

The Translation of Advertising Texts

*A Study of English-Language Printed Advertisements and their
Translations in Russian*

Volume 1

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July 2002

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Since the end of Communism, adverts for Western products have been flooding onto the Russian market. These have undergone translation, with strategies ranging from complete transference of the source text into the target culture, to the creation of new texts based on advertisers' briefs. The choice of strategy, it appears, is dependent on the power balance between the agents of translation, including not only translators, but advertisers, designers, governments, text receivers and on the cultural, historical and economic situation in which the translation takes place. This thesis suggests advertisement translation be considered in terms of power, culture and history. A postcolonial framework is used to set out changes in translation strategy, emphasize the role of power differentials and make predictions for practice. Seeing translated adverts as 'contact zones' where different cultures meet, the empirical research centres on the absorption of the 'dominant's' culture into that of the 'subjugated', and focuses on the interaction of 'foreign' and 'native' elements in these translated adverts. A parallel corpus of contemporary English adverts, their translated Russian pairs, and a control corpus of native Russian adverts provides the research data. A taxonomy of rhetorical figures employed in advertising headlines is constructed and their translation investigated, highlighting rhetorical trends, and instances where translators have been hindered by advertisers. The visibility of the linguistic Other is examined with reference to loanwords, loan meanings, calques and word formation; and two case studies relating to colour terms and names. Finally, the power relations between companies, customers and intermediaries are discussed in light of their portrayal in the translated adverts. The results show that the 'post-colonial' contact zone is a mixture of 'colonizer' and 'colonized'; and demonstrate the necessity of giving translators the power their expert status deserves if translated adverts are to persuade the target audience.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my funding body, the AHRB, without the support of which this research would not have been possible. Thanks also go to my supervisors: Tim Lewis, who started me off in my PhD research and was my joint supervisor until his retirement in 2001, and Nigel Gotteri who was with me to the end, providing a source of invaluable advice, encouragement and anecdotes. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the constant support of staff and students in the Russian and Slavonic Studies department at Sheffield University, in particular Susan Reid and Bob Russell. I am also extremely grateful to Christine Thomas at the British Library who unearthed the pre-revolutionary adverts, and the many people who collected the contemporary ones for me.

Special thanks go to Nataša and Ksjuša Selezneva in Saint Petersburg without whom I would not have started to learn Russian, nor continued to study it. Credit must also go to my parents, Jean and Colin, who taught me the value of education in its own right and whose continual love and encouragement have helped me throughout my studies.

But my greatest acknowledgement goes to Ben who has been by my side every step of the way, be it suggesting words, solving computer crises, patting me on the back or drying my tears. Without him, this thesis would never have been finished.

Terminology and Notation

All terminology is glossed either in the text or in a footnote. The terms used to describe translation are in accordance with Newmark (1988: 45–47, 81–93) unless otherwise stated.

The following notation will be used throughout this thesis:

In order to aid readers unfamiliar with Cyrillic, all Russian text is transliterated into Latin text using the Slavistic Transcription with diacritics, a copy of which can be found in appendix one. This system is used for all transliterated Cyrillic (with the exception of city and country names) including names and terms which may have a different accepted spelling in current English, for example:

Xruščev – Khrushchev
Gorbačev – Gorbachev
El'cin – Yeltsin
perestrojka – perestroika
glasnost' – glasnost

The major benefit of employing this system universally is that all Russian terms can confidently be converted back into Cyrillic. All translation from Russian and French is my own unless otherwise stated. Glosses are given in inverted commas.

All citations are made using the author-date system.

Long quotations and examples from adverts are broken off from the rest of the text. They are not enclosed within inverted commas. All capitalization and punctuation reflects that of the original advertisements.

Short quotations are given within the text and enclosed in single inverted commas.

Italics are used for words of foreign origin and to denote language material quoted in normal (orthographic) form (transliterated where appropriate) in the running text.

Oblique strokes for phonetic transcriptions.

Angle brackets denote graphemes when talking specifically about spelling.

Single inverted commas are used for meanings.

Braces are used for text originally in Latin script within the Russian advert, for example:

{L'Oréal} izobretaet novyj jazyk cveta.
'{L'Oréal} invents a/the new language of colour.'

The braces show that *L'Oréal* was the original form in the Russian advert.

