English in Swedish product packages

An exploratory study of how English is used in product packages sold in the dairy section in Swedish retail

Inga-Lena Bohm Fiederling
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Abstract
This study explores the use of English in the texts of product packages sold in Swedish retail. This includes looking at the proportion of English of the packages of four brands God Morgon, Froosh, Oatly and Wellness, as well as exploring what moves are most likely to be in English and furthermore, what cultural values are conveyed by the texts. The most significant findings are that the proportion of English varies among both between and within the brands, depending on the specific niche the products have. Furthermore, in line with previous studies, English is mainly found in the attention-grabbing moves such as headlines and leads, whereas Swedish is more frequent in the copy which serves a more explanatory and detailing function. This is true except for the texts of the brand Oatly, with the main copy also in English. The cultural values conveyed by the texts, finally, both support previous findings, but it may be suggested that some of the values, such as nature and morality, have just recently begun to be associated to English.

Keywords
English in product packages, EFL, discourse analysis, marketing text, cultural values, promotional discourse, discourse of marketing, genre analysis, rhetorical moves.
1. Introduction

1.1 Background and literature review

These days, English is seen in many contexts in Sweden. According to Bolton and Meierkord (2013), English is increasingly used in domains such as education, business, popular culture, the internet and mass media. Sweden has one of the highest proportions of English speakers in Europe amounting to 89% (European Commission 2006:13). English is evidently entering into more domains in Swedish society.

Advertising is one of the most widespread ways of conveying messages and cultural values in today’s society, as it is communicated through mass media (Pollay 1983). Given the cultural impact advertising has on society and its members, it is logical that it has been thoroughly studied within various disciplines. Pollay, for instance, created a method for categorizing the cultural values that are conveyed in advertising (1983), Eldaly’s article explored the multi-modal discourse of advertising in the Egyptian media (2011), and Bhatia has produced extensive work in the field of promotional genres (2005). These and other studies have contributed to the research on the discourse of advertising, other promotional genres and their subcategories. Other research has been conducted on English in advertisements in countries where English is a second language, such as Pahta & Taavitsainen on the use of English in advertisements in the Finnish Yellow Pages (2004), Cheshire & Moser on the use of English in advertisements in French-speaking Switzerland (2010) as well as Petéry’s article on English in Hungarian advertising (2011). Until now, the explored material has consisted of print advertisements, business letters and other promotional texts.

According to Bhatia’s paper (2005), promotional values have invaded many forms of discourse. He describes advertisements as a form of promotional discourse designed to sell products or services to a certain target group by employing a certain set of rhetorical moves, namely:

1. Headlines
2. Targeting the market
3. Justifying the product/service by establishing a niche
4. Detailing the product/service
5. Establishing credentials
6. Endorsement or Testimonials
7. Offering incentives
8. Using pressure tactics
9. Soliciting response
10. Signature line and logo
Most advertisements make use of the moves in this list to promote products. Worth noting is also that Bhatia says that advertisements do not make use of all of these moves in the same advertisement, and that they are often used in a creative way to create a memorable effect. Furthermore he claims that the most important aspect of advertising is to differentiate the product, that is, giving the product a unique niche that fills a gap in the consumer’s needs. Differentiation is traditionally achieved by a straightforward description of the product as good, positive or favourable in a way that other products are not. However, Bhatia points to the fact that advertisements are increasingly becoming objects of genre-mixing and embedding of messages. Hence, it is concluded that the production of advertisements is more like an art form where copywriters need to challenge their creativity and invent new ways of promoting products, partly by introducing new genres into the discourse of advertising.

In Garcia-Yeste’s article (2013), English as advertisement language in Sweden is explored. The study is built around the three questions 1) How much English is there in Swedish print advertisements? 2) Which part(s) of the message are more likely to contain English? and 3) Which values are attributed to the products through English words and phrases? The major findings show that first of all, only very few advertisements are completely in English (9 of 73), and his sample as a whole contains few messages only written in English. Furthermore, his results support previous studies showing that English is mainly used in the attention-grabbing parts of the text, such as headlines and leads. On the other hand, in the copy, which is the more elaborated and explanatory text, Swedish is by far the most used language. Only in a few cases, the copy included English. This is given the possible explanation that English stands out more in an otherwise Swedish text, and therefore serves as attention-grabbing as it is different. The copy on the other hand, provides more detailed information and is therefore preferably in Swedish to make sure the audience fully understands the message.

Finally, to explore the cultural values manifest in the advertisements, Garcia-Yeste (2013) made use of Pollay’s model where cultural values are categorized in a system of 42 different appeals, that is, certain ways of expressing the cultural values intended to influence the target audience (Appendix B). According to the study, the three most common appeals were effectiveness, adventure and distinctiveness, and it is suggested that in Swedish advertisements, there might be an association between these cultural values and the English language. In Pollay’s study (1983), the cultural values manifest in advertising are explored. The aim for his study was to invent a category system that covers all cultural values found in advertisements. As Pollay further claims, it is important to understand how advertisements affect us, as they are more widespread through mass media than the communication of other institutions in society where our cultural values are present. Therefore, the values carried by advertisements become universal (Pollay 1983).

Furthermore, the study explained how cultural values are expressed in the advertisements and Pollay describes in short terms that the values are communicated in any way possible to depict the product as “good” in the eyes of the society where the marketing message is conveyed. Pollay (1983) and Bhatia (2005) provide adequate models and insights on the discourse of advertisements. However, it seems as if there are no studies focusing on the use of English as packaging language on products aimed for the Swedish market, and that is the reason for carrying out this first, exploratory study in the field.
1.2. Aim

This study aims to explore the use of English in the dairy department in Swedish retail. In contrast to most product categories within the dairy department, some product categories seem to stand out with more English used as package language than others, namely functional products (i.e. products claiming to give more benefits than being just food) and chilled fruit drinks (juices and smoothies). In those product categories, English is beginning to be used more often, sometimes as the only language, sometimes mixed with Swedish. The aim of this study builds on García-Yeste’s study of English used in Swedish print advertisements (2013), but in this project, the use of English in the packages of products in the dairy section in Swedish retail will be explored. The same research questions are applied to another set of data in this project:

1. How much English is there in packages in the products sold in the dairy section in Swedish retail?
2. Which parts of the message are more likely to be written in English?
3. What values are attributed to the products through English words or phrases?

1.3. Author’s perspective

The idea for this project is a fruit of my background. Working with marketing of as widely spread product categories as French yogurt and crème fraîche and American batteries and flashlights, I have been involved in changing the language of packages and point-of-sales material from Swedish into English. This background gives me both unique and valuable insights into the subject and this may most likely add a marketing perspective to the analysis of data, apart from a linguistic one. The marketing perspective includes adding knowledge and assumptions that are considered as truths within the discourse of marketing, and may not always explicitly reflected upon in the analysis as they may be taken for granted.

2. Methodology

2.1. The rhetorical moves in advertising

First, the texts will be analyzed using Bhatia’s moves. The table below is adapted from García-Yeste’s article (2013) Hence, move 2 (Headline), move 3 (Lead) and move 4 (Copy) are the three moves applicable for the products in this study. For this project, brand logotypes, such as Arla, have been included in the category Headline instead of move 5, Signature. This is due to the fact that the brand logo has been given a central and emphasized placement on the front side of the packages and not in the actual signature, which is often placed at the back or the side of the package. This implies that
the actual signature plays a less prominent role in packages than in print advertisements. Move 1 (Visuals), is also left out because of the scope of this study. Move 6, (Coupons/offering incentives) is left out as it is not applicable to the chosen media.

Table 2.1. Bhatia’s moves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhatia’s categories</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Move 1: Visuals/reader attraction</strong></td>
<td>The visual elements are generally crucial in terms of catching people’s attention. These might include photographs, drawings, or graphic accessories, such as color backgrounds, borders, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Move 2: Headline</strong></td>
<td>The headline is usually the most important element along with the visual elements. Typically, it includes the slogan or catchphrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Move 3: Lead</strong></td>
<td>Some adverts include a subhead or lead that briefly expands the main headline. Sometimes it becomes the slogan. Its main objective is to justify the product by establishing a niche.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Move 4: Copy**                                        | The copy is the main text of the advertisement. This move can present different realizations, namely:  
  · Detailing the product  
  · Establishing credentials  
  · Endorsement or testimonials  
  · Using pressure tactics  
  · Soliciting response |
| **Move 5: Signature**                                   | The signature provides the advertiser’s details, i.e. logo, advertiser’s name, address, geographical situation, website address etc. |
| **Move 6: Coupons/offering incentives**                 | Coupons and other strategies attract the audience’s attention and may raise their response by offering an incentive. |

After defining the texts according to the moves above, one representative product from each product group was selected in order to see how much English there is in the packages overall. After that, the moves in English are explored, and if there are some connections between move and language. That is, are the headings, the leads and the copies mainly in English or Swedish? To do so, images of all the sides of the packages were put in a visual presentation. The relevant texts in each package were then encircled and marked for which move they represent and thereafter categorized in a spreadsheet to see the extent of English versus Swedish in the packages. Thereafter, the texts from the packages were analyzed using Pollay’s appeals (Pollay 1983) to determine which values are carried by the English texts. The purpose of doing that was to see what meaning the English texts have, in the sense of which values are carried by the texts.
2.2. Pollay’s appeals in this study

Below is a list of the appeals from Pollay (1983) that are referred to in this study. For reasons of space and relevance, the comprehensive list is found in the appendix.

