HUMOR IN CODE-MIXED AIRLINE ADVERTISING

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Abstract

This article examines how humor works in the code-mixed advertising campaigns of the Spanish airline company Vueling. Drawing on the fetishism approach to multilingual advertising (Kelly-Holmes, 2005) and the theory of incongruity (Raskin, 1985), this paper explores three main types of humorous deviations in Vueling campaigns: structural, phonetic, and visual. The analysis confirms that humor in Vueling ads is produced by deviations at the formal rather than semantic level of language, specifically through the insertion of foreign languages (mainly English and French) into Spanish colloquial expressions. These foreign elements are partially "domesticated" into local Spanish frames by creative code-mixing mechanisms that serve to break readers' expectations and trigger a comical reaction. Another finding of this analysis is that in most Vueling ads, humor works according to an incongruity-resolution pattern since the subtle humor of many rhymes, puns, and plays on words is only appreciated by a Spanish audience who knows some English and French and is familiarized with certain cultural references and sayings used in Spain.

Keywords: Humor; Codeswitching; Advertising; Airlines; Incongruity; Deviation.

1. Introduction

There is a great number of studies on humor in advertising (Alden et al. 1993; Blanco 2006; Chattopadhyay & Basu 1990; Lee & Mason 1999; Scott et al. 1990, among others), numerous studies on codeswitching[1] in advertising (Bhatia 2001; Einbeck 2004; Friedrich 2002; Gerritsen et al. 2007; Jung 2001; Lee 2006; Martin 2002, 2006; Ovesdotter 2003; Piller 2001, 2003; Ustinova & Bhatia 2005, to mention a few), and some studies on codeswitching and humor (Furukawa 2007; Higgins 2007; Jaffe 2000; Siegel 1995; Stølen 1992; Tsang & Wong 2004; Woolard 1988). However, there are few that relate the three areas of advertising, codeswitching, and humor. Some of the studies on codeswitched advertising mention humor as one of the motivations for mixing foreign languages in ads (cf. Einbeck 2004; Kelly-Holmes 2005). Yet, the mechanisms of humor in multilingual advertising have not been examined in detail.

The purpose of this article is to explore the mechanisms of humor in the codeswitched advertising campaigns of the airline company Vueling. Vueling is a new generation, low-fare airline company based in Barcelona (Spain), which started its

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[1] I will be using the term 'codeswitching' for the phenomenon of mixing languages within the same word, phrase, and sentence. A discussion of the differences among codeswitching, borrowing, and code-mixing is beyond the scope of this paper. For a detailed account on that, see Auer (1999), Eastman (1992), Hoffmann (1991), Myers-Scotton (2002), and Poplack (1982).

business in May 2004. Its signature feature is a new communication style, very different from what other Spanish airline companies have ever done. Yet, the most salient feature of this unique communicative style is reflected in its advertising campaigns, which mix Spanish with other foreign languages not spoken in Spain at all such as English, French, Italian, and Dutch. One example of this is the name of the company itself: *Vueling*. This is an invented word made up of a Spanish lexeme meaning 'to fly' (vuel-) and an English suffix (-ing).

The hypothesis of this paper is that humor in Vueling ads is triggered by deviations at the formal, rather than the semantic, level of language. Comical effects in these campaigns are produced by unexpected patterns of foreign languages embedded into Spanish structures and sounds. The general theoretical framework for code-mixed advertising in this study is the fetishism approach to multilingual advertising by Kelly-Holmes (2005). My particular model of analysis will be the theory of humor by Raskin (1985).

The corpus for analysis consists of five Vueling advertising campaigns: from 2004 until 2008. Most of these campaigns have been designed by the advertising agency SCPF in Barcelona though some ads have been created by other agencies or freelancers. For the sake of cohesion, in this study I have used only the graphic advertisements designed and done by SCPF for newspapers, airports, subway stations, and buses.[2] The agency provided me with 23 ads for the campaign of 2004, 33 ads for 2005, 6 for 2006, 31 for 2007, and 30 for 2008. Thus, in total I analyzed 123 advertisements, each of them featuring several clouds talking to each other in different languages and using different types of code-mixing (see Figures 1-11).

2. Theoretical framework of code-mixed advertising

The theoretical model of code-mixed advertising on which this study is framed is the linguistic fetishism approach proposed and developed by Kelly-Holmes (2005). It uses three main concepts to explain multilingual communication in advertising: intertextuality, domesticated foreignness, and linguistic fetish, each of which will be explained below.

Kelly-Holmes (2005) looks at how advertising functions in a multiplicity of relationships within a consumer society: social, cultural, economic, political, and linguistic relations. These different types of relationships are developed not only between individuals and products or services, but also between advertising and other types of texts. This intertextuality means that in every advertisement there are other texts present. Fairclough (1992) makes a distinction between 'manifest intertextuality' "where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text and 'interdiscursivity' or 'constitutive intertextuality,' which extends intertextuality in the direction of the principle of the primacy of the order of discourse" (p. 85). Kelly-Holmes describes the former as the 'form' of a text and the latter as the 'content.'

Within this frame of advertising and intertextuality, Kelly-Holmes defines the phenomenon of foreign languages in advertising as multilingual communication: "the appearance of a number of languages or voices in a market-discourse situation" (2005:

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10). She does not limit her notion of bilingual or multilingual advertising to a particular speech act, but she extends her analysis to wider contextual frames. Accordingly, in this study, Vueling ad campaigns are conceptualized as a phenomenon of multilingual advertising communication since they take place in different media (radio, newspapers, buses, airports, subway stations, and Internet sites) and manifest themselves in different ways ranging from mixing languages within Spanish idioms as in "Happy *cuesta*[3] of *enero*" ('Happy hill[4] of January'[5]) to the manner in which flight attendants and pilots address passengers: *Buen* Vueling ('Nice Vueling'[6]).

This multilingual communication phenomenon in advertising is seen through the framework of translation theory and hence, the concept of 'domesticated foreignness' explains how foreign words are treated locally to be presented and 'sold' to the consumer. In relation to the translation of advertising, Venuti points out that "when the products are foreign, the significance must be domestic but its reverberation will be intercultural" (1994: 17). Kelly-Holmes adapts this notion to multilingual advertising and maintains that "advertising strategies involving foreign words, taken out of their original contexts and domesticated for commercial purposes contribute to – or at least play into – an ethnocentric view of 'foreign' languages" (2005: 18). In the case of Vueling, it will be seen that the service to be sold is 'international,' but the way it is sold combines the 'foreignness' of English, French, and Italian with the domesticity of Spanish expressions to give rise to a special type of local view of foreign languages.

Finally, one of Kelly-Holmes's main contributions to multilingual advertising phenomena is the idea of the fetishization of foreign languages in ads. She sustains that in many multilingual advertising texts languages are used for their symbolic value, while the communicative value "has come to be obscured or mystified through the process of fetishization to the point where it becomes irrelevant" (2005: 24). One piece of evidence that supports this observation is the fact that foreign languages used in ads have little to do with 'normal' communication in those particular communities since they are 'domesticated' to serve the purpose of advertising. Moreover, the notion of 'impersonal multilingualism' (p. 21) upholds this view: some advertisements incorporate foreign languages that are rarely used by members of the targeted community rather than use the other languages that are spoken on a daily basis in that sociolinguistic context.

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[3] I use italics for the non-English words appearing in the ads for the sake of clarity. In Vueling ads, however, there are no italics to mark the embedded foreign elements.

