promoting wedding services makes use of alliteration in the two verbs to create the rhyming effect. However, *beatify* is a rare word in Taiwan, hardly understood by Taiwanese readers. In the English-speaking world, it is usually used in a Christian religious sense, meaning 'to declare someone to have attained the blessedness of heaven and to be authorized the title "Blessed" and limited public religious honor' (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, 2018). For it to fit the advertising context, its other meaning is employed, 'to make someone supremely happy'. However, in either sense, selectional restriction violation arises between the verb and its object.

(45) FUN READY RACE PROVEN

These two phrases consisting of a noun followed by an adjective are created for structural parallel effects, appearing in an ad featuring bikes. *FUN READY*, which is *ready for fun* in reverse order, makes this English expression more succinct, forceful, and slogan-sounding.

Amazing what a furniture can do. Discover your dream furniture with Calia. Offering an enormous range of furniture with the warmth of real leather.

義大利 第一品牌 馬鞍皮沙發專業製造廠 BASTEX
嚴選自義大利馬鞍皮廠生產 頂級珠面透心 純正馬鞍皮 手工縫製

FIGURE 6 Calia furniture advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



FIGURE 7 Ides design jewelry advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

(46) LIFE IN LUXURY, EXPERIENCE IN LAZULI

LAZULI is a Taiwanese bath and kitchen brand. In this example, copywriters treat the two nouns *life* and *experience* alike in creating the seemingly parallel English noun phrases, leaving *experience* in violation with collocational rules.

(47) Amazing what a furniture can do. Discover your dream furniture with Calia.
Offering an enormous range of furniture with the warmth of real leather.

In the above advertising lines, the present participle suffix *-ing* is inconsistently attached to two of the three verbs in the first and third expressions, *amaze* and *offer*, for the rhyming effect and structural parallelism (Figure 6). While both present participle forms serve as adjectives, they come from different structural patterns. *Amazing* should be preceded by *it is* in a descriptive sentence and *Offering* is the outcome of the deletion of its subject in a participial phrase. Furthermore, *furniture* is treated as a countable noun.

(48) HOT TO FASHION HEART TO YOU

In these two advertising phrases placed side by side for advertising wedding rings, alliteration is employed to produce the rhyming effect and easy English key words are used to represent the complicated literal meaning as follows (Figure 7).

對時尚而言是火紅	對你而言是心意
Duishishangeryan shi huohong	duinieryan shi xinyi
To fashion, this ring means 'hot'.	To you, it means 'heart'.

'Our wedding rings represent trendiness in terms of fashion and symbolize love (heart) in terms of thoughts to you'.



FIGURE 8 K-Swiss running shoes advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

In this English line, *hot* is used in the same sense as that in French advertising, ‘the latest trend’ (Martin, 2006, p. 198) while *heart* serves as the English literal meaning of 心意 (xinyi, ‘heart thoughts’). *Hot* and *heart* are treated as near homophones and semantic parallels.

(49) HEADS YOU GO FURTHER. TAILS YOU GO FASTER.

This is another example where easy English key words are made use of to stand for complex advertising messages. The above two parallel sentences show a verbatim translation of the following two Chinese expressions, where the verb 讓 (*rang*) and its literal translation ‘make’ are deleted in both the Chinese and English versions (Figure 8).

鞋頭	(讓)你	走的更遠
xietou	(rang) ni	zoudegencyuan
Shoe HEADS	(make) YOU	GO FURTHER
‘The front of the shoes makes you go further.’		
鞋尾	(讓)你	走的更快
xiewei	(rang) ni	zoudegenkuai
Shoe TAILS	(make) YOU	GO FASTER
‘The back/heel area of the shoes makes you go faster.’		

In the above advertising line, *head* serves as the English literal translation of 鞋頭 (xietou, ‘shoe head’), the front of the shoes, while *tail* serves as the English literal translation of 鞋尾 (xiewei, ‘shoe tail’), the heel area of the shoes. The whole line reads, ‘With the new design of the shoe front and the shoe heel of advertised sports shoes, consumers can go further and faster’. Additionally, while plural forms of countable nouns are consistently omitted in the nativized patterns in the two datasets, plural forms of countable nouns apply to the two nouns in this example, though ironically in a deviant way.