Small capitals are used for dictionary entries. The following abbreviations are used for the major dictionaries consulted:

OED: Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. C. eds. 1989. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Second Edition), Oxford: Clarendon Press. *OED Online*: Oxford University Press. Available at <URL:<http://dictionary.oed.com>> [Accessed 14 June 2002]

The entries for the Online *OED* will be presented as follows:

TOP (*OED* 1989: 0025447, n¹ 14a)

So TOP can be found in the 1989 *OED* online, it is entry number 0025447 (<URL:<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/0025447>>). It is the first meaning of the noun, and example 14a.

ORD: Falla, P., Wheeler, M. and Unbegaun, B. eds. 1995. *The Oxford Russian Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

PR: Legrain, M. ed. 1993. *Le nouveau petit Robert – Troisième Édition*, Paris: Dictionnaires de Robert

TS: Ožegov, S. I. and Švedova, N. Ju. 1995. *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*, Moscow: AZ''

The adverts which comprise the corpora are numbered and given an abbreviation:

EP – English Parallel Corpus
RP – Russian Parallel Corpus
RM – Russian Monolingual Corpus

So, EP:12 is the twelfth advert in the English Parallel Corpus, Ford KA, which appeared in the British version of *Elle* in July 2000, RP:12 is its Russian pair

which appeared in the Russian version of *Elle* in April 2000. The company names, products, magazines and publication dates are listed in appendix two. The complete texts for the adverts in these corpora, and translations of the Russian texts can be found in appendix four.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Advertising

The pervasiveness of advertising in both Russian and British contemporary society is undeniable; whether it is loved, hated or just ignored, its presence is a defining feature of modern culture. It is, quite simply, everywhere:

We cannot walk down the street, shop, watch television, go through our mail, log on to the Internet, read a newspaper or take a train without encountering it. Whether we are alone, with our friends or family, or in a crowd, advertising is always with us, if only on the label of something we are using (Cook 2001: 1).

Present-day advertising uses a variety of media, including television, print, Internet, direct mail, radio; it appeals to all the senses and is packed with word play, cultural references, allusions, storytelling, music, striking visual images, catchy jingles, famous celebrities and even scented strips. Its overwhelming ubiquity and the volume of linguistic and visual data it contains make advertising a fascinating area of study which has already resulted in a great number of research projects, books, television documentaries and articles. To this body I offer my own contribution.

Advertising is not new; it has been traced as early as 3000 BC where the first adverts were discovered for an ointment dealer, a scribe and a shoemaker on Babylonian clay tablets.¹ In Britain, the advertising industry began to grow from the mid-seventeenth century when adverts informing merchants about the prices of goods started to appear. Advertising progressed through the eighteenth century, when newspapers became more popular, to the nineteenth century industrial revolution, which ensured a supply of mass-produced goods to sell, and saw the birth of the mechanical printing press, allowing the design and production of elaborate, bold and confident adverts. In the early twentieth century, adverts began to use psychology to sell products and the propaganda posters of the First World War, which exploited people's fears, anxieties and guilt, heavily influenced advertising. The post-Second World War period saw an

¹ The Way We Were – A Short History of Advertising [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.adteam.com/html/buzz/history_of_ads/early_years.html> [Accessed 1 April 2002]

expansion of media, making advertising an inescapable part of daily life, and from the 1950s and 1960s the advertising genre began to take on its current recognizable form. Today's advertisers use sophisticated methods of research to gauge consumers' wants; tempting, teasing and trying to persuade them to buy what are often identical products, using advertising as a means of differentiation. The progress of advertising has been continuous with the major explosion beginning fifty years ago.

The roots of Russian advertising are remarkably similar to Britain's. The first print adverts appeared in the seventeenth century and by the early eighteenth century, adverts could be found in newspapers. The abolition of serfdom in the late nineteenth century led to an advertising boom which reached its peak in 1913. However, the evolution was halted in 1917 when the Communists seized power and introduced their Soviet doctrine. Although advertising continued to feature in Soviet society, it was of marginal importance, strictly controlled and crude in comparison to British adverts of the same period. Russian advertising effectively remained stagnant for seventy years, whilst advertising in the capitalist world evolved, experimented with new forms and became a multi-billion dollar industry. With the collapse of the Soviet system in 1991 and the opening of the former Soviet Union to foreign companies came an influx of this advanced alien advertising, which left the Soviet-style adverts looking outdated, dull and unprofessional. When I visited Russia five years later, in 1996, I was struck by the prominence of Western advertising in Russia, its use of English and its stark resemblance to the adverts I had seen at home in the UK; returning in 1998 I was certain that Coca-Cola was sponsoring New Year; and by 2000, it was refreshing to see parodies of esoteric Western adverts and transformations of Russian idiom. Russian advertising was evolving quickly, as was its translation.