[4] I provide a literal English translation of each example containing foreign units in order to give the literal meaning that matches each foreign word. In the cases of puns, idioms, proverbs, or cultural references, literal translations will be given for the sake of the meaning of the foreign word, but a footnote will be provided with the equivalent expression in English. I would like to deeply thank professional translator and dearest friend Steven Krup for so many consultations about the right equivalent English proverb and idiom in each case.

[5] The noun phrase "cuesta de enero" in Spanish refers to an expression used right after Christmas when most people have spent too much money and they do not have any in January. An equivalent expression in English for that idiom in that ad would be something like "Don't let your January credit card statement get you down!"

[6] "Have a nice flight."

3. Humor and codeswitching

Few studies to date have explored the different ways in which codeswitching relates to humor, but several are worthy of close examination. Although these studies examine the role of codeswithing and humor in oral contexts and the present data constitute a case of written codeswitching, some of their findings are relevant nonetheless. One of the most relevant features examined in those studies consists of determining to what extent the codeswithing itself is what produces humor in a particular situation or if there are other sources of the comic effect. There are at least four possibilities.

First, some studies indicate that the switch itself may be the object of humor. Siegel (1995) has studied humor in the Fijian language and notes that when trying to be comical, or convey humor, speakers switch from Fijian to Hindi. Therefore, humor here is produced by the change of code rather than by the referential meaning or content of the message. When Siegel explores why the switching to Hindi is funny, he resorts to Raskin (1985) and points out three possible explanations. First, it could be due to incongruity, that is, due to something that deviates from the norm (i.e. Hindi is not normally used among Fijians). Second, switching to Hindi can be funny because of disparagement theories that attribute humor to mockery or ridicule of other people; in this case, fun of the Fiji Indians in Fijian/Hindi codeswitching. Finally, humor may arise from the release of tensions, stress, or repressed feelings; that is, the Fijian/Hindi codeswitching may allow the releasing of anti-Indian feelings.

In a second group of studies, we find cases where the codeswitching is humorous not due to the switch of languages itself, but due to the unique and creative use of those languages. An example is that of Catalan/Castilian comedy (Woolard 1988) and Danish/English songs (Stølen 1992). In her study of the jokes by Catalan comedian Eugenio in 1980 in Spain, Woolard describes this creative use of codeswitching in the following manner:

> There was nothing particularly new about Eugenio's jokes (…), but one feature of his performance stood out in most people's minds, and they pointed to it repeatedly to account for Eugenio's comic appeal. As one newspaper put it, the most distinctive feature of Eugenio's joketelling was his "promiscuous" mixing of Catalan and Castilian. (Woolard 1988: 56)

One feature of this unique type of codeswitching that characterized Eugenio in the 80s was the use of ambivalent words, that is, words that are the same in Catalan and in Castilian, such as 'saben' in its trademark joke introduction "El saben aquel…" ("Do you know the one …?"). In this phrase by which he became so famous 'El' is the Catalan masculine object pronoun, 'aquel' is a demonstrative pronoun in Castilian, and the central element ('saben') is the same verb in Catalan and in Castilian. Also, the pause that the comedian used to do after this introductory phrase and the fact that he chose that phrase as the title for the cassette makes Woolard think that Eugenio was consciously exploiting the close linguistic relationship between Catalan and Castilian (1988: 62).

Another different way Eugenio used two languages in his jokes was switching to Catalan or Castilian to separate different discourse levels in his narrative. For instance, the switch to 'diu' (third person singular in Catalan of the verb 'to say') is used to initiate a character's quotation. In this sense, Eugenio's codeswitching does not violate Poplack's equivalence constraint (1982) that requires that the surface word order of both

languages be the same of the switch point. The same happens in the case of Danish/English codeswitched songs written by one member of the Danish-American organization Harmonien. Here, English tags typical of spoken interaction among Danish/Americans were introduced without violating the equivalence constraint to reinforce ethnic bonds and create funny situations (Stølen 1992).

Although Woolard's and Stølen's studies are similar in the creative type of codeswitching that produces humor reaction from the audience, there is an important difference between both studies. In the case of mixing Catalan and Castilian, the codeswitching used by comedian Eugenio was not used by speakers in Barcelona at that time at all. In the case of the Danish/American songs, however, the type of codeswitching portrayed the way Danish emigrants actually talked in the US. Nevertheless, both uses of codeswitching serve an important social function.

On one hand, the codeswitching in Eugenio's jokes with its dual use of words and ambivalent linguistic devices overrides boundaries and makes both Catalan and Castilian audiences feel comfortable and identify with one of the two languages in a non-conflicting way. As Woolard states, "In Eugenio's performances, codeswitching is used for boundary-levelling rather than boundary-maintaining purposes" (1988: 70). On the other hand, Harmonien's songs clearly emphasize the ethnic identity of Danes living in America. The use of deliberate incorrect use of verbs, for example, reflects the way Danish newcomers to Seattle used to talk. Therefore, this type of codeswitching acts as a strategy to foster in-group membership. So, although the codeswitching is not the same in terms of being a mirror of the sociolinguistic reality of that particular community, in both cases it does convey social rather than factual information. In that sense, it can be said that codeswitching performs a symbolic function.

There is also an important similarity between the codeswitching by Eugenio and the one used in the Danish/American songs. The mixing of two languages is the most important humor-producing; it is not the only one. Actually, Eugenio's jokes are puns, but they are not bilingual puns and their humor does not depend on the listener's being proficient in Catalan or Castilian. Likewise, in the songs by Harmonien, codeswitching is the main source of humor, but rhymes and nonce loans also make an important contribution. The similarity that these two cases of codeswitching share is connected to the third type of relationship between codeswitching and humor - that by which the switch of languages is just another element in a wide range of linguistic devices to create humor, construct an identity, and align with an audience (Furukawa 2007; Jaffe 2000; Tsang & Wong 2004).

Third, the role of codeswitching as one of several features that create humor is evident in Tsang & Wong's (2004) analysis of stand-up comedy in Hong Kong. They analyze the linguistic resources that are used in a comedy show called "What's Next?" which mixes Cantonese and English. In this case, codeswitching is one of the elements that creates humor and also helps to construct an identity for that particular community. Yet, codeswitching is not the only device and not the most relevant in producing humor. There are other linguistic and pragmatic mechanisms that equally contribute to that comic effect such as pronominal indexicals, deliberate grammar mistakes, puns, metaphors, repetitions, and audience involvement. Above all of them, humor arises from the incongruity of conversations and situations narrated by the comedian.

The social effect of codeswitching in this context has been interpreted by Tsang & Wong (2004) as both a solidarity marker and as a disaffiliating device. On one hand, it demonstrates in-group membership by using that mixture of Cantonese and English so

often used by contemporary population of Hong Kong. This codeswitching reflects the mixed feelings of these language users who use English as a sign of elite education, though fear the loss of Chinese cultural identity when speaking English (Tsang & Wong 2004: 777). On the other hand, this codeswitching can also be interpreted as a disaffiliative move especially when the comedian recites famous English verses to show off his educated use of English and distance himself from most semi-bilingual Hong Kong colonials. All in all, codeswitching engages the audience and invites them to rethink and create an identity as citizens of Hong-Kong.