- Modern
  - contemporary, modern, new, improved, progressive, advanced
  - introducing, announcing

- Technological
  - engineered, fabricated, formulated, manufactured, constructed, processed
  - resulting from science, invention, discovery, research
  - containing secret ingredients

- Natural
  - references to the elements, animals, vegetables, minerals, farming
  - unadultered, purity (of product), organic, grown, nutritious

- Ornamental
  - beautiful, decorative, ornate, adorned, embellished, detailed, designed, styled

- Practical - effective
  - feasible, workable, useful, pragmatic, appropriate, functional, consistent, efficient, helpful, comfortable (clothes), tasty (food)

- Plain
  - unaffected, natural, prosaic, homespun, simple, artless, unpretentious

- Wisdom
  - knowledge, education, awareness, intelligence, curiosity, satisfaction, comprehension, sagacity, expertise, judgment, experience

- Traditional
  - classic, historical, antique, old, legendary, time-honoured, long-standing, venerable, nostalgic

- Unique
  - expensive, rich, valuable, highly regarded, costly, extravagant, exorbitant, luxurious, priceless

- Distinctive
  - rare, unique, unusual, scarce, infrequent, exclusive, tasteful, elegant, subtle, esoteric, hand-crafted

- Morality
  - humane, just, fair, honest, ethical, reputable, principled, religious, devoted, spiritual
- Adventure
  - boldness, daring, bravery, courage
  - seeking adventure, thrill, or, excitement
- Youth
  - being young or rejuvenated, children, kids
  - immature, undeveloped, junior, adolescent
- Freedom
  - spontaneous, carefree, abandoned, indulgent, at liberty, uninhibited, passionate
- Casual
  - unkempt, disheveled, messy, disordered, untidy, ruffled, rumpled, sloppy
  - casual, irregular, noncompulsive, imperfect
- Untamed
  - primitive, untamed, fierce, coarse, rowdy, ribald, obscene, voracious, glutonous, frenzied, uncotrolled, unreliable, corrupt, obscene, deceitful, savage
- Tamed
  - docile, civilized, restrained, obedient, compliant, faithful, reliable, responsible, domesticated, sacrificing, self-denying
- Sexy - vain
  - having a socially desirable appearance, being beautiful, pretty, handsome, being fashionable, well-groomed, tailored, graceful, glamorous

2.3. Interview with a former employee at Arla

Finally, for extra insight into the reasons for choosing English as package language, one former employee at Arla was interviewed in an unstructured interview. The interviewee was chosen because he was involved in the decision-making process when launching Wellness and also had insights into the company strategy for God Morgon. The reasons for an unstructured interview is partly because this method can be assumed to fully bring the extra insight regarding the reason for this choice, partly to avoid biasing the information with suppositions, and partly because the method allows for follow-up questions based on information that the interviewee gives during the interview.

One possible risk of interviewing a former employee is the time factor, meaning that the interviewee might be influenced by the fact that he is no longer employed by the company. However, had he still been employed that would most likely have affected his answers but in a different way. Another aspect to bear in mind is that some years have passed since the events that the interview focuses on took place, which also may affect the response.

2.4. Material and scope

As described in the introduction, English has been widely used as package language within many product categories in food stores, such as cosmetics, cleaning detergents
and technical products. In the fresh food departments, however, including bread, charcuteries and the cheese, Swedish is still the preferred language. It is only in the past few years that this has begun to change and as we shall see, one example of this is the dairy department.

It appears that within the subcategories functional, (with products claiming to bring more health benefits than just being food), and chilled fruit drinks within the dairy section are product categories where English is more used than in the traditional cooking and breakfast dairy categories. Therefore, four brands have been chosen for this study:

1. *Oatly*, with oat-based products suitable for people on a special diet
2. *Arla Wellness*, with functional products made of milk
3. *God Morgon*, with chilled fruit drinks
4. *Froosh*, with smoothies

The brands are chosen because they are all Swedish brands (*Froosh* and *Oatly*) or perceived to be. *Arla*, which owns the brands *Wellness* and *God Morgon*, was once a Swedish brand with strong local connection to the Swedish region of Mälardalen, but is now a global brand with its base in Denmark. The second criterion to which they are chosen is that they all have English texts on the packages. The final reason for the selection of packages is that they are sold in the dairy department. This does not necessarily mean that the products can be classified as dairy products.

For this study, marketing texts have been defined as follows:

Headlines, leads and copy on the package whose main purpose is to appeal to the consumer’s demand to buy the product.

This limitation leaves out more technical texts, such as ingredients lists, nutritional values, the legal name of the product, and other measurements such as volume, fat content or instructions on how to use the package. The reason for these limitations is mainly because there are legal restrictions to the layout and language used in these texts, or because they simply are not unique to the product or product group, such as “1 L,” or “1.5 % fat.”

2.5. Collection, selection and categorization

First, all packages have been photographed in order to catch all the sides of the products. After that, the pictures of each product have been put in a visual presentation, one product per page. For this project, the packages from one of each flavor, or product group, have been selected for analysis. *Froosh* has one product group, whereas *God Morgon, Wellness* and *Oatly* all have different subordinate product groups. In these cases, one of each product group has been chosen to categorize the moves and quantify the use of English on the packages. It is not written anywhere on the packages, but according to their official website, the *God Morgon* brand includes the product groups *Bifido, Classic, Green Juicing, EKO, Inspiration, Origin, Plus* and *Premium* (http://www.godmorgon.com/se/products/). *Wellness* is divided into product groups by
the names of the three product groups: Balance, Protein Control and Immune. Oatly is divided into product groups by type of product: 1 l drinks, crème fraîche substitute, 250 ml cream substitute, 250 ml junior drinks and custard.

After that, one representative package from each product group within the brands has been chosen to categorize and quantify the use of English versus Swedish, and more precisely to see if there are patterns in language choice connected to the specific moves. The quantifications are solely made for this study and cannot be claimed to provide data for any generalizations outside of the actual data set selected for this study.

After deciding on which packages from each brand to include, all the texts on the packages that qualify as marketing texts have been circled and tagged with the moves they represent. The aim was to see how many and which of the moves headline, lead and copy on the packages that are in English.

Once this first analysis has been done, the values carried by selected texts according to Pollay’s set of appeals (1983) were explored. For this part of the analysis, only selected packaging texts from Oatly and Froosh have been used. The selection is first of all due to the time and space limitations of this study, but also because those are the two brands which turned out to have far more English than Swedish. In the Oatly case, only the long copy from the six of the backsides has been analyzed and in the Froosh case, Headline 1 (for explanation see section 3.1.) has been analyzed, as that is the most interesting text on the packages regarding the communication of cultural values.

2.5.1. Borderline cases

One of the borderline cases in this project was how to classify one text on the Froosh packaging. All marketing texts on these packages are written in English, and according to the definitions made for this project, there is one text on the package that is written in prose in Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish. However, the purpose of the text regards storage and how to consume the drink to avoid that it gets bad and therefore, it is not regarded to be a marketing text and hence it has not been included in the data set.

Another case was how to treat the texts on the front side of the Froosh packages (see figure 3.3.2.). As the texts are short and catchy, it is arguable they be treated as leads. However, since they sometimes consist of more than one sentence, they have in this project been treated as copy.

The third borderline case was how to treat one text on God Morgon Origins. This product group consists of the flavors Sicilia and Florida. Sicilia is clearly written in Italian and is hence not qualified to be part of the data. However, Florida has the same name in Swedish and in English and therefore it is not completely clear how to classify it. But given that Sicilia which is written in Italian, it may be assumed that Florida is meant to be written in English, and therefore it has been included in the data.
3. Results

The disposition of this chapter is as follows: First, the extent of English used in the texts is explored. After that follows a section analyzing what moves are more often written in English than in Swedish. The following section consists of an analysis of the texts using Pollay’s set of appeals (Pollay 1983) to explore the cultural values conveyed by the texts in English. In the last section, the results are summarized.