1.1.2 Translation

When Russia opened its borders to foreign investors, large companies were not tardy in bringing their products and services to a country which represented huge potential for expanding profits. When businesses expand their operations overseas they often take their existing advertising material with them. In order to make this advertising appropriate to the target culture, they carry out some form

of translation. The definition of translation has to be broad, involving a whole range of strategies from complete transference of the source text into the target culture to the creation of a new advert for the target culture, based on the interpretation of the advertiser's creative brief. Although there is debate about the suitability of advertising texts for translation, due to their high cultural and social content, the harsh reality is that due to financial and brand image concerns, adverts are frequently created on a European or international scale in English, and subsequently translated into the languages of the markets where the advert is to be supplied.

Translating advertisements is no easy task for they are 'a microcosm of almost all the prosodic, pragmatic, syntactic, textual, semiotic and even ludic difficulties to be encountered in translating' (Smith and Klein-Braley 1997: 175). Virtually all the devices within advertising which give adverts their persuasive power are notoriously difficult to translate, often stretching translators to their limit. The translators' task is made all the more difficult by a number of factors which lie outside their control.

1.1.3 Power

Power is central to all acts of translation. Power manifests itself in the relationships between the agents of translation, which in advertising include not only translators, but companies, advertising agencies, designers, governments and text receivers. The delicate balance of power between these agents is prone to change, and these changes have far-reaching effects on the strategies employed for rendering an advert into Russian. In researching the notion of power relations and translation, I was struck by the similarities between the changes observed in Russian advertising and cases cited in postcolonial studies. Throughout this thesis, I use postcolonialism as a metaphor to account for changes in translation strategies, to describe current advertisement translation and to predict developments. The postcolonial model benefits from being flexible enough to accommodate the range of translation strategies used by translators, whilst emphasizing the role of power relations in the choice of strategies and demonstrating the importance of translation in shaping a new Russian advertising genre.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

1.2.1 Objectives

Translation theory suggests that adverts, as commercial texts written to persuade, should be translated in such a way that the target text functions within the target culture as though it were an original.² However, even a cursory look at contemporary translated Russian adverts shows that many of them are still very much bound to their originals and that the result is a text of obviously foreign origin. The problem that forms the centre of this research is to investigate why adverts translated into Russian go against the recommendation of translation theorists and maintain this link with their originals.

Starting from the assumption that the translated advert is the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt 1992: 4), the place where cultures meet and grapple within asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination, the main objective of this study is to investigate transculturation within these translated adverts. *Transculturation* refers, in part, to the absorption of the dominant culture into that of the subjugated, so this thesis focuses on the investigation of the interaction of ‘foreign’ and ‘native’ elements in contemporary advertisements translated into Russian from English. The investigation takes into account Russian advertising tradition, and situates present day Russian advertising within its ongoing evolution.

Secondary objectives include highlighting the external factors involved in the translation process and their apparent power in influencing the strategies adopted by the translators. This will show how many of the previous studies into the translation of advertising have employed models which are not flexible enough to account for these changes in translation strategy and the capacity of outside influences to hamper the professionalism, skill and creativity of translators. Although reference will be made to a number of external influences, the major focus rests on corporations as ‘colonizers’, translators as ‘the colonized’ and the translated advert which results from this interaction.

² See, for example, Nord’s discussion of instrumental translation (1991: 73) and House’s treatment of covert translation (1997: 69).

In addition, I hope with this thesis to raise awareness of the current state of advertisement translation into Russian. Advertising has received bad press in Russia, due primarily to the poor-quality translation of adverts into Russian during the period immediately following the collapse of Communism; however, as this thesis shows, there are examples of good translation practice and indications of evolution in advertising translation which favours the Russian people. This research also fills a gap in the field of translation studies, by offering a study into advertisement translation into Russian, where previous studies of this nature have concentrated, for the most part, on Western European language pairs.

1.2.2 Scope

This study is based on the analysis of a parallel corpus of forty-five English-language adverts and their translated Russian pairs. This corpus is large enough to give indications of recurrent trends and provides a wealth of authentic data for analysis, whilst being small enough for one person to handle with accuracy. The adverts are randomly selected from the print media, primarily glossy women's magazines and are contemporary, published between 1997 and 2001. The adverts are for goods, rather than services and focus on luxury goods as opposed to necessities due to the nature of magazines. Most of the products in this corpora are aimed at women. For comparison, I have constructed a monolingual corpus of twenty-three original Russian adverts, selected using the same criteria as the parallel corpus.