A fourth and final possibility comes from Higgins' (2007) work with Tanzanian speakers. In this context, codeswitching is not linked to humor in joking situations among Tanzanian speakers who mix Swahili and English in conversations (Higgins 2007). Rather, humor is produced by the 'unexpected' in a situation, such as talking about men's weight or physique when the norm is to associate men with a serious and male-dominated political role in society. In this study, the motivation for shifting from Swahili to English is to connect with the younger public when talking about superficial contemporary topics such as body image in Tanzanian women or men.

4. Humor in airline advertising

Most of the studies on humor in advertising consist of empirical research focused on experiments to disentangle the cognitive processes involved in the perception of humor in advertising. Toward that end, they are based on the notion of incongruity or deviation from consumers' expectations (Alden et al. 1993; Blanco 2006; Lee & Mason 1999; Suls 1983, among others). The concept of incongruity lies at the heart of Raskin's theory of humor (1985), which will be the model of analysis in this study. He outlines three classes of psychological theories to explain humor: incongruity, disparagement, and release. According to Siegel (1995: 103), all of them are relevant to the humor of codeswitching, however, only the theory of incongruity applies to the case of written codeswitched advertising in Vueling.

Although Raskin's theory of humor will be the general model of analysis, it should be pointed out that his approach is more semantic since it explains the cognitive mechanisms of humor. It will be essential in our analysis since it starts from the basic notion of deviance or incongruity to explain humor, but then, we need to specify the types of deviations that provoke humor in the case of Vueling. These types of deviances are mainly formal transgressions since they take place at the formal level of language, not so much at the semantic level of ideas, as will be explained in the next section.

The importance of incongruity in humor is such that it has been considered a global dimension in several media discourses such as television advertising (Alden et al. 1993). In other words, despite the cultural specifics of each national market (considering that nations may include different cultures as cultures may include different nations), there is a key universal element present in most humorous advertisements across nations: deviation. However, the omnipresence of incongruity does not mean that there are not aspects in advertising that need to be adapted to the cultural norms and values of the target market (Alden et al. 1993). There will always be cognitive structures that are cultural-bound and that are necessary to understand the humor of particular groups (Blanco 2006). In this sense, Blanco goes one step further stating that humorous discourse can reveal both the cultural models underlying the incongruent structures

from which humor itself is derived (2006: 66) and the system of beliefs ruling our experiences (p. 79).

Regarding the treatment of humor in airline advertising, it should be said that although humor is a common element in advertising, it is not a very common element in airline advertising. Perhaps many travelers these days find nothing funny about flying (Kane 1998) or it may be the case that simply flying is a very serious matter. Flying means taking a risk since people's lives are at stake, a great difference between advertising products such as perfumes or watches and a service such as an airline company.

Taking into account incongruity or deviance as the starting point in the analysis of humor of Vueling advertising, it should be said that in this type of advertising several types of deviations take place. The first type of deviation is the use of humor as a main strategy to advertise an airline. In particular, in Spain until recently the airlines market was almost entirely monopolized by one airline, Iberia. This airline represents a long-standing tradition of flying in this country and accordingly, its advertising campaigns have always been serious, conservative, and very orthodox in the linguistic mechanisms employed.

Therefore, consumers in Spain have been used to traditional advertising styles in the airlines market and their expectations reflect conventional and standard practices. This has been so until the moment Vueling launched its first advertising campaign in 2004 using a particular mixture of languages and provoking humor by the insertion of foreign elements in very typical Spanish expressions and sayings. So, the first type of deviation to be considered in Vueling campaigns and the first way this company breaches consumers' expectations is related to the treatment of the product to be advertised; that is, they are the first to use humor in airline advertising.

Apart from this type of general deviation, the main mechanism to break consumers' expectations is the way Vueling mixes languages. When consumers encounter an ad in Spain, their first expectation is to find that ad in Spanish or perhaps in Galician, Catalan, or Basque, that is, languages that are spoken in Spain. The expectation is not to find an ad in English, French, Italian, and Dutch, which is precisely what Vueling does. Thus, this use of foreign languages breaks the audience's expectations. Nevertheless, the mere fact of mixing different languages is not what produces humor as happens in other sociocultural contexts (cf. Siegel 1995). In examples (1-3), the Dutch preposition 'vanaf,' the French article 'les,' and the English preposition 'per' do break consumers' expectations since the ads are not in their entirety in the native language of the national market. However, they do not produce a comical effect.

(1) Barcelona Madrid Valencia *vanaf* 15 € ('Barcelona Madrid Valencia from 15 €')
(2) *Todos les destinos* ('All destinations')
(3) *Desde* 10 € per *trayecto* ('From 10 € each way')

On the contrary, in examples (4-6) the French article 'le,' the verb phrase 'rebajing,' the English preposition 'from,' and the noun 'sky' do produce a comical effect for Spaniards and have an impact on the message.[7] The reasons why the use of code-mixing in these examples produces humor are detailed in the next section.

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[7] I elaborated a series of surveys to be distributed among passengers in Vueling flights in order to find out if consumers consider Vueling ads as funny or not. Although the analyses of the results of

(4) *Por le interés* I love you Andrew ('For the interest I love you, Andrew'[8])
(5) Vueling *de* rebajing ('rebajas' means 'sales' in English)
(6) From Madrid to the sky[9]

5. Humorous deviations in Vueling advertisements

In the current study, the concept of deviation will be understood in very general terms as any form of separation from linguistic norms, although specific types of deviations in the case of Vueling advertising will be explained in detail. Apart from the content deviation related to the nature of the product being advertised, there are three main sets of deviations in Vueling campaigns. All three produce humor for different reasons, and each of them functions at different levels of language.

5.1. *Humor through structural deviations*

The first and more frequent type of humorous deviation in Vueling ads occurs at the structural level by mixing different languages in the same sentence. Within this category, there are three types of structural deviations that provoke different comical effects: standard codeswitching deviations, proverb deviations, and song deviations. Each will be explained below.

5.1.1. *Deviations of standard codeswitching rules*

The most prominent deviation in this category is the morphological deviation that occurs when the free morpheme constraint is violated; this constraint specifies that codes may be switched as long as constituents are not bound morphemes (Poplack 1982: 234). According to this rule, bound morphemes such as the gerund suffix –ing in English and –*ando* in Spanish could never be separated from their lexemes. Thus, examples such as 'eatiendo' or 'compranding'[10] would never be produced. Yet, it is precisely this type of bound morpheme mixing that constantly appears in the Vueling

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these surveys go beyond the scope of the present article, I just can say that there is enough evidence to sustain that Vueling campaigns produce a comical effect among Spaniards.

[8] This is a Spanish saying ("Por el interés te quiero, Andrés") meaning 'I love you for what I can get out of you, Andrew.' The proper name "Andrés" here is just a proper name used because in Spanish it rhymes with the word *interés*, which means 'benefit' in this context. A possible equivalent saying in English could be something like "No money no love."

[9] The Spanish expression "De Madrid al cielo" (From Madrid to heaven) is a colloquial expression used in Madrid meaning that there is no other place like Madrid, except heaven. The interesting thing is that in Spanish 'cielo' is the word used for both 'heaven' and 'sky.' The advertiser has chosen 'sky,' which immediately is translated as 'cielo' in the mind of the average Spaniard who may not know that the correct word in that context should have been 'heaven;' if he or she does know, that lexical choice is funny because of the literal translation.