(50) SOME PRETTY ITEMS
SINCE I AM BORN
SINCE YOU BORN
SINCE WORLD BORN



FIGURE 9 Trendykiller t-shirts advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



FIGURE 10 Orange Gum canvas bags advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Three grammatically non-parallel clauses are placed line by line in an ad promoting young men's trendy t-shirts, which read 'some good items of young men's trendy t-shirts are on sale since the birth of the world and the birth of everyone'. Violation of parallel structure is evident in the inconsistent use of copula verbs in the passive voice in these clauses, compounded by an incorrect usage of tense in the first clause.

Unintelligibility of advertising texts

The last type of copywriters' ingenuity renders the following advertising texts unintelligible.

(51) TRENDYKILLER AGENT COMMEND PART.1

TRENDYKILLER is a Taiwanese brand of young men's t-shirts (Figure 9). TRENDYKILLER AGENT refers to Trendykiller's agents in Taiwan listed in the advertisement. *Commend* may mean *recommend*. The whole expression may read, 'This is the first part of recommendation of Trendykiller's agents'. However, the whole text is still confusing and unintelligible.

(52) Live the lifestyle, born in the island, go go go !!!

In this ad promoting canvas bags, an island vibe is created by showing bags with many images of anchors on them and the expression of 'marine sporty' (Figure 10). It is not clear what message is to be conveyed in this ad. Taiwan is an island.



FIGURE 11 Kleenex' facial tissues advertisement [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

The advertising line may imply that for people born in Taiwan, they should use the advertised bags to live the lifestyle accorded with the ambiance created by the bags and they should cheer themselves up. However, for this advertising line to be more logical, perhaps it should be changed to *Born in the island, Live the lifestyle, go go go !!!*.

(53) Dare you wear autumn's new egg shape?

The advertising line is employed to promote Kleenex' facial tissues packed in a new design, the cover of which features multiple layers of curves of black lace (Figure 11). Perhaps due to copywriters' limited proficiency in English, not knowing the English word *curve*, copywriters capitalize on the literal meaning of 'egg shape' (蛋的形狀, *dandex-ingzhuang*, 'the shape of eggs') representing the curvy lines of eggs to refer to these curves. However, it is still not clear how customers of Kleenex' facial tissues can wear these newly designed tissues packages.

In short, the analysis of the two datasets indicates that, after a decade, as a response to the increasing influence of globalization on the Taiwanese market, magazine copywriters demonstrate growing bilingual creativity in innovating English usage. They do this by not only using the strategy of verbatim translation of Chinese structural meaning into English wording, but also unintentionally misapplying English grammatical rules. Moreover, they forge structural and rhyming parallelism, use easy English key words to represent complex advertising messages, and integrate loanwords from the local dialect and Japanese, which altogether in turn intensifies the nativization of English usage, including yielding inconsistent grammatical forms and unintelligible texts as well as increased grammatical and collocational deviance. Nativized devices have thus increased in quantity, in variety, and in the level of structural complexity over a decade.

5 | CONCLUSION

The findings of this study illustrate how globalization has intensified localization and nativization of English usage in Taiwanese advertising in a decade, mainly via copywriters' recruitment of verbatim translation of Chinese structural meaning into English wording in coining more English phrases and sentences in advertising copy, as a response to the growing impact of globalization. This has led to a transfer of Chinese structure to English, structural nativization, which is 'understood as the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns' (Schneider, 2007, pp. 5–6), which