1.2.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, the first of which is this introduction.

The second chapter reviews the previous studies into advertisement translation. It begins with a brief history of the subject before concentrating on more contemporary works, dating from 1995. The literature review demonstrates the need for further work in this field and suggests that a broader view of translation studies be adopted when discussing advertising, one more in line with cultural studies.

The third chapter introduces a four-stage model of postcolonial studies as a useful metaphor for demonstrating why translation strategies have changed with time. Using the model, I chart the history of Russian advertising and its translation and give predictions for future trends. The postcolonial model creates a theoretical framework in which my own empirical work into contemporary translation practice is positioned.

The fourth chapter situates the adverts used for the research in this thesis within the general field of advertising. In addition to describing contemporary advertising, this chapter shows how the component parts of advertising production fit together and offers a detailed description of the texts that comprise the corpora whilst highlighting the decisions made to focus on certain elements rather than others. This chapter also includes a short review of the most influential texts relating to the linguistic elements of advertisements.

The fifth chapter begins the empirical analysis and is centred on the use of rhetorical figures in advertising headlines. The headline is the most important linguistic device in an advert, carrying the persuasive content to encourage the receiver to read on and, hopefully, buy the product. Rhetorical figures have been used since antiquity within persuasive discourse. I offer a taxonomy which clearly sets out the range of devices open to advertisers when creating headlines, which is then applied to the corpora. The results highlight trends which indicate English and Russian rhetorical tendencies, emphasize those figures which appear difficult to translate, and highlight cases where translators have been hindered by translation commissioners. The resulting translated headlines are considered in the light of the postcolonial model.

The sixth chapter investigates the visibility of the Other in the translated Russian adverts.³ The most visible sign of the colonizer is through the use of the colonizer's language. This chapter assesses the attractiveness of the Other in Russian culture, addresses the introduction of non-Russian words in translated

³ The 'Other' is anyone who is separate from one's self. In accordance with Lacan I shall use 'Other' to refer to 'the great Other in whose gaze the subject gains identity' in contrast to the 'other' who resembles the self (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 169–70).

adverts, highlights the range of borrowing employed and suggests reasons for the use of this linguistic Other. Following this discussion come two case studies. The first deals with the treatment of colour terms in the translated Russian adverts, drawing attention to the range of translation strategies employed and suggesting why they have been chosen. The second case study looks at the use of product names. The name is one of the most important defining elements within adverts, and source language names are often full of meaning. The case study identifies the techniques and strategies used in their translation and demonstrates how the connotations attached to names may change in the target culture.

The seventh chapter looks at the way companies build relationships with their potential customers, either directly or through an intermediary. I discuss the image that the company proffers of these three players and judge to what extent this is an indication of the balance of power between the colonizer and the colonized. Focusing on the consumer, I investigate the choice of mode of address and the use of possessive determiners, jussive and interrogative clauses. With emphasis on the company, I turn to the employment of the exclusive and inclusive *we* and the use of the company voice. As regards the intermediary, I focus on product personification, celebrities and specialists.

The eight chapter draws conclusions from this study and suggests recommendations for future research.

2. Literature Review

This literature review introduces previous studies into the translation of advertising material, beginning with a brief history of the topic, then positioning the more contemporary works within the broader field of translation studies, discussing and evaluating translation strategies in detail. The works reviewed offer a wide range of language pairs and translation issues, thus highlighting the significance and value of further study in this area. The chapter ends by showing that this thesis fills a gap in the current literature by offering a study which focuses on Russian, yet drawing on the experiences of other scholars and improving on perceived failures in these works.

2.1 *History of Advertisement Translation*

Advertisement translation was mentioned infrequently in translation studies prior to Hurbin's 1972 article *Peut-on traduire la Langue de la Publicité* [sic ks] 'Can one translate the Language of Advertising'. Hurbin notes:

Les études sur la traduction du message publicitaire sont encore relativement rares ou fragmentaires.

'Studies into the translation of the advertising message are still relatively rare or sketchy.' (Hurbin 1972: 25)

Hurbin's article appeared in a period when linguistic study of translation was primarily concerned with the notion of equivalence, which is 'submitted to lexical, grammatical, and stylistic analysis; it is established on the basis of text type and social function'. (Venuti 2000: 121). In the 1960s and 1970s there were major publications focusing on equivalence from Nida (1964), Nida and Taber (1974)¹, and Catford (1965).² The influence of both Nida and Catford can be

¹ For Nida and Taber (1974) there are two kinds of equivalence: formal (later formal correspondence) and dynamic. Formal equivalence is the closest equivalent of the source language, it results in the distortion of the target language's grammatical and stylistic patterns. The message is often misunderstood or difficult to decipher by the reader (201). Dynamic equivalence occurs when translators produce a target text so that it has the same impact on the target readership as the original had on the source, the form of the original may change, but the message is maintained (200).