[10] This example, given by Silva-Corvalán & Potowski (2009: 273), fuses the two gerund bound morphemes in Spanish and English (-*ando* and –ing) into the same word. Another case of breaching the free morpheme constraint is 'compring' (the lexeme 'compr-' means 'to buy').

corpus to the extent of having become the brand name (Vueling) and signature style of the airline company: 'telefoning,' 'compring,' 'rebajing,' etc.

The humor produced by this specific type of morphological deviation derives from the uniqueness of an invented word that does not belong either to the English or the Spanish language and from the dynamic communication style that the addition of -ing conveys. Since the suffix -ing in English is used for actions taking place at the moment of speaking, its use with a Spanish verbal lexeme gives this type of code-mixing a sense of immediacy and dynamism, contributing to the spirit and style that this company wants to infuse among their consumers. More interesting is the fact that sometimes the English -ing suffix is added not to a Spanish verb, but to a Spanish noun such as 'rebajas' ('sales') to create a verb ('rebajing') or an adverb such as 'luego' ('later') to produce a colloquial farewell expression as "Hasta lueging" ('See you later'). This result is even more comical since expectations are doubly broken: the addition of an English morpheme to a Spanish lexeme and using -ing with nouns or adverbs instead of verbs.

Second deviation from standard patterns of codeswitching is that which takes place at the syntactical level of the sentence such as verb phrase deviations. Vueling ads break structural constraints related to verb phrases containing auxiliaries, a context in which is normally prohibited, especially if the phrases contain negative verbal elements. In these cases, the negative elements should be in the same code as the verb being negated (Lipski 1978: 252). Thus, examples such as (7) or (8) would not be produced in normal codeswitched contexts:

(7) *Vuela*, don't *camines* ('Fly, don't walk')
(8) Don't *te duermas* ('Don't fall asleep')

Instead, normal codeswitched examples would have been (9) or (10) for (7) and (11) or (12) for (8):

(9) *Vuela*, don't walk
(10) Fly, *no camines*

(11) *Tú*, don't fall asleep!
(12) Hey you, *no te duermas*!

Breaking the bond between an auxiliary and its main verb by switching the code or language produces sharp contrast and incongruity. Humor here derives from the resulting new syntactic structure, which is neither Spanish nor English and breaks all standard practices of codeswitching so far. As Goldstein (1990: 38) says: "Most deviations from the rules of language are met not with a blank stare of noncomprehension but with a range of reactions including, of course, *amusement*." In the same sense, Shultz and Robillard (1980: 71) state that violation of a rule of language results in one or other kind of incongruity, and incongruity is often amusing.

5.1.2. Deviations in proverbs and idioms

A group of Vueling ads that literally translate foreign words into Spanish proverbs and idioms constitutes one of the most frequent types of structural deviations. In this group,

foreign elements are inserted within well-known Spanish proverbs and expressions. For example, in one ad there is a talking cloud saying that it is amazing that Vueling has such inexpensive flights. Another cloud agrees and adds that it is especially remarkable being oil is so expensive. To convey the meaning of 'being expensive,' this cloud uses the Spanish saying "por las nubes" (lit. 'over the clouds'), which in English means something like "prices are sky high." (example 13). This Spanish saying is expressed in the ad by inserting two French words (the article *le* and the preposition *pour*) embedded in it:

(13) and *eso que le petróleo está pour las nubes* ('and considering that oil prices are sky high')

The expression by itself is already colloquial and funny. Yet, humor here is enhanced due to the unexpected presence of foreign elements in such a typical Spanish semantic frame. Humor is also transmitted through a pun on the Spanish noun 'nubes' ('clouds') because it is the word used in that idiom (meaning that something that is so expensive is hard to reach, such as the clouds), and also it alludes to the visual representation of Vueling, the talking clouds.

Another example is (14) where we find an English noun 'spring' and verb 'fly' inserted into part of a Spanish saying. The saying is "Quien no corre, vuela," which literally is "S/he who doesn't run, flies" and the equivalent saying in English would be something like "the early bird gets the worm." In other words, the meaning is that some people are really smart and can get something before you unless you act quickly. Here, the Spanish saying has been adapted in two ways. First, the prepositional phrase 'in spring' has been added since this is the spring advertising campaign of Vueling. Second, the saying has been expressed in affirmative terms instead of the negative framing of the original in Spanish to convey the meaning that those who are quick and buy Vueling tickets before they are sold out (being so cheap) will get to fly.

(14) In spring *quien corre*, fly ('In spring s/he who runs, flies')

The comical effects in this example are also triggered here by the unexpected use of English in this colloquial Spanish saying and by two linguistic devices: a play on words and a translation rhyme. First, the verb 'fly'[11] makes reference to the act of being quick and smart and, of course, it alludes to Vueling and the airline business. Second, and most interesting, is the fact that the translation into Spanish of the two English words ('spring' and 'fly') produces a rhyme: 'primavera' ('spring') rhymes with 'vuela' ('fly'). So, the Spanish audience knowing some English will automatically translate those two words in Spanish producing a rhyme.

There is also a numerous group of ads that insert foreign words into Spanish idioms only known to Spaniards or to someone who has lived in Spain long enough to be familiar with certain cultural references and colloquial expressions. Some of these

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[11] It should really have been 'flies' instead of 'fly,' but this is precisely one feature in Vueling ads: replicating many of the grammar mistakes that Spaniards make when learning English.

expressions have been made famous by TV shows, radio, political figures, or celebrities in Spain.[12] Next, I will show and explain two examples in detail.

First, in Figure 1, there is one cloud in the bottom left corner that says:

(15) Stop *le sillonbol*! ('Stop being a couch potato!')

'Sillonbol' is a new expression used in Spain to mean 'couch potato.' This word is formed following the pattern of sports words in Spanish such as 'fútbol' (from 'football' in English), 'béisbol' (from 'baseball'), or 'básquetbol' (from 'basketball'), where 'sillón' means 'couch' and then, the suffix *-bol* comes from the English word 'ball.' So, this concept of being sitting on the couch watching TV is given the rank of a sport, when, of course, that would be anything but a sport. By saying "Stop le sillonbol," the cloud in the left bottom corner urges the clouds sitting on the couch to stop, implying that they should fly and discover new places such as Milan, Lisbon, or Paris. The humor here is produced by the insertion of English ('stop') and French (*le*) in such a new Spanish expression and also by the image of the clouds sitting on the couch, watching TV, and eating junk food (see 5.3. on visual deviations below).

A second example can be seen in Figure 2. This ad belongs to one of the more recent advertising campaigns of Vueling in which the clouds appear more real: they are no longer cartoon clouds. One of the clouds asks what happens in the sky and the other's answer is:

(16) Don't *te ralles* Plus *frecuencia*: 9 flights *diarios* MAD-BCN!
('Don't bother plus frequency: 9 daily flights Madrid-Barcelona')

The verb "rallar" in Spanish has two main meanings: (1) to grate or reduce to small shreds and (2) to bother or annoy someone. The second meaning has adopted a reflexive form and is currently used in Spain among young people with the meaning of 'getting crazy.' So, an equivalent for "Don't *te ralles*" in English could be "Don't make yourself crazy" or "Don't get hung up over it."