3.1. The extent of English in the packages

In this section the extent of English in the packages of the four brands is explored. How much English is there in the packages? Since all brands have both English and Swedish in the packages, are there some patterns of text types and language choice? The charts presented under each sub-section have abbreviations for simplicity. They read accordingly:

- H1, H2, H3 read out Headline 1, Headline 2, Headline 3 etcetera
- L1, L2, L3 read out Lead 1, Lead 2, Lead 3 etcetera.
- C1, C2, C3 read out Copy 1, Copy 2, Copy 3 etcetera
- E stands for English and S stands for Swedish
- SUM E, SUM S means the total amount of moves in English and Swedish, assorted both for each product group in columns to the right and for each move in the rows on the bottom.
- % E means percentage of moves in English, compared to the total amount of explored moves in the package.

3.1.1. Oatly

Within this brand, the one product group with the most text types overall in this study, namely Havredryck 1 l with its 16 different moves on the package is found. The other product groups with smaller packages have substantially less text in total, which is likely to be related to the size of the space to print. The one-liter packs of oat drinks are also the ones within the Oatly brand that have the highest percentage of English, with 88 % English in total, as can be seen in table 3.1.1. In fact, English is the most used language in all of the text types in all of the five product groups that the Oatly brand consists of.

IMat Fraiche and IMat som matlagningsgrädde in the second and third row in table 3.1.1, are substitutes for crème fraîche and cooking cream. Those packages have the lowest percentage of English although the language is still dominant.

In all product groups, the pattern is clear: in H1, L1 and C1, the only language used is English. Looking further into the moves, some Swedish can be seen as well, as for instance in H2, L2 and L3 as well as C4.
### Table 3.1.1. Proportion of English in Oatly’s packages.

| Product group                        | H1 | H2 | H3 | H4 | H5 | L1 | L2 | L3 | L4 | L5 | L6 | L7 | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | SUM E | SUM S | % E |
|--------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-------|-----|
| Havredryck 1 l                       | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | E  | S  |       |       | 14  |
| äMat Fraiche                         | E  | S  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 2     | 1     | 67% |
| äMat som matlagningsgrädde           | E  | S  | E  | -  | E  | S  | E  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 5     | 3     | 63% |
| Havredryck choklad 250 ml            | S  | E  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 4     | 1     | 80% |
| Vaniljsäs                            | E  | S  | E  | -  | E  | S  | E  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | 5     | 2     | 71% |
| SUM E                                | 5  | 0  | 4  | 1  | 5  | 1  | 2  | 1  | 1  | 4  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 30 | 0     |       | 30  |
| SUM S                                | 0  | 5  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 9     |       | 23  |

3.1.2. Wellness

This brand is the one of the four brands with less English overall, with consistently about 20 % English in all the product groups, and the only moves where English is present is in headline 2 and 3. H1, which is the brand name Arla, is in Swedish and all leads and all copy are in Swedish. The reason why Immune has a slightly higher percentage in English is because it lacks a C4, which in the other product groups is in Swedish.

### Table 3.1.2. Proportion of English in Wellness’ packages.

| Product group | H1 | H2 | H3 | H4 | H5 | L1 | L2 | L3 | L4 | L5 | L6 | L7 | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | SUM E | SUM S | % E |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-------|-----|
| Balance       | S  | E  | E  | S  | S  | S  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | S  | S  | S  | S  | 2     | 8    | 20% |
| Protein Control | S  | E  | E  | S  | S  | S  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | S  | S  | S  | S  | 2     | 8    | 20% |
| Immune        | S  | E  | E  | S  | S  | S  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | S  | S  | S  | -  | 2     | 7    | 21% |
| SUM E         | 0  | 3  | 3  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 6     |       | 21% |
| SUM S         | 3  | 0  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 3  | 3  | 3  | 2  | 23    |       |     |

3.1.3. God Morgon

Within the God Morgon brand, the use of English varies to a large extent. The most English is used in the packages of the Green Juicing group, and with its 90 % of English the only text type in Swedish is H1, which is the brand name God Morgon. Other product groups with a large amount of English texts are Origin, Premium, Plus and Inspiration with more than 70 % English.

The product group with the least English is Bifido with only 44 %, and this is the only product group within the God Morgon brand with a high proportion of Swedish texts. Two other product groups that have less English are EKO, with only 57 % and Classic with 67 %.

Except for H1, which is the brand name God Morgon, all L1 and C1 (except for in Bifido) are in English, and in the lower text hierarchies, Swedish is seen to some extent.
Table 3.1.3. Proportion of English in God Morgon’s packages.

| Product group | H1 | H2 | H3 | H4 | H5 | L1 | L2 | L3 | L4 | L5 | L6 | L7 | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | SUM E | SUM S | % E |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-------|----|
| Classic       | S  | E  | -  | -  | -  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | E  | -  | -    |       | 4    | 2.67%|
| Origin        | S  | E  | -  | -  | -  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | -    |       | 5    | 2.71%|
| EKO           | S  | E  | E  | -  | -  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | -    |       | 4    | 2.67%|
| Premium       | S  | E  | -  | -  | -  | E  | E  | S  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | -    |       | 7    | 2.78%|
| Plus          | S  | E/S (0.5) | E  | -  | -  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -    |       | 5.5  | 15.79%|
| Green Juicing | S  | E  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | E    |       | 9    | 190% |
| Inspiration   | S  | E  | -  | -  | -  | E  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | E  | S  | E    |       | 6    | 2.75%|
| Bifido        | S  | E/S (0.5) | -  | -  | -  | E  | S  | E  | S  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -    |       | 3.5  | 4.44%|
| SUM E         | 0  | 7  | 4  | 1  | 0  | 8  | 6  | 2  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 2  | 1  | 0  | 0    | 6     | 2    | 1  | 100% |
| SUM S         | 8  | 2  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 2  | 1  | 2  | 1  | 2    | 1     | 0    | 0  | 18   |

Table 3.1.4. Proportion of English in Froosh’s packages.

| Product group | H1 | H2 | H3 | H4 | H5 | L1 | L2 | L3 | L4 | L5 | L6 | L7 | C1 | C2 | C3 | C4 | SUM E | SUM S | % E |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------|-------|----|
| Smoothie      | E  | E  | E  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -  | -     |       | 100% |
| SUM E         | 1  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0    | 6     | 100% |
| SUM S         | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0  |

3.1.4. Froosh

Within this brand, there is only one product group, namely smoothies in 250 ml and 750 ml packages. They all have the same layout and the same setup of texts regardless of the package size. Of the marketing texts, 100% are in English. The packages do not have as much text as the other brands in this study.

Table 3.1.4. Proportion of English in Froosh’s packages.

3.2. The cultural values manifest in the English texts of the Oatly and Froosh packages

In this section we will look in more detail into the actual texts of two of the four brands, partly because this study has time and space limitations, and partly because these two brands have the packages with the highest percentage of English.

Regarding the Oatly texts, the different product groups all share a fixed set of texts. Since the texts cannot be tied to a specific product group and since the number of texts is limited, six of them have been included in the analysis. In the packages of Froosh, six packaging texts are analyzed, one of each flavor.

All Oatly texts can be found in figure 3.2.1 and all Froosh texts in figure 3.1.3.

3.2.1. Oatly

3.2.1.1. “The most amazing fibers”

Applying Pollay’s list of appeals (1983), it is evident that this text, including the headline, leads and copy, contains quite a few cultural values. First of all, the heading and lead can be interpreted to allude to being modern: “Introducing... most amazing...the drinkable world”, as this phrasing tells the consumer that this product, and
in fact this innovation with drinkable oat fibers, is new. This allusion to modernity, and also technology, can also be seen in the first sentence in the copy:

If you want to send an email or stream a movie then optical fibers are way more amazing, but if you just want to get some fibers in your body so that your body can get some nutritional goodness, then a glass or two of our liquid oats are pretty great.

Using references to modern technology, by comparing the fibers of oats with email, streaming movies and the use of optical fibers, alludes to the appeal technology, and also to the appeal nature, as “nutritional goodness” as well as “liquid oats” is mentioned. In the second sentence, there are allusions to the appeal technology, as specific terminology within nutrition is mentioned (“betaglucans”) which in turn are described as “scientific for cool stuff,” thereby treating the word “scientific” as a language, and also adding self-irony to the text. Furthermore, the second sentence also conveys the appeal ornamental, with words like “beautiful” and “honorable”. The allusions to the body with words as “body” and “heart,” could be categorized as more than one appeal, such as practical-effective (“functional,” “helpful”) or nature (“nutritious”). The relative clause in the second sentence also refers to the effect of oat fibers with downloading “a film at 100 megazilion megabytes or whatever,” which is in line with the technology allusions in the first sentence, and also connects to the use of self-irony in the second sentence.