in turn has resulted in a further degree of the nativization of English in Taiwanese magazine advertising during the ten years of this study. As Bhatia rightly observes, syntactic-semantic transfer from native languages can 'serve as an important source of innovation and violations which give advertising outside the inner circle its distinct and divergent flavor' (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2013, p. 592). In this 'specialized variety of English' (Martin, 2006, p. 210), due to the primary functions of English as a graphic design and a mood enhancer, Taiwanese copywriters evade the question of grammaticality. Accordingly, linguistic adaptations, collocational violations, and 'the so-called "grammatical errors" give rise to a mounting effect which stands for innovations and creativity' (Bhatia, 1992, p. 213). On the marketing strategies of using cross-cultural translations as a prominent hallmark of globalization (Bhatia, 2006, p. 614) in global advertising, two strategies are often noted in targeting audience cross-culturally and cross-linguistically. These are: (i) using translation from native languages into English in ads targeting Inner Circle audience by Expanding Circle advertisers (Bhatia, 2006, p. 614) or (ii) using translation from English into native languages in ads targeting Expanding Circle audience by Inner Circle advertisers (Martin, 2006, Hsu, 2013a). The present study provides a case study concerning Expanding Circle advertisers' recruitment of translation into English from the native language in advertising copy aiming at audience intra-culturally and intra-linguistically. The results show how English as an additional language in Taiwan has acquired an acculturated role in the communication process with the local audience in advertising in a non-native context, and has thus emerged as 'a locally brewed variety' in a fashion similar to English in French advertising (Martin, 2006, p. 243).

In the field of Chinese Englishes and the nativization of English as an additional language in Chinese-speaking communities, this study displays a different facet of nativization of English and a different variety of Chinese English in different media by examining Taiwanese copywriters' linguistic innovation of using English in magazine ads. Though some of the features observed in this study, such as the use of few articles for measure nouns, variable concordance of tenses in producing sentences, variable third person singular marking, and null subject parameter are shared by Chinese speakers of English (Yan, 2002, p. 231) and Chinese university students, newspaper articles and fiction writers (Xu, 2008, p. 9), this study showcases other nativized English features derived not only from the transfer of Chinese grammar but also from Taiwanese copywriters' linguistic ingenuity and resourcefulness, including exploiting foreign and local socio-cultural-linguistic resources. While Mandarin Chinese is becoming internationally prominent and Chinese English is being studied extensively, it would be revealing to investigate the nativization of English in the advertising discourse in Mainland China, 'the largest Expanding Circle country' (Ai & You, 2015, p. 226), as a response to the growing impact of globalization. In other words, it will be worthwhile to explore if, how, and to what extent differences in socio-cultural contexts and local copywriters' linguistic creativity may contribute jointly to variation in the employment of advertising strategies and linguistic characteristics embodied in the nativized English patterns. Finally, it is hoped that more diachronic studies of the nativization of English can be conducted cross-culturally and cross-linguistically to attain a fuller understanding of the growing impact of globalization on nativization of English in global advertising.

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NOTES

¹ Mandarin Chinese is spoken in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore; English serves as an additional language as a performance variety in the former two areas whereas English serves as an institutionalized variety in the latter two areas due to the former British colonial rule in these areas.

- ² In building these two corpuses, duplicated ads are excluded from the corpuses. Additional exclusion from the corpuses include English usage appearing on product labels or involved with brand copyrights, website information, venues of events, and product distributors because these types of information are not concerned with Taiwanese copywriters' linguistic creativity.
- ³ Based on a survey of 468 magazines published in Taiwan in 2009, 60 magazines of 10 genres such as men, women, news, health, and sports were collected for the 2009 corpus according to the sampling criteria stipulated by Moody and Hashim (2009).
- ⁴ In this study, data appearing in brand names, logos, and product names, are excluded because these types of information are proper names, which are not concerned with Taiwanese copywriters' linguistic creativity under investigation.
- ⁵ Discourse refers to a connected series of utterances.
- ⁶ Features containing ending noun phrases with periods, a prolific and systematic device found in the 2009 dataset, however, are excluded from the data since such usage also occurs in imported ads featuring Swiss-made watches and sports jackets.
- ⁷ As is shown in Table 2, because of the different sample size of the two datasets, using frequency per ad equalizes the differences in sample size. In addition, a ratio of the two datasets is employed, referring to the frequency of features of non-standard usage per ad in the 1999 dataset divided by the frequency of features of non-standard usage per ad in the 2009 dataset, to show the diachronic increase or decrease in frequency of units of non-standard usage per ad.
- ⁸ The font of English usage presented in all the examples listed in this study is an authentic representation of the font appearing in ads in the datasets.

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