The comical effect in Figure 2 comes from three sources. One is the verb phrase violation of presenting the auxiliary verb with negation in one language and the main verb in another. The second is the unexpected insertion of English in a non-international reference. This expression is very much in vogue in Spain and is used only among young people. Finally, there is a play on words and images in the advertisement. On one hand, the verb "rallar" is pronounced in Spanish like "rayar" which means to draw lines. This is exactly what is happening in the sky and in the ad: the lines in the sky represent the trails that planes leave behind them. Those trails are from the planes coming from Madrid to Barcelona (MAD-BCM) and vice versa with a frequency of nine daily flights, which is what the ad is advertising: the frequency of Madrid-Barcelona flights. On the other hand, the meaning of 'getting crazy' also holds true since the cloud is saying that you are not getting crazy; that is, what is really happening is that there are nine flights from Madrid to Barcelona every day! Believe it or not.

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[12] I prepared a brief informal survey among ten native Spanish speakers from various Spanish-speaking countries (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela) in order to confirm that these expressions were only used in Spain.
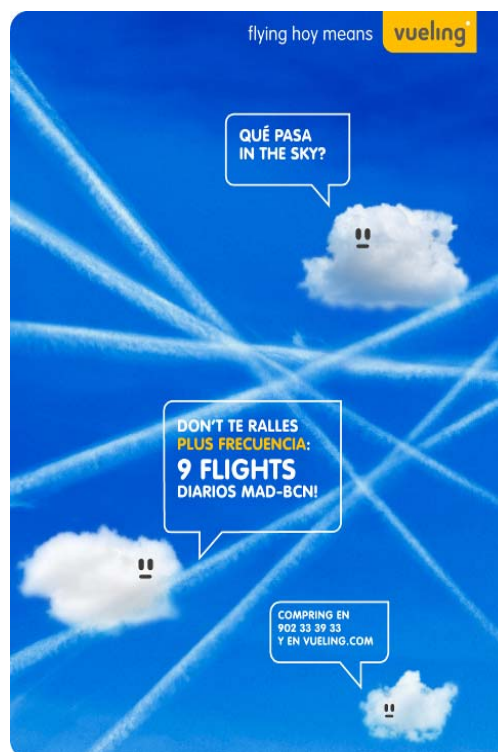
Figure 1   Figure 2

Structural deviation in a Spanish colloquial expression

5.1.3. Deviations in songs

The last group of structural deviations appearing in Vueling advertising campaigns consists of formal deviations in popular songs. These songs are well-known in Spain, Europe, and internationally. Example (17) was used in a Vueling ad for the summer campaign of 2005:

> (17) Don't forget *la toalla cuando* go to *le playa* ('Don't forget the towel when you go to the beach')

This code-mixed sentence comes from a famous song in Spain from the late 80s which has been often used on TV commercials and other media since then. The Spanish title "No te olvides la toalla cuando vayas a la playa" ('Don't forget your towel when you go to the beach) is already humorous because of the trivial content and banal lyrics. If, on top of that, English verbs ('forget,' 'go') and a French article ('le') are added, the effect on the reader is definitely comical. Humor is also reinforced visually by presenting the talking clouds sunbathing on beach towels and wearing sunglasses (see Figure 3).
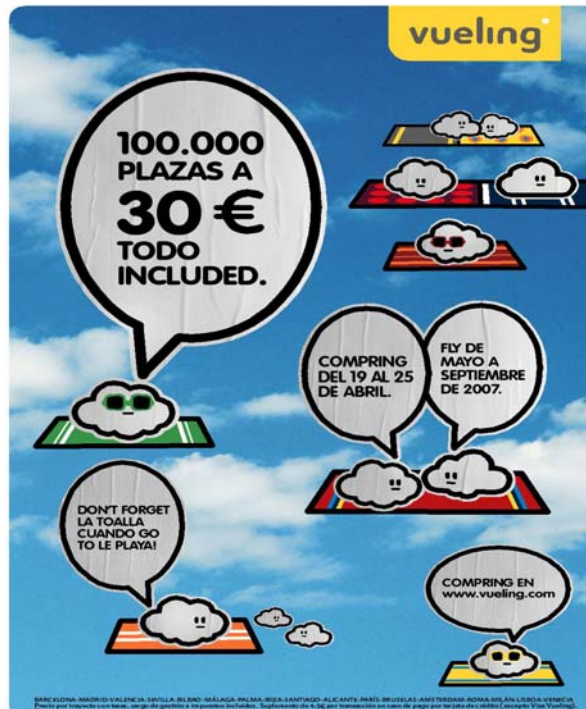
Figure 3: Structural deviation in a Spanish song.

The next example (18) was the title of the song that represented Spain in the European Festival of the Song "Eurovision" in 2002. The title together with the first sentence in the chorus were in English and the rest of the song was in Spanish. So, this song is itself code-mixed like Vueling ads. The song became very famous in Spain as well as the rest of Europe. It was a symbol of unity and joy not only because of the festival, but also because of the enlargement of the European Union and the unification of Europe. This song is here used by Vueling to launch new destinations in Europe in 2006: Amsterdam, Lisbon, and Milan. So, those cities 'enlarge' the Vueling map of destinations in a unified Europe, a good reason for 'celebration.'

(18) Europe is living a celebration

Songs well-known worldwide are also modified to break expectations and convey humor. In (19), the title of the famous English song "It's raining men" is modified in two ways. First, the noun 'men' has been replaced with 'points,' and, second, the English interjection 'hallelujah' from Hebrew is adapted to Spanish: *Aleluya*. This formal deviation of the original title is used by Vueling to advertise its frequent-flyer "points" program. Humor in (19) derives from the jocular nature of the song itself, the unexpected noun 'points' instead of 'men,' and the picture of the clouds singing under umbrellas and a colorful rain of points (see Figure 4).

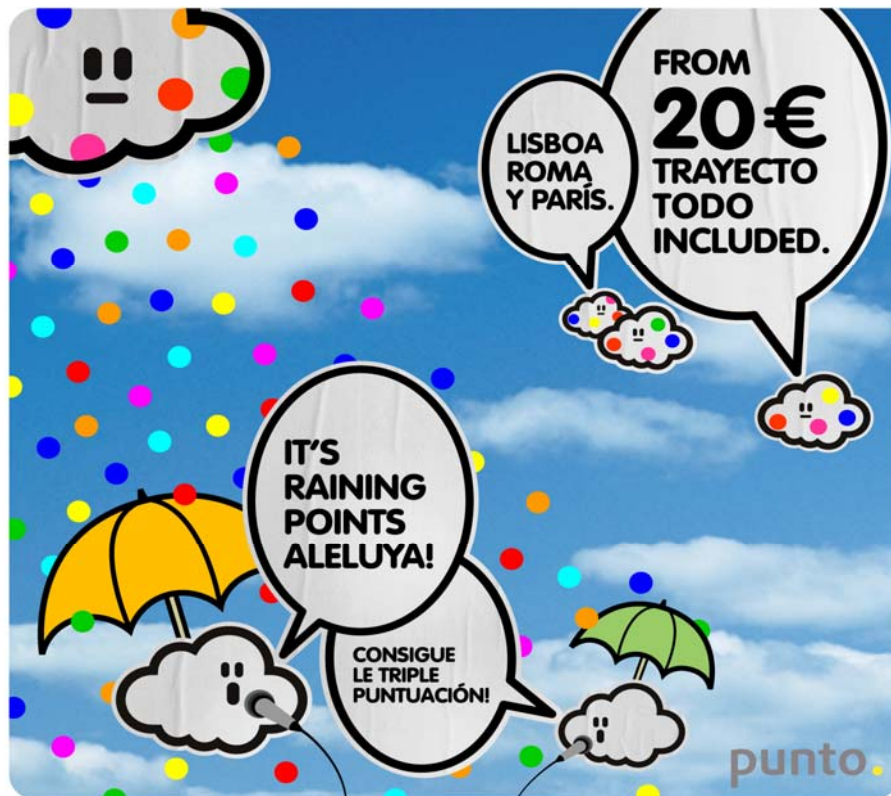(19) It's raining points. Aleluya!