Also worth noting in this text is that the word “betaglucans” has an asterisk pointing to a text in Swedish describing what they are, their effect, and how much one needs to consume to get the effect. The fact that the more explanatory text is in the local language is in line with the findings in Garcia-Yeste’s study (2013).
3.2.1.2. “We only do oats”

The headline of this text, “We only do oats,” conveys the appeal of *nature*, as it mentions the natural raw product oats. It also conveys *plain*, as it says that Oatly “only do oats”, communicating simplicity and modesty. The modesty of *plain* continues in the first sentence in the *copy*, as it enumerates all the products or raw materials that Oatly do not know anything about. This modesty, however, turns into the appeal *wisdom* in the second sentence, where the process of producing the oat milk, from growing them to putting them into a carton is described followed by how convenient it is for the consumer to be nutritious: “...so that you can take them home and drink them and receive all of their goodness into your body and stay fueled,” which conveys the cultural appeal of *nature* (nutrition) and *plain* (simple).

The second sentence claims the product and the production to be *traditional*-longstanding as well as *unique*, with phrases like “It was our original idea in the early 1990s...”. This sentence continues with the expression of a wish to do good for people and the environment because the products are “...more in tune with the human body and the planet”. This conveys *morality* as this means that Oatly is a humane and fair company with environmental ethics in mind.

In the relative clause of the second sentence, the modesty expressed in the first sentence has turned into a perhaps more flaunty attitude, as the text here claims that this is the best oat drink in the world, somewhat hedged by the initial phrase “...it is our idea...to make the best...liquid oats.” However, since the phrase includes “to continue” this implies that they are producing the best liquid oats now and always have been, at least since the 1990s. The appeal conveyed by this relative clause is hence *distinctive* and also *traditional*. The final, incomplete sentence “Hope that is ok with you,” refers back to the content of the relative clause, and makes the statement of being best even more flaunty, almost on the verge of being arrogant. Thereby, the final sentence emphasizes the appeal *distinctive*.

3.2.1.3. “Declaration of macronutritional independence”

The *headline* of this text, “Declaration of macronutritional independence,” makes it obvious that this text alludes to the Declaration of Independence, mainly written by the third American president Thomas Jefferson and used as the formal declaration of the sovereign nation the United States of America, as the congress voted for independence from Great Britain in 1776.

By using this paratext, Oatly manages to attach values such as *adventure*, which is evident both by the parallels to the first Americans who were brave enough to declare independence from the British government. This could also in a way be compared to the adolescent’s revolt against their parents and testing new morals. This is also evident in the phrase “…for anyone that may be so courageous to apply them to their daily diet,” where the boldness is spelled out. The *copy* begins with the oats being “self-evident,” which oats cannot be, as that is an attribute that belongs to more abstract things, such as truths. However, the word play can help the reader make associations between oats and the original word in the text, “truth,” thus giving oats an elevated status compared to other food (as in the analysis further down, more specifically compared to cow milk).
Then, the first sentence continues by claiming that the consumers of this product were “…endowed by their creator with certain unalienable right, that among these are Life, Liberty and Happiness for anyone that may be so courageous as to apply them to their daily diet,” suggesting that one gets lively, free and happy by drinking oats milk. This is both signs of the appeal youth, but most of all it is probably conveying freedom.

After this paratext, the text proceeds with a metatext aiming at smoothing over the first rather serious impression, by saying that “if you would like to know why we are writing in such a formal language from the 1700’s, then we must admit, that there is no reason to which we know, really. Forget it. Pretend it never happened.” Just as can be seen in “The most amazing fibers” copy, the second part of the text becomes self-ironic and tries to smooth over the serious part, which both gives the text casual appeal, as well as an untamed. It thereby depicts Oatly and their products as being a bit rebellious and unconventional in the marketing text on a package.

Furthermore, the question needs to be raised as to why Oatly would write these serious texts and then try to explain away their purpose of putting the texts there. Most likely, every single word that is put on a package has gone through careful review and is significant to the communication. In this case, the serious texts need to be there as Oatly of course have something important to say, but smooth it over in order to stay modern, trendy and casual. Overall, this copy also says something about the target group of the product. This old-fashioned and formal text requires the reader to be fluent in English, as well as educated in history to be able to understand the reference.

3.2.1.4. “I love my products.”

This copy is an interview with Toni Peterson, the CEO of Oatly. The interviewer is an employee at the company, as is evident in the first sentence where the writer refers to “our CEO”. The use of a personal possessive pronoun not only makes the text very personal, but also suggests that the words of the CEO represent each person working at Oatly. The first sentence, “Straight from the lips of our CEO, Toni Peterson”, is rather direct and shows that he is close to the activities at the company and also passionate about his job. After that, the interviewer comments on the fact that Peterson loves their products as being “dorky”, and then that it is natural for any CEO to love their products since that is what CEOs get paid for. This move is arguably a way to lift the reader’s assumed suspicion that Peterson is just saying empty phrases to the surface and in the following sentences counteract this by elaborating on his feelings for the products. In the following sentences, Peterson says he is proud to work at a company with the power to upgrade people’s lives as well as being environmentally friendly, which according to Pollay’s appeals would carry the values morality, as it is humane, and tamed, as it is reliable. It is also likely that the words “power” and “upgrade” carry the value technological.

Finally, in line with the previous texts analyzed, the last two sentences adds some irony to the text, saying that the CEO should not be so obvious about how much he likes the products, since “it is like he is trying to sell you something.” This is a metatext, aware of itself being a commercial text. It is most likely in line with marketing of today, as the consumers are overloaded with commercial text and hence become tired and
bored of it and see through the most obvious attempts of selling products or services (Jobber & Fahy 2009).

3.2.1.5. “Everything below is true”

In this text, the focus is on the raw product oats and the specific traits of the land where they are grown, namely Sweden. The first sentence is straightforward, claiming that oats are “good for you”. After that, the text mentions the scientific term “macronutritional values,” as we have encountered in another text of the Oatly packages. Once more, the rather formal phrase is followed by a parenthesis explaining the seriousness away, which both brings a metalevel to the text, letting the reader know that the text is aware of itself being commercial, as well as adding a more relaxed and humoristic approach, which is likely to be preferred by a young and trendy target group. After that, it is explained that the raw product grows in Sweden, which may be claimed as carrying the value traditional as it refers to the origins of the product. Together with words and phrases like “super food” and “charged,” this text manages to also carry the value technological.

Furthermore, the value unique-dear is manifest in the following sentence, where it is claimed that Swedish oats are particularly good since they grow in clean soil, under the midnight sun (which sounds exotic to people outside of Scandinavia), and with lots of rain, all of which convey the appeal nature. The three characteristics described are probably in this text because three in a row is a rhetorical device, and in classical rhetoric, an argumentative speech should consist of exactly three arguments along with one counter-argument which you hide between argument two and three (Hellspung 2011). The reference to anything Swedish can also be assumed to arise positive connotations, especially among people outside of Sweden.

The sentence that follows suggests that oat milk looks better than cow milk, and tastes great. It is not spelled out that the reference is cow milk, but “liquids born in the body of really cute yet occasionally overweight farm animals” leaves very few alternatives to choose from. In this sentence, we find allusions to values as ornamental-pretty as well as distinctive. Finally, as we have seen in all previous Oatly package texts, the move is to lead the text into something completely different towards the end and with a sense of humor and self-distance, it is claimed that Swedes are better than Finns at hockey unless this product is sold in Finland, in that case it is vice versa. This, again, serves the value casual and most likely appeals to a young and casual audience.

3.2.1.6. “Yes, we are vegan. So?”

The headline and the introduction can be described as rebellious in this text. Not only because of saying that the products are vegan, which is also implied to be considered an extreme choice of diet, but it is rebellious because of the questioning “so?” The first sentence of the copy can be considered rebellious as it outspoken says that Oatly are “being a minority, different, an alternative...” The appeals conveyed through rebelliousness are untamed, youth, as well as unique-distinctive.

Following this, the second sentence is once more brushing over what has just been claimed, almost patronizing what was boldly claimed in the introduction. However, with subtle humbleness, the text continues on the theme of being vegan as something to
be proud of, since it is argued that the products are “full of goodness and perfectly nutritious without being derived from the animal kingdom”. The text is finished with a sentence containing an oxymoron, referring to being vegan and still fully nutritious as “amazing yet completely logical.” Thereby, the text is lifting the products to almost a divine status, proving that less is more and that the simple thing often is the best. This carries the values magic as well as plain.