Figure 4: Structural deviation in an English song.

5.2. *Humor through codeswitching at the phonetic level*

There is also a set of humorous examples in Vueling ads that break readers' expectations at the phonetic level of language. Within this category, three groups can be distinguished.

5.2.1. *Accent stylization*

Some of the most interesting and comical Vueling ads are those reproducing or mimicking regional accents in Spain such as Andalusian pronunciation. In some parts of Western Andalusia, speakers spontaneously interchange the inter-dental /ᶿ/ and the alveolar /s/. In (20) the word "sur" [súr], meaning 'south,' is pronounced [ᶿúu] (with assimilation of the liquid to the vowel). Another feature of Andalusian pronunciation is elision of the inter-vocalic /-d-/, particularly in regular -ar past participles. Thus, the word "lado" [lá-*o], meaning 'next to' is pronounced [láo] in (21).

> (20) Let's fly to *le zú* ('Let's fly to the south')
> (21) More *destinos al lao* of Sevilla ('More destinations next to Seville')

These phonetic features occur only in spoken discourse. Yet, Vueling uses them in writing to advertise destinations in Andalusia such as Seville or Malaga. Seeing them in written language and preceded or followed by English or French words ('to,' 'le,' 'of') breaks all expectations on the part of the audience. Also, the use of this accent in writing is used to mimic or parody a particular socio-cultural group: Andalusian people. The stereotype of an Andalusian is usually a playful, funny, and lighthearted person who does not work too much and enjoys parties and having a good time. So, this association also contributes to make the ad even funnier.

5.2.2. Codeswitching with onomatopoeias

Additionally, words whose sounds imitate specific noises or actions are used in Vueling ads for comical effects. Sometimes the onomatopoeias have a Spanish spelling such as in (22). Humor is conveyed in this case by the combination of three elements. First, the sound is preceded by an idiom that is funny by nature: "Volará hasta el gato." This is a very colloquial expression in Spanish meaning that everybody did, do, or will do something. For example, in this case, it means that everybody will fly with Vueling (even the cat). In English there is an expression that is somewhat close but somewhat dated: "Every Tom, Dick, and Harry will fly." Second, in this brief Spanish expression we find both English ('cat') and French (*le*). Finally, the onomatopoeic sound representing a cat enhances the humorous effect of the whole utterance.

(22) *Volará hasta le* cat. Mmiau! ('Even the cat will fly')

Other onomatopoeic sounds used in Vueling campaigns have the same spelling in English and Spanish such as "Shhhh" in Figure 5. The sound of silence represented by "Shhhh" emphasizes the humor produced by the idea of the clouds waiting in a dark room ready to surprise the two millionth passenger. The whole scenario of a surprise party is joyful and pleasant to the audience and the fact that this party is being prepared by 'clouds' wearing party hats and blowing noisemakers accentuate that comicalness. Something vey similar happens in the graphic representation of the sound of sleeping "Zzzzzz" in Figure 6. Humor here is raised first by the structural verb phrase deviation in one of the cloud's utterances where the negative auxiliary is in English but the main verb is in Spanish: "Don't *te duermas*" (lit. 'Don't fall asleep'). The response of the other cloud with the onomatopoeia of sleeping enhances the humorous effects of the previous form of deviation.

Figure 5: Humor through codeswitching with onomatopoeic sounds.

Figure 6: Humor through codeswitching with onomatopoeic sounds.

Finally, the most humorous ads produced by onomatopoeias are those in which we find the sound graphically represented in one language with a modifier in another language such as in Figure 7 where there is a cloud saying "Very very *ñam*." Here, we find an English adverb ('very') modifying a Spanish sound (*ñam* [13]). The first incongruity leading to humor is the idea of modifying an onomatopoeic sound in Spanish with an adverb ("*muy muy ñam*") since the onomatopoeia 'ñam' has not been grammaticalised as adjective in Spanish, unlike 'yummy' in English. In Figure 7, not only do we find onomatopoeia modified by an adverb, but also we find that adverb in a different language, a situation that breaks the audience's expectations even more completely. The final comical note that tops it off is the image of two clouds eating a spaghetti noodle that is wrapped around another cloud. The third cloud says "*Il sapore de Italia*," advertising Naples as a new destination for Vueling airlines.

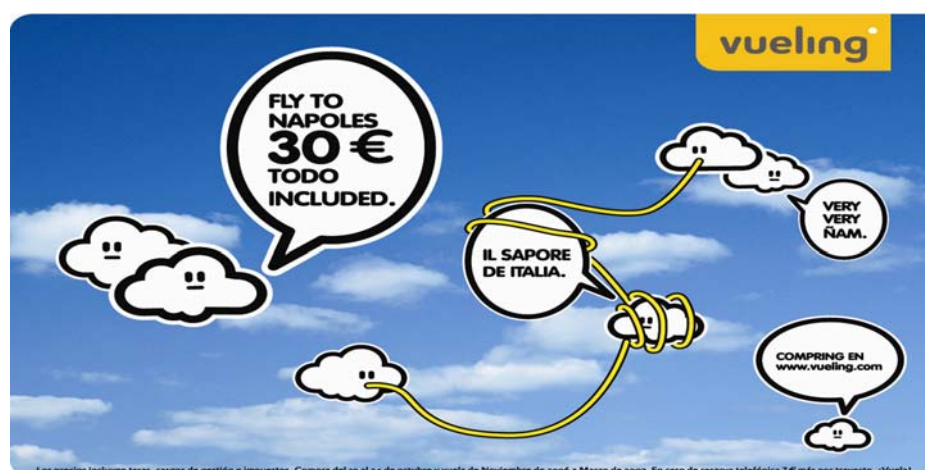[13] The equivalent in English would be 'yummy' or 'yum.'

Figure 7: Humor through code-mixed onomatopoeic sounds.

5.2.3. Codeswitched repetitions

According to McQuarrie & Mick (1996), repetition is a rhetorical figure or 'artful deviation' that occurs at the formal level, rather than the semantic level of language. Within the category of repetition, these authors include rhymes and alliterations as rhetorical operations that occur at the figurative mode of the so called 'schemes,' the mode related to order and regularity (McQuarrie & Mick 1996). These visual rhetorical forms have also been proved to stimulate a positive attitude toward ads (McQuarrie & Mick 1999). In Vueling ads, we find cases of both rhymes and alliterations. These already 'artful' deviations are presented in even more original ways by the code-mixing taking place in them.

Example (23) shows a rhyme produced by two homophones: the Spanish interjection (*Oh*) and the French noun (*eau*), meaning 'water' and making reference to Venice and its canals. As in examples (13), (14), and (16) above, humor works here in a very selective and unique manner. Incongruity of the French noun is resolved when the reader realizes that this word has the same pronunciation as the Spanish interjection. In other words, incongruity is resolved at the phonetic or spoken level of language, whereas it remains hidden at the written level of discourse. Not every reader will get this rhyme because it entails some knowledge of French pronunciation.[14] However, those who catch on to the rhyme will feel a special sense of accomplishment and cleverness that makes the ad even more effective.

(23) *Oh cuanta eau*! ('Wow how much water!')

Other cases of humorous repetition deviations are (24) and (25). In (24), the rhyme is easily perceived since the ending of the word *abajo* and *trabajo* is identical and is not concealed as in example (23). The comical effect is triggered here by the

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[14] In this particular case, many non-French speakers may understand the word 'eau' and even know its pronunciation in French since it is part of the proper name of many French perfumes and colognes commercialized in Spain ("Eau de Rochas," "Eau de Courreges," among others). Thus, people are used to seeing and hearing the pronunciation in advertisements and TV commercials.

unexpected insertion of the French article ('le') in the middle of the Spanish rhyme. Also, the idea behind the rhyme (down with work) is funny and even more so when said by a cloud which is burned-red apparently due to excessive sunbathing (see Figure 8).

(24) *Abajo le trabajo*! ('Down with work')

Figure 8: Humor through codeswitched rhymes.

Finally, an example of alliteration is the repetition of the consonant 'v' in (25). Humor here is provoked not only by the repetition of the sound /v/ in 'vive,' 'vida,' and 'vueling,' but also by allusion to the famous song by Ricky Martin "Livin' la vida loca," which curiously contains examples of codeswitching like Vueling campaigns themselves. In (25), the original adjective 'loca' ('crazy') has been replaced by the brand name 'vueling' to produce the alliteration with 'vive' and 'vida.' There is also an implicit connection of ideas when replacing 'crazy' by 'Vueling' as if infusing energy and a type of seize-the-moment-philosophy of life among consumers. This sentence in example (25) has been recently chosen as the slogan to launch Vueling's own brand of cellular phones.

(25) *Vive la vida* vueling ('Life the Vueling life')

5.2.4. Deviant spelling

Sometimes humor is also produced by certain incongruities in the spelling of words as the interjection "Ai" in Figure 9. This ad is one of the Vueling ads to advertise Lisbon as a new destination. In the bottom left corner we can see a cloud saying "*Al pais* of *les fados*" ('To the country of the fados') referring to Portugal's most famous music genre: the fado. Since this type of music is characterized by mournful tunes and lyrics, the other cloud replies: "Ai, what a *dolor*!" ('Oh, how sad!'). Humor here is conveyed by the way the interjection is written simply reproducing the pronunciation and ignoring

the correct spelling ("Ay" instead of "Ai"), the code-mixed phrase "What a *dolor*," and the picture of the cloud crying.

Figure 9: Humor through deviant spelling.

5.3. *Visual deviations*

Visual elements such as color and layout are used to articulate aspects of discourse and can function as cohesive devices in it (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001). The visual characterization of Vueling advertising campaigns is dominated by images of talking clouds in the blue sky as we have seen throughout this article. These clouds function as a visual mechanism that gives cohesion and coherence to Vueling discourse. However, this cohesion in the graphic representation of the ads is broken several times in different ways.

One way is by representing these clouds, not only talking, but also doing other uniquely human actions like watching TV, sunbathing, or singing (see Figures 1, 3, and 4, respectively). This deviation from reality of the visual level of the ad produces humor for the audience who does not expect to see clouds doing these types of activities. As Dauer (1988: 245) sustains that part of the perceived humor resides in the incongruity that can be seen in the portrayed person actualizing what is depictionally impossible of the depicted person (in the case of Vueling, clouds and not persons). Another way of breaking the cohesion of the graphic representation is by changing the shape of the clouds to fit the purpose of the ad. For example, in Figure 10 clouds are stretched to

match the content of the ad: extend your holidays ("*Alarga tus* holidays") since this was created for the campaign of September 2007 (in Spain most people go on holidays in August and come back to work in September). Likewise, in Figure 11 the clouds are leaning to imitate the Tower of Pisa and advertise Pisa as a new Vueling destination. The visual deviation from Vueling normal graphics produces a humorous reaction due to the unexpectedness of the clouds' shape and the creative way to convey the propositional content of the ad.
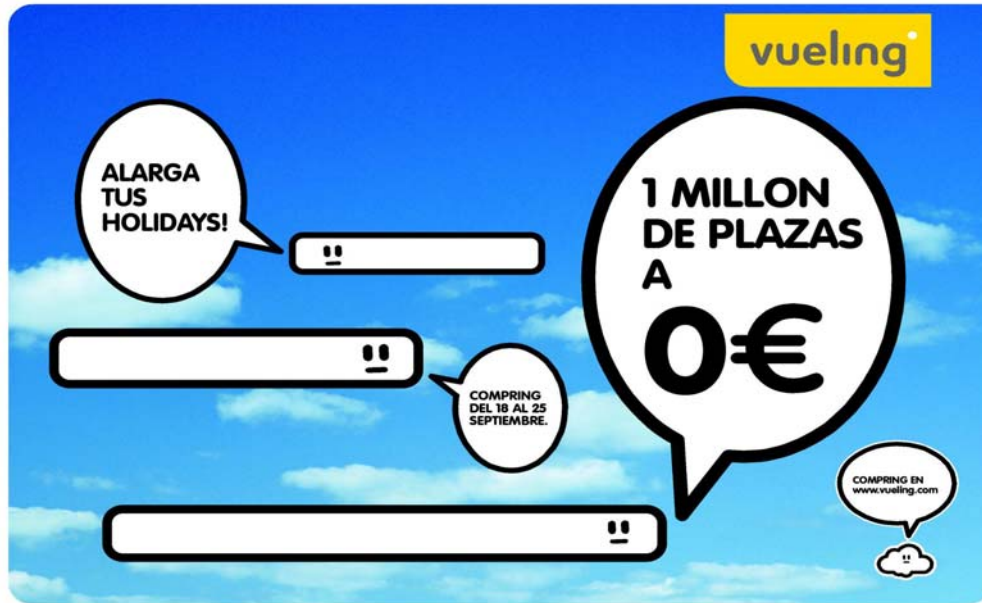

Figure 10: Visual deviation for September campaign.

Figure 11: Visual deviation in Pisa advertisement.

6. Discussion of results

6.1. *Humor and codeswitching in Vueling*

As has been shown, humor is produced in Vueling campaigns by the unexpected insertion of foreign elements into local frames; that is, codeswitching itself is the main device that triggers humor, as in the cases of Catalan/Castilian (Woolard 1988) and Dutch/English (Stølen 1992) codeswitching. The type of codeswitching used in Vueling is special due to its unique and creative features as well as the fact that it emphasizes the already comical nature of other devices by producing deviations at the structural, phonetic, and visual levels. In this sense, unlike the cases studied by Woolard (1988) and Stølen (1992), codeswitching in Vueling does not follow the equivalence constraint (Poplack 1985) or any other structural rules, as explained in 5.1.1. One of the most outstanding examples of this creative style of code deviation is manifested in the way Vueling ads make up new words (Vueling, rebajing, etc.), new structures (don't *te ralles*, don't *te duermas*, etc.), and especially the way foreign elements create overt (*Abajo le trabajo*!) or covert rhymes and plays on words (*Oh cuanta eau*!).