3.2.2. Froosh

In line with Oatly’s products, the smoothies from Froosh have packages that are filled with English. In this section, one text from each flavor has been selected to represent the brand. There are quite many packaging texts on the Froosh products, and the hierarchy of text types is different from most other products found in retail. In Froosh’s packages, the most important message after brand name and logo is actually the witty texts describing a secondary value that is assumedly achieved by consuming the products. The flavor of the smoothie is most definitely subordinate, as it is written on a small tag on the cap of the bottles (see figure 3.2.2.) and on the backside, where the nutritional values and the ingredients list are found. The Froosh texts are comparably short, only two to three sentences each. As they are sometimes longer than one sentence, they do not actually fit into the categories headline or lead. However, they are too short to be treated as copy, and since they arguably are of the attention-grabbing kind rather than explaining something in detail, they are referred to as headline. Because they are short, they are analyzed together in one section.

Figure 3.2.2. Froosh texts
1. Pineapple, banana & coconut: natural power. unlike lance.
2. Mango & orange: more immunity than berlusconi.
4. Blueberry & raspberry: say yes to skinny dipping.
5. Peach & passion fruit: more passion than hollande.

First of all, it is evident that there are references to contemporary celebrities in these packages and mainly politicians such as Italian president Silvio Berlusconi (2), French president Francois Hollande (5) as well as American president Barack Obama (3) with a reference to his New Hampshire Primary Speech. Another well-known person that is referred to is American professional racing cyclist Lance Armstrong, (1) who won Tour de France seven times but was disqualified from all those victories in 2012 due to doping offences which he later confessed. These texts refer to contemporary events or personal traits, a trait that carries the appeal modern as well as community, a sense of belonging, and in this case, most likely a sense of belonging to the world, or perhaps even Anglo-Saxon culture rather than being only Swedish.

Secondly, the texts depict a sense of morality, as consuming Froosh is claimed to give you “natural power, unlike Lance” (who won by doping) and also nature, as it is “natural”. It is also assumable that drinking Froosh will give you more immunity than Berlusconi, but in the Froos case it is most likely about the body’s immune system which is enhanced by vitamins whereas Berlusconi seems to be immune to the accusations of corruption. This, too, is a way of communicating both morality and nature.

There are also quite a few signs of sexy-vain being one important value that is carried, with expressions like in examples 3 and 4. There, it is assumed that you want to be naked or wear tiny swimming pants because you consume smoothies. In example 6, it is also obvious that ginger refers to both the root and, the colloquial expression for a person with red hair. People with red hair have for a long time been objects for a variety of prejudices, one of them being that red heads have a more aggressive temper, another that they have a stronger libido than people with other hair colors.

Finally, the value that can be seen in all texts and that is most likely the most important one, is natural, which can also be concluded by the lead belonging with the brand name: “Fruit: bottled.” Both form (short and concise) and content (only fruit in a bottle) communicate a clear message: this smoothie is pure fruit and nothing else. Hence, it is natural.

To summarize the analysis of the texts using Pollay’s appeals, it is clear that appeals as modern, nature, technological, unique-distinctive, youth and distinctive are the ones most often encountered. This is not directly in line with Garcia-Yeste’s study (2013), where effectiveness, adventure and distinctive are the most common appeals. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the material explored in his study contained advertisements for a much wider range of product categories whereas this study only deals with products sold in the dairy department. Another explanation could also be that print advertisements and product packages are different media, communicating in different settings.
3.3. Interview with a former employee at Arla

For deeper understanding, one unstructured interview was conveyed with a former employee at *Arla*. The former employee was chosen because he had professional insight into the decision making process behind launching *Arla Wellness* and the new design of the *God Morgon* brand. According to the interviewee, the main reason for choosing English in both the *Wellness* and the *God Morgon* cases was to rationalize the brands and be able to sell them in more than one Nordic market. As the interviewee states:

> It was a decision made for economic reasons, to make our product range simpler and easily overviewed as *Arla* became a Nordic company. It made production easier, we could use the same packing material.

By having English as package language, the same production material could be used for all markets and this would give economic benefits both in the purchase of packaging material, which can be printed for the whole production volume at once, as well as the fact that the production line does not need to be stopped for changing packaging material in the packing machine.

Finally, if the plans for the *Wellness* brand would have been to launch it only in Sweden, the interviewee says: “…if that would have been clear from the beginning, it would have had only Swedish in the packages. “

Regarding *God Morgon*, he says that changing the package text into English had a much smaller impact on the consumer, as he explains:

> I think it has to do with the rest of the packages. We did not change anything else than the language. The packages were still black, with the same font and the same images, so the consumer still found the juice in the store shelf.

4. Discussion

In this section the findings in the results section will be discussed by answering the research questions 1) How much English is there in packages in the products sold in the dairy section in Swedish retail? 2) Which parts of the message are more likely to be written in English? and 3) What values are attributed to the products through English words or phrases?

How much English there is in the packaging texts varies between the brands, but also within the brands and their subordinate product groups. In the *Froosh* packages, English is the only language used in the marketing texts (section 3.1.4.). Many consumers probably see *Froosh* as a British or American brand due to the use of English, and also because of the colloquialisms and references to foreign politics.

In the *Oatly* packages (section 3.1.1.), it varies between 63 % and 88 % with an average of 77 % of the texts being in English. Interestingly, the products made for direct consumption, the drinks, have a much higher percentage than the products made for cooking, such as *iMat*. There, the percentage of English is drastically lower, perhaps explained by them being benchmarked against cooking products (such as *Kelda*...
Matlagningsgrädde, another Arla brand) where all texts are in Swedish. This may be explained by cooking products, such as cream and Swedish sour cream, are considered to be traditionally Swedish. Therefore, the consumer might prefer the texts being in Swedish, as that would give stronger associations to being locally produced. The drinks on the other hand, are perhaps not as sensitive as they are probably benchmarked against other products for direct consumption, such as soft drinks which often have texts in English.

The amount of English texts in the God Morgon products (section 3.1.3.), furthermore, varies the most between the product groups, from Bifido with only 44 % English to Green Juicing with as much as 90 % of the texts being in English. This wide spread of usage of English is most likely due to the different product groups being niched. The Bifido products are probably compared with Swedish competitor Proviva, another brand of fruit drinks that provide a stomach-friendly bacteria culture and therefore the communication is likely to be adapted and hence easily compared. Apart from selling products, marketing communication also educates the consumer in how to use the product. In the case of Bifido, it can be assumed that Proviva, which has been on the market for much longer is the market leader, and therefore it can be a strategic decision to make the communication of Bifido alike in order to allude to the same target group. The possible reason that Bifido “anchors” the communication with help of Proviva can be supported by the fact that it takes a tremendous effort of expensive market communication to get awareness of the target group. As marketers have budgets to follow, priorities must be made where the risks and possible gains are weighted against each other. Furthermore, Proviva is a Swedish brand, building on Swedish research, and that is also a probable explanation for the products niched as stomach-friendly communicate in Swedish.

On the other hand, Green Juicing, with a very high percentage of English, is one of the most recently launched products from God Morgon, and it is most likely closely linked to the New York trend (www.huffingtonpost.com) with raw fruit juices that is currently strong in Sweden. Provided that this is the case, the consumers that like this trend probably have a lower threshold for acquiring packaging texts in English. Furthermore, this assumption is supported by the analysis of the Oatly drinks, which are made for direct consumption and therefore alludes to a specific target group.

Arla Wellness is the brand with least English in the packages, only headline 2 and 3 which consist of the sub-brand name Wellness and the product group name such as Protein Control (section 3.1.2.). This might partly be explained in the interview with the former Arla employee, who at the end said that if Wellness were only launched in Sweden, the products would have been given Swedish brand- and product group names.

As for which parts of the message more likely to be written in English, there is clearly an overweighing part of the main headlines and leads, which is in line with Garcia-Yeste’s findings (2013). The copy is more varying regarding choice of language - from Oatly with nearly only English to Wellness with only Swedish. However, the findings of this study are not completely in line with the results in Garcia-Yeste’s study as there in the Oatly packages is almost exclusively copy in English. One reason for the different findings in this study might be that Garcia-Yeste’s data set varies more, whereas the data in this study is more homogenous. Another reason could be the fact that the media where the texts are displayed are different, and a package probably
evokes other associations than a print advertisement. This could also be explained by the fact that in the store shelf, the whole package needs be differentiated in the context, and by having all texts in English, it makes the product stand out more from the surrounding.

Regarding the third research question about which values are manifest in the packaging texts, we can see that in the *Oatly* and *Froosh* texts, the values carried by the texts are mixed, but that some traits are repeated and hence more important.

One of the repeated values communicated in both texts of both brands is *natural*. Since these brands include dairy products and fruit smoothies, it is most likely a very important value in the eyes of the consumer as these are fresh products, which implies they have just recently been produced, packed and delivered to the store. Furthermore, *natural* is probably expected within these product categories, as they are raw products or combinations of raw products (such as mixed fruit juices). Another important feature of these products are the legal names they are given: naming a product *juice*, for instance, is not allowed if the fruit drink has other ingredients than squeezed fruit and some other substances, such as vitamins. Regarding *milk*, the same type of rules apply: for instance, if lactose is removed, the product has to be called *milk drink* as it is no longer considered natural.

Another value that is carried is that oat milk is a *modern* and environmental-friendly alternative to cow milk, which is depicted as outdated and not really made for humans. Both the *Oatly* texts and the *Froosh* texts indirectly claim to be good and delicious, and represent the ethical choice by referring to other products or negative events and claiming that they are better.

Furthermore, in the *Oatly* texts, together with allusions to new *technology* and being *modern*, *tradition* is a value connected with the products and the brand through these texts. In the *Froosh* packages, we can see many *modern* allusions, but nothing that regards *technology* as in the *Oatly* texts. However, both *technological* and *modern* are considered to be values that are typically connected with the English language, and English is widely used in marketing text to convey those appeals (Garcia-Yeste 2013).

Something else that is interesting with these texts is that they demand a lot from the reader, who is also the consumer. First of all, the texts are completely in English, and secondly, they are full of colloquialisms, references to American history and politics. They also include specific terminology. All these elements point to the fact that the target group of these products is well-educated, probably young and trendy, and aware of protection of our environment. This assumption does not necessarily mean that the consumers of *iMat* are less educated, but it may be suggesting that the same consumer expects different languages on differently niched products. Consumers are also tired of being victims of commercial texts (Jobber & Fahy 2009), which suggests they enjoy that these texts are transparent with themselves being commercial texts.

On the surface level of the *Oatly* texts, there is a contradiction in them being written in English at the same time as there are a few references to the Swedish origin of the product, alongside with the products being sold in the Swedish market. However, one can assume that all texts on the packages of any product are carefully produced. Given the small surface of the packages, each word must definitely deserve its place. The effect English has on products sold in the Swedish market is probably the fact that the
use of English in itself is connected to modernity, trendiness, technological development and many more values.

According to the former employee at Arla, the main reason for the texts of Wellness and God Morgon being in English instead of Swedish were simply economic ones, i.e. to rationalize the production process, as well as to keep the number of different products at a lower level for simplification of market communication. The interviewee also said that it is most likely that Wellness would have been given a Swedish name if it were launched in only Sweden. However, it is arguable that the use of English in the Wellness product range adds associations to the brand which would be lost in Swedish, for instance the appeals modern, as English connotes trendiness and alludes to popular culture, according to Garcia-Yeste (2013). Furthermore, the technological values would likely not have been as clear in Swedish as in English because the Wellness products are well-developed inventions. If Swedish had been used instead, appeals as traditional and community, emphasizing the origin of the products or at least the consumer’s belief in the origin of the products may have been values conveyed.

One suggestion that results from this study is that it would be appropriate to update the list of Pollay’s appeals with two new appeals in order to fit the values of today’s western society, namely independent and natural. Independent, as in being unique or distinctive but not necessarily in what is perceived as a typically positive manner. This is something we can see in for instance in the Oatly text claiming that they are “being a minority, different, an alternative, the irritating small guy poking the big giant…” Also, care for the environment has become a very important value in all areas of doing business and marketing overall, so it could be argued to give more emphasis to environment, as natural does not really cover the meaning of it, and as the care for the environment is connected both to morality as well as natural, not only one or the other. Of course, both values are available in Pollay’s list of 1983, but it is arguable that individualism and the protection of our environment have been given such importance that it deserves entries of their own.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is evident that within the data explored in this study, the proportion of English varies heavily depending on the specific niche of the product. Furthermore, in line with Garcia-Yeste’s findings, English is mainly found in headlines and leads if we look at all the four brands explored. In contrast to previous research, however, is the fact that both Froosh and Oatly have most of the texts in English. Regarding the values manifest, they differ to some extent as well, with nature and morality perhaps being the most remarkable ones, not typically connected with the English language. Still, technology and modern are also common in the texts, which is in line with previous studies (Pahta & Taavitsainen 2004).

Limitations in this study are firstly the limited set of data explored, which consists of only four brands in the dairy section in Swedish retail. Therefore, the results should be interpreted carefully. Furthermore, the data set in this study is homogenous, meaning that the results cannot be generalized. Another limitation is that the data consists only of
product packages collected in 2014, meaning that the findings do not include a comparison of the development of the use of English in packages over a period of time.

For further research, it may be fruitful to carry out a study aiming to find out how the target group of the products would perceive the texts if they were written in Swedish instead. There would most likely be differences in the connotations in the texts in the two languages and as for the Oatly and Froosh texts, the multiple layers of meaning would probably not be conveyed the same. It would also be helpful to the total understanding of English as marketing language in Sweden to convey a study over time, exploring the development of language use. Finally, a comprehensive study covering a more heterogeneous product range would contribute immensely to the understanding of communication in packages.
References


Appendix A

This appendix accounts for the complete data collected and the images also show how the rhetorical moves were categorized.

The order is as follows:

1. God Morgon
2. Wellness
3. Froosh
4. Oatly
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<td>For almost 40 decades, God Mornon has been on a mission to give you the best start to a new day. Their unique approach to making orange juice is one of their greatest achievements. They use 100% fresh juice concentrate. Here’s some of nature’s best organic oranges. It’s made just for you from scratch. The finest organically grown, pure, natural process results in a rich, robust orange juice that will have you coming back for more. Free from any artificial additives, 100% pure and fresh. It’s the real deal.</td>
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organic
APPLE JUICE
yum!

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For more than 75 years, Rynkeby, situated on the small island of Fyn, has produced natural and tasty juice made from the best ingredients.
ATT LEVA LIVET I BALANS ÄR INTE VÅLDENS ENKLASTE. MEN OM MAGEN ÄR I BALANS BRUKAR DET UNDERLÄTTA LITE.
YOGHURTHEN ARLA WELLNESS® BALANCE INHÄLLER KALCIUM OCH EN GOD HJÄLP PÅ VAGEN. DESSutom INHÄLLER SINDIVIDER OCH MILJARDER AKTIVA BAKTERIER.
HOPPAS ATT DU GILLAR DEN.

EN PORTION (250G) GER DIG 15% AV BADRUTEN AV KALCIUM.

KALCIUM BORRAR TILL MÅSNÄLTSNINGS-
ENKELMÄNNS NORMALA FUNKTION.

AT 1-2 PORTIONER PÅ DAG, SOM EN DEL AV EN
HÅLLBAR KOST OCH EN HÅLLSAM LIVSTIL.

GILLAR Du DEN?
PROVA NÅGON AV VÅRA ANDRA PRODUKTER!
PROTEIN
CONTROL
Mjölkskake

FULLPROPPAD
MED PROTEIN

OM DU GILLER ATT LEVA SULT.
SÅ HAR DU Ett VÄLDIGT GODT PRODUKT I HANDEN.
"ARLA WELLNESS® PROTEIN CONTROL
Mjölkskake" är en syrlig mjölkryck
med Guthelt så mycket protein som
i andra mjölksyrer.

PROTEIN CONTROL är rådaktör i norden när
sötsuget pochar på, och innehåller
mjölkproteintillsättninga viktiga aminosäror
ha de goda produktarna till hans
i våsken eller i kylen, och låt dem bli
en del av ditt hålsammare lev.

VATTSPROPPAD MED PROTEIN

VÅG, LÄGLAKTSOS

ANDRA MJÖLKYCKOR.

ÖVRIGA INGREDIENTS:
Vegetariska ingredienser innehåller
jordgubbar och hallon
med extra mjölkprotein, 1,5% fett,
och är behandlad.