It is precisely in these cases of covert rhymes and puns where humor works in a very selective manner, following an incongruity-resolution pattern. Raskin's theory of humor has been considered by authors such as Alden et al. (1993) within the incongruity-resolution school of humor (Shultz 1972, 1976; Suls 1972); they hold that humor results only when incongruity is resolved, not merely when it is introduced. However, in the analysis of many Vueling ads, humor results from both existing and resolved-incongruities, the latter reflecting a more elaborated type of humor. Incongruity-resolution cases in Vueling that trigger humorous effects are those of plays on words (example 13), concealed rhymes produced in the mental translation of foreign elements (example 14), double plays on words at the semantic and visual levels (example 16), and hidden rhymes at the phonetic level of language (example 23). These incongruities are not easily resolved by everyone. So, those who are able to do so and catch on to the joke or pun underlying the ad feel very satisfied with the ad for having been so witty and with themselves for having worked it out.

Another similarity between Vueling's codeswitching and that found in the Danish/English songs by Harmonien (Stølen 1992) and in the Hong Kong stand-up comedy (Tsang & Wong 2004) is the use of codeswitching to reproduce mistakes made by Spaniards when learning a foreign language. These misuses of English grammar (for example, "in spring *quien corre*, fly" instead of 'flies') serve to make a connection with the addressee by reproducing the way many Spaniards speak English and help to promote a sense of in-group membership. Likewise, Vueling is modeling a new linguistic pattern based on literal English translations of Spanish idioms and proverbs; this pattern, which is also being used by other companies and radio programs, derives its humorous effect by playing off of the audience's empathy for the average Spaniard who learns English. In the same fashion, another linguistic resource for approaching the consumer is imitating local accents altered by foreign elements as shown in 5.2.1. In particular, the transcription of Andalusian accent mixed with French or English words used by the talking clouds in some Vueling ads is one of the funniest devices used by the advertising agency to grasp readers' attention and to make them laugh.

Getting the reader's attention is precisely the primary motivation of advertising agencies and this fact should not be ignored when analyzing the role of codeswitching

and humor in Vueling. As in the case of Higgins (2007), where the motivation for shifting from Swahili to English is to connect with the youngest generations (shifting tactics), in Vueling ads there is also a desire to reach younger readers who normally do not have much money and may be potential customers for this low-cost airline. In other words, the unexpected insertion of foreign elements in the Spanish-based Vueling ads is what produces humor, but it is also a device to catch the consumer's eye and attract people to fly with this company. This persuasive factor inherent to the discourse of advertising is the main difference between this case of codeswitching and other existing studies of codeswitching and humor.

6.2. *International and local dimensions of humor in Vueling*

The way Vueling ads break syntactic rules by incorporating foreign units into Spanish lexemes and sentences, insert mostly English and French words translated literally into very colloquial Spanish expressions, and embed foreign sounds into local accents and pronunciations produces comical reactions on the part of consumers and serves to emphasize the visual texture of the advertisement, that is, the supremacy of sound and form over content.

In the analysis of these humorous deviations it has been observed that foreign languages are not used to convey meaning or impose values onto the local socio-cultural setting of the ads. On the contrary, these foreign languages are partially 'domesticated' into the native language and culture by different types of code-mixing mechanisms aimed to break readers' expectations and produce humor. Therefore, the use of English, French, Italian, and Dutch in Vueling is driven by symbolism rather than content since these languages do not communicate information, but rather 'foreignness.' This concept of 'domesticated foreignness' proposed by Kelly-Holmes (2005) applies clearly to the case of Vueling; the company sells an international concept of flying but from a Spanish perspective. In other words, foreign elements are inserted into Spanish sentences, proverbs, and idioms to sell the consumer the foreign idea of flying, but it is actually a Spanish idea of flying that is being sold. This adaption of foreignness to local settings means using languages for the sake of their form, not their content.

The symbolic value of foreign languages in Vueling is also supported by the fact that the languages used are not spoken in Spain. In other words, Spaniards may know English or French because they learn them in schools or universities, but they do not use these languages in their daily life. This 'impersonal multilingualism' identified by Kelly-Holmes (2005) in multilingual advertising was explained in section 2. Ironically, the other languages spoken in Spain such as Catalan, Galician, or Basque are not used in Vueling campaigns. Hence, the use of English, French, Italian, or Dutch here does not reflect a desire to convey meaning but rather certain visual effects. This is what Kelly-Holmes expresses as 'being part of the image rather than the text of the advertisement' and using these languages for a 'fetishistic effect' (2005: 39).

Finally, it is important to stress the fact that humor in Vueling is local despite the presence of international elements. As said in section 4, deviation is a universal concept and device used in advertising to achieve certain effects, among them humor. However, there are always culturally-bound cognitive structures that are essential to understanding the humor of a particular group. In the case of Vueling, deviations operate on cultural references or idioms only identifiable by Spaniards. Thus, humor is

more selective than in other types of deviations in the sense that these ads are targeted toward a very specific population: Spaniards familiarized with certain expressions used in Spain and knowing enough English to appreciate the unexpected pattern of the code mixing in the messages.

Therefore, the success of these ads is dependent on the receiving audience. Vueling's target audience is made up mainly of young people, normally students, who like to travel but do not have much money and choose low-cost airline companies such as this one. Most students in Spain speak some English since they normally study it in secondary education. Therefore, understanding these ads is not an obstacle for this population, although it could be an obstacle for non-Spaniards or for Spaniards with zero knowledge of English especially in the case of English words that are not cognates. The case of French and Italian is slightly different. Because these are Romance language like Spanish, Vueling ads contain many French and Italian cognates, and the insertion of these languages does not pose a problem.

7. Conclusion

This analysis confirms the initial hypothesis stated in the Introduction of the study. Humor in Vueling functions at the formal level of language rather than at the semantic or content level. Humor is triggered through different types of deviations produced by inserting foreign elements into mainly local structural and phonetic frames. Most of these frames are expressions and idioms only known to Spaniards. Thus, incongruities in the Vueling case are normally resolved by this specific target audience. For this reason, humor works locally, rather than internationally, despite the use of foreign units.

An interesting observation that warrants additional consideration is the idea that these humorous deviations shed some light on how aspects of the Spaniard identity are portrayed outside Spain. In other words, Vueling uses humor in these advertisements to share the image of Spain with the other European countries in which it operates. In that sense, the insertion of European languages other than Spanish into those comical ads is a manner of expanding their local image and identity toward a more globalized society. At first glance, it seems that Vueling wants to position itself as a European airline and offer a global or international image to the rest of Europe. However, on a closer look, and after analyzing specific cases of codeswitching in Vueling ads, it can be affirmed that Vueling is reinforcing and exporting the Spanish image, identity, and culture to the rest of Europe.

In that respect, the case of codeswitching in Vueling is different from other cases of codeswitching in which different languages are used to articulate or construct a new identity (Furukawa 2007; Jaffe 2000; Tsang & Wong 2004). In Vueling, paradoxically foreign languages not spoken in Spain serve precisely to emphasize Spanish character and personality through humor. By introducing English and French words into Spanish proverbs, idioms, songs, and local accents and still making them recognizable to Spaniards, not only does Vueling create humor and grab consumers' attention, but also strengthens local frames and bonds. The foreignalization of well-known Spanish expressions and structures makes them more resistant to external and global influence and, in turn, makes them even more 'Spanish.'

In any case, future studies should examine in more detail how humor is "localized" and "globalized" according to the needs of current advertising markets in

general and of airline companies in particular. To that end, future research should focus on the perlocutionary effects of these humorous ads on the passengers, investigating how specific types of consumers evaluate and respond to this comical code-mixed advertising. Likewise, interviews of airline employees and their marketing departments should be undertaken in order to explore the motivations and the creative process behind these ads.

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