INGREDIENS:
Mjölk, mjölkproteiner, jordgubb 3,2%, socker
1,5%, jordgubbsjord 0,4%, arom, lakritszutat
maltodextrin (trinantinitritrat), stabiliseringsmedel (pektin, karagenan,

Näringsvärde per 100 g (ca 1,4)

- Energi 300 kJ
- Fett 1,5 g
- Vätska 0,9 g
- Kohlenhydrater 25,3 g
- Proteiner 15,8 g
- Salt 0,15 g
- Riboflavin 0,02 mg
- Vitamin B12 0,04 µg

KALORIER I EKEN

1 EKE = 300 KILOGRAM

KALORISPEKTOR ITTO

EKEN ÄR EN GOD INGREDIENT I DIÄTIT

BÄST FÖR: SE FLASKENS SIDA!
MANGO & ORANGE SMOOTHIE

A blend of crushed fruit and pure fruit juice. Nothing else.

Ingredients:
- Mango & appelsin
- Mango & appelsin
- Mango & appelsin smoothie

Nutritional Information:
- 234 kcal
- 11 g of protein
- 21 g of carbohydrates
- 2 g of fiber

250 ml

More immunity than Berlusconi.

Froosh

fruit: bottled

Strawberry, Banana & Guava Smoothie

A blend of crushed fruit and pure fruit juice. Nothing else.

Ingredients:
- Strawberry, banana, guava
- Jordgubbar, banan & guava

Nutritional Information:
- 216 kcal
- 16 g of protein
- 40 g of carbohydrates
- 4 g of fiber

250 ml

Speedos: Yes you can.

Froosh

fruit: bottled

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say yes to skinny dipping.

froosh
fruit: bottled

smaller waist, thicker bottom.

froosh
fruit: bottled

BLUEBERRY & RASPBERRY SMOOTHIE
a blend of crushed fruit and pure fruit juice. nothing else.

more passion than a summer fling.

froosh
fruit: bottled

PEACH & PASSION FRUIT SMOOTHIE
a blend of crushed fruit and pure fruit juice. nothing else.
Introducing the most amazing fibers in the drinkable world.

If you want to send an email or stream a movie then optical fibers are very useful, but if you just want to get some fibers in your body so that your body can get some nutritional goodness, then a glass or two of our liquid sat is pretty great.

The liquid sat in this package of Oatly contains fascinating beta-glucans* (scientific for cool stuff) that are beautiful for your heart and honorable for your body, which if you think about it is very incredible then if you can download a film at 100 megapixels per second orertz or whatever.

* Beta-glucans are the VP of Fibers. They are fibers that do not lead to weight gain and are high in water. They are a type of carbohydrate that is found in oats and other grains. They have been shown to improve cholesterol levels and support a healthy gut.
If you want to send an email or stream a movie then optical fibers are very more amazing, but if you just want to get some fiber in your body so that your body can get some nutritional goodness, then a glass or two of our liquid oats are pretty great.

The liquid oats in this package of oats contain fascinating betaglucans (scientific for cool stuff) that are beautiful for your heart and honorable for your body, which if you think about it is way more incredible than if you can download a film at 100 megapixels or parts or whatever.
THE ORIGINAL

WE ONLY DO OATS

THE BORING SIDE

declaration of Macronutritional Independence

We hold these oats to be self-evident, that all fibers are not created equal, that products, nutritional and wholesome by birth, are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness for anyone that may be so courageous as to apply them to their daily diet. If you would like to know why we are writing in such a normal language from the 1700s, then we must admit that there is no reason to which we know, really. Forget it, pretend it never happened.

THE ORIGINAL

OATLY!

HAVRE DRYCK

Everything below is true.

Oats are really good for you. Their macronutritional values (whatever that means) are so high that they are often called a super food. Swedish oats in particular are extra good for you because they are charged with nutritional goodness that comes from a clean soil, the midnight sun and lots of rain. Oats also tend to look more naturally beautiful than other white liquids born in the body of really cute yet occasionally overweight farm animals, and they taste great. Also, Suedes are better than (noms at ice hockey unless this package is being sold in Finland and then it should be the other way around.

THE ORIGINAL

OATLY!

HAVRE DRYCK

Apelsin Mango

“I love my products.”

Straight from the lips of our CEO, Torin Peterson, how dorky is that? Of course you love your products Mr. Peterson. You are the CEO of Oatly, you get paid to say stuff like that, why wouldn’t you love your products? While it is not easy, I would like to attempt to explain this rather obvious and corny comment. What Mr. Peterson is really trying to say is that he is proud to be working at a company that has the power to upgrade people’s lives while preserving the planet for generations to come. He just doesn’t have to be so obvious. It’s like he is trying to sell you something.
THE ORIGINAL

OAT-LY!

HAVRE-GURT
NATUR-RELL

YES, WE ARE
VEGAN
SO?

Sometimes it feels so unfair. Being a minority, different, an alternative, the irritating small guy poking the big giant with a pointy stick and whispering:

Key big baller, wake up. Times are changing.

What that has to do with us being vegan, we have no idea. But since we are back on the subject, we should probably add that we being one is something we are very proud of. There’s nothing in any of our products that has anything to do with the animal kingdom. Yet we are perfectly nutritious and full of goodness. Amazing yet completely logical.

THE BORING SIDE
(BUT VERY IMPORTANT)

If this side bores you, please read no further. Flip the carton around and have a wonderful day. Otherwise, please do enjoy.

In this section, we’ll talk about the science behind what makes Oatly so special.

Oatmilk

Oatmilk is a great alternative to dairy milk. It is made from oats, water, and a small amount of sugar. Oatmilk is high in fiber and contains no cholesterol.

Vegan

Vegan is a term used to describe a diet that excludes all animal products, including meat, dairy, and eggs. People choose to be vegan for a variety of reasons, including animal welfare, environmental concerns, and health benefits.

Introducing the most amazing fibers
IN THE DRINKABLE WORLD.

If you want to send an email or stream a movie then optical fibers are way more amazing, but if you just want to get some fibers in your body so that your body can get some nutritional goodness, then a glass or two of our liquid oats are pretty great.

The liquid oats in this package of Oatly contain fascinating beta-glucan (a scientific term for cool stuff) that are beautiful for your heart and honorable for your body, which if you think about it is way more incredible than if you can download a film at 100 megapixels megapixels or herbs or whatever.

THE ORIGINAL

OAT-LY!

HAVRE-GURT
JORD-GURB

WE ONLY
DO OATS

We don’t know anything about almonds or soy or rice or low-fat cows. All we know is oats. How to grow them, harvest them, choose them and turn them into liquid goodness and put them into a carton so that you can take them home and drink them and receive all of their goodness into your body and stay fueled.

It was our original idea in the early 1990s to find an alternative to milk that was more in tune with the needs of the human body and the planet, and it is our idea to continue to make the best, most amazing liquid oats that you will find anywhere. Hope that is okay with you.

DECLARATION OF MACRONUTRITIONAL Independence

We hold these oats to be self-evident, that all fiber is not created equal and that products, nutritional and otherwise, by birth, are endowed by their creators with certain inalienable rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness for everyone that wishes to consume them. As such we are required to try to supply them so commonly that the people should be able to know why we are using it in such a formal language from the 1800s, then we must admit that there is no reason on which to base really for it and it never happened.
The idea behind Oatly was to find a way to make a nutritious alternative to milk without going thru the body of a cow. Today that sounds really smart, but back when we started in the early 1990s most people thought we were crazy. That’s okay, everything has its time. Who is the crazy one now?
Appendix B

Pollay’s appeals

**PRACTICAL** (PRACT)
- feasible, workable, useful, pragmatic, appropriate, functional, consistent, efficient, helpful, comfortable (clothes), tasty (food)

**NOTE:** includes strength and longevity of effect

**DURABLE** (RUGGED)
- long-lasting, permanent, stable, enduring, strong, powerful, hearty, tough

**CONVENIENT** (HANDY)
- handy, time-saving, quick, easy, suitable, accessible, versatile

**ORNAMENTAL** (PRETTY)
- beautiful, decorative, ornate, adorned, embellished, detailed, designed, styled

**CHEAP** (CHEAP)
- economical, inexpensive, bargain, cut-rate, penny-pinching, discounted, at cost, undervalued, a good value

**UNIQUE** (UNIQUE)

**DEAR** (DEAR)
- expensive, rich, valuable, highly regarded, costly, extravagant, exorbitant, luxurious, priceless

**DISTINCTIVE** (RARE)
- rare, unique, unusual, scarce, infrequent, exclusive, tasteful, elegant, subtle, esoteric, hand-crafted

Examples: The “only . . .,” the “best . . . .,” “At leading drug stores.”

**POPULAR** (COMMON)
- commonplace, customary, well-known, conventional, regular, usual, ordinary, normal, standard, typical, universal, general, everyday

Examples: “Largest seller,” the “ubiquitous consumable”

**TRADITIONAL** (OLD)
- classic, historical, antique, old, legendary, time-honored, long-standing, venerable, nostalgic

Example: “80 years of experience”

**MODERN** (NEW)
- contemporary, modern, new, improved, progressive, advanced
- introducing, announcing . . .

Example: “Slightly ahead of our time”

**NATURAL** (NATURE)
- references to the elements, animals, vegetables, minerals, farming
- unadulterated, purity (of product), organic, grown, nutritious
Example: “Farm-fresh”

TECHNOLOGICAL (TECH)
- engineered, fabricated, formulated, manufactured, constructed, processed
- resulting from science, invention, discovery, research
- containing secret ingredients

Examples: “Factory-Fresh,” “Includes XK-17”

WISDOM (WISDOM)
- knowledge, education, awareness, intelligence, curiosity, satisfaction, comprehension, sagacity, expertise, judgment, experience

Examples: “Judge for yourself,” “Experts agree...”

NOTE: Detailed information, instructions, or recipes imply “wisdom” as at least subsidiary theme.

MAGIC (MAGIC)
- miracles, magic, mysticism, mystery, witchcraft, wizardry, superstition, occult sciences, mythic characters
- to mesmerize, astonish, bewitch, fill with wonder

Examples: “Bewitch your man with...,” “Cleans like magic”

PRODUCTIVITY (WORK)
- references to achievement, accomplishment, ambition, success, careers, self-development
- being skilled, accomplished, proficient
- pulling your weight, contributing, doing your share

Examples: “Develop your potential,” “Get ahead.”

NOTE: Social recognition of achievement codes as STATUS.

LEISURE (PLAY)

RELAXATION (RELAX)
- rest, retire, retreat, loaf, contentment, be at ease, be laid-back, vacations, holidays, to observe

ENJOYMENT (ENJOY)
- to have fun, laugh, be happy, celebrate, to enjoy games, parties, feasts and festivities, to participate

MATURE (MATURE)
- being adult, grown-up, middle-aged, senior, elderly
- having associated insight, wisdom, mellowness, adjustment
- references to aging, death, retirement, or age-related disabilities or compensations

Example: “You’re getting better with age.”
YOUTH (YOUTH)
- being young or rejuvenated, children, kids
- immature, undeveloped, junior, adolescent

Example: "Feel young again."

MILD (MILD)
SAFETY (SAFE)
- security (from external threats), carefulness, caution, stability, absence of hazards, potential injury, or other risks
- guarantees, warranties are manufacturers' reassurances

Examples: "Be sure with Allstate," "Contains no harmful ingredients."

TAMED (TAMED)
- docile, civilized, restrained, obedient, compliant, faithful, reliable, responsible, domesticated, sacrificing, self-denying

MORALITY (MORAL)
- humane, just, fair, honest, ethical, reputable, principled, religious, devoted, spiritual

MODESTY (MODEST)
- being modest, naive, demure, innocent, inhibited, bashful, reserved, timid, coy, virtuous, pure, shy, virginal

HUMILITY (HUMBLE)
- unaffected, unassuming, unobtrusive, patient, fate-accepting, resigned, meek, plain-folk, down-to-earth

PLAIN (PLAIN)
- unaffected, natural, prosaic, homespun, simple, artless, unpretentious

FRAIL (FRAIL)
- delicate, frail, dainty, sensitive, tender, susceptible, vulnerable, soft, genteel

WILDERNESS (WILD)
ADVENTURE (BOLD)
- boldness, daring, bravery, courage
- seeking adventure, thrill, or excitement

Example: "Go for the Gusto."

NOTE: Code general confidence and psychological security as SECURE.

NOTE: Code sweepstakes, lotteries, etc., for which nothing is risked according to "value" of prizes.

UNTAMED (UNTAME)
- primitive, untamed, fierce, coarse, rowdy, ribald, obscene, voracious, glutinous, frenzied, uncontrolled, unreliable, corrupt, obscene, deceitful, savage
FREEDOM (FREE)
- spontaneous, carefree, abandoned, indulgent, at liberty, uninhibited, passionate

Example: “X, for the Free Me.”

CASUAL (CASUAL)
- unkempt, disheveled, messy, disordered, untidy, ruffled, rumpled, sloppy
- casual, irregular, noncompulsive, imperfect

SEXY (SEXY)

VAIN (VAIN)
- having a socially desirable appearance, being beautiful, pretty, handsome, being fashionable, well-groomed, tailored, graceful, glamorous

NOTE: Generalized “conceit” may code as STATUS.
    Code beauty of obviously sexual nature or purpose as SEXUAL.

SEXUALITY (EROS)
- erotic relations: holding hands, kissing, embracing between lovers, dating, romance
- intense sensuality, feeling sexual, erotic behavior, lust, earthiness, indecency
- attractiveness of clearly sexual nature

PRIDE (SELF)

INDEPENDENCE (ALONE)
- self-sufficiency, self-reliance, autonomy, unattached
- to do-it-yourself, to do your own thing
- original, unconventional, singular, nonconformist

SECURITY (SECURE)
- confident, secure, possessing dignity, self-worth, self-esteem, self-respect, peace of mind

NOTE: Freedom from external risk code as SAFETY.

STATUS (STATUS)
- envy, social status or competitiveness, conceit, boasting, prestige, power, dominance, exhibitionism, pride of ownership, wealth (including the sudden wealth of prizes), trend-setting, to seek compliments

Example: “Keep up with (or ahead of) the Joneses.”

BELONG (BELONG)

AFFILIATION (GROUP)
- to be accepted, liked by peers, colleagues, and community at large, to associate or gather with, to be social
- to join, unite, or otherwise bond in friendship, fellowship, companionship, cooperation, reciprocity
- to conform to social customs, have manners, social graces and decorum, tact and finesse
NOTE: Romantic affiliations code as SEXUAL or FAMILY based on context.

NURTURANCE (NURTUR)
- to give gifts, especially sympathy, help, love, charity, support, comfort, protection, nursing, consolation, or otherwise care for the weak, disabled, inexperienced, tired, young, elderly, etc.

NOTE: When given within the family code under FAMILY.

SUCCESSION (SUCCOR)
- to receive expressions of love (all expressions except sexuality), gratitude, pats on the back
- to feel deserving

NOTE: The desire to be married code under FAMILY and self-respect code under SECURE.

Example: “You deserve a break today.”

FAMILY (FAMILY)
- nurturance within the family, having a home, being at home, family privacy, companionship of siblings, kinship
- getting married

NOTE: References to ancestry code as TRADITIONAL.

COMMUNITY (STATE)
- relating to community, state, or national publics, public spiritedness, group unity, national identity, society, patriotism, civic and community organizations of other than social purpose

HEALTHY (FIT)
- fitness, vim, vigor, vitality, strength, heartiness, to be active, athletic, robust, peppy, free from disease, illness, infection, or addiction

NEAT (NEAT)
- orderly, neat, precise, tidy
- clean, spotless, unsoiled, sweet-smelling, bright
- free from dirt, refuse, pests, vermin, stains and smells, sanitary
Appendix C

Interview with a former employee at Arla

A: Interviewer
B: Interviewee

A: So, you have experience from working at Arla at the time when Wellness was launched. Can you tell me about the decision of using English in the packaging texts?

B: Yes. Wellness replaced the brand Cultura, which was available in the Swedish and Danish markets. But we wanted to launch in other Nordic markets, such as Finland and Norway, so that is the reason for gathering the products under one brand name. It was a decision made for economic reasons, to make our product range simpler and easily overviewed as Arla became a Nordic company. It made production easier, we could use the same packing material. Later, we understood that the Danish consumers were loyal to the old brand Cultura, and in the Finnish market, Wellness was not very popular. It only worked well in Sweden.

A: If you had known that (it would only work in Sweden) while launching Wellness, do you think you would still have used English in the packages, given it an English brand name and so on?

B: No, if that would have been clear from the beginning, it would have had only Swedish in the packages. I think that the consumer expects fresh food to be locally produced and if we had only launched in Sweden, Wellness would have been named something else.

A: Thank you. How about God Morgon?

B: God Morgon changed into English because when Arla became Danish, we suddenly had too many different juice products, more than 100 in both markets. In Sweden, there was God Morgon and in Denmark there was Rynkeby. So we decided to separate the brands by target group and time for consumption: God Morgon would be the more premium brand, made for smaller households or for the weekend breakfast. Rynkeby on the other hand would be the standard brand, with larger packages that would fit the family. So both brands were available in both markets, and that is why we changed the God Morgon language into English. And we did not lose sales due to the change.

A: Do you know why?

B: I think it has to do with the rest of the packages. We did not change anything else than the language. The packages were still black, with the same font and the same images, so the consumer still found the juice in the store shelf.