² Catford (1965: 27) distinguishes between textual equivalence and formal correspondence. Formal correspondence is when a target language category occupies, as nearly as possible, the same place in the target language as the source language did in the source, while textual equivalence is where the target language form is seen as equivalent of the source language form. When these concepts diverge, a translation shift occurs.

seen in Hurbin's article. He seems to have Nida's 'dynamic equivalence' (1964: 166)³ in mind when he writes:

La traduction est ici un exercice de style et le tâche du traducteur consiste essentiellement à replacer, conformément aux lois souvent capricieuses d'une combinatoire savante, les éléments essentiels du message initial dans une mosaïque, autrement agencée sans doute, mais dont l'ensemble doit avoir la même élégance et le même pouvoir d'évocation.

'Here translation is a stylistic exercise and the task of the translator consists essentially of replacing, in accordance with the often capricious laws of scholarly combinatorial rules, the essential elements of the initial message into a mosaic, no doubt laid out differently, but of which the whole must have the same elegance and the same evocative power.' (Hurbin 1972: 30)

There are a number of fitting translations for any original text; it is the translator's task to choose the most appropriate of these possibilities. This is made easier if multilingual glossaries of advertising language are compiled so that when translating, the most apt equivalents are found. Creating glossaries based on specific product categories (for example fragrance, tobacco or cars) will benefit the translator engaged in the translation of advertising material. Although there are merits to this method, for patterns do exist in advertising for certain products, the use of standard glossaries does not take into account the creativity central to advertising, and is at odds with those authors, such as Cook, who highlight the poetic creativity in adverts and thus their relationship with literature (Cook 2001: 17). Hurbin, however, suggests that much of advertising's originality comes from the use of rhetorical figures and that the creative process will be simplified and enriched if translators are made aware of the systems they use intuitively (see chapter five for my own discussion of rhetorical figures). This article demonstrates the value of investigating advertising translation, by its insights into translation practices in general, and into the way advertising material is expressed in different languages.

It was some twenty years before the next article devoted to advertisement translation appeared. During the intervening years there had been a shift in the focus of translation studies. Equivalence was no longer the major concern of

³ Nida writes that dynamic equivalence is directed at the reader's response rather than the source message. He, however, emphasizes that the target text is a translation and should clearly reflect the meaning and intent of the source text.

translation scholars, as functionalism had taken centre stage.⁴ In 1971, for example, Reiss developed a theory of translation criticism, which although based on equivalence, placed more emphasis on the functional relationship between source and target texts (Nord 1997: 9). Later Reiss integrated her idea of correlating text-type and translation method into Vermeer's general theory of translation. This general theory is based on the notion that the target text is written to fulfil a specific purpose, or *skopos*, in the target market. The aim is not to achieve formal equivalence between the source and target texts, but to ensure that the text functions in the way laid down in the translation brief.⁵ Another scholar working with a similar viewpoint was Holz-Mänttari who suggested that translation was 'a complex action designed to achieve a particular purpose' (Holz-Mänttari and Vermeer quoted in Nord 1997: 13). From a background of functionalism, with the focal point on the target text, one would have expected the second article to have stemmed from ideas in this area, however it did not.

Tatilon's (1990) article '*Le texte publicitaire: traduction ou adaptation ?*' leans heavily on Nida's notion of functional equivalence. Tatilon identifies four essential functions of advertising texts: two refer to the content: *fonction identificatrice* 'identifying function' (relating to the name and slogan) and the *fonction laudative* 'laudatory function' (describing the qualities of the product); and two to the means of expression: *fonction ludique* 'ludic function' (the word games in the advert) and *fonction mnémotechnique* 'mnemonic function' (the readability and significance of the advert) (243). Tatilon suggests that to maintain these functions after translation, the following strategy should be used:

traduire non à la lettre mais l'esprit, non les mots mais les fonctions (245)
'translate not by the letter but by the spirit, and not by words but by functions'

Tatilon suggests the *le modèle fonctionnel* 'the functional model' should value the target text whilst ensuring its 'faithfulness' to the source text. Here he differs from Vermeer, Reiss and Holz-Mänttari, who dismiss the need to be faithful to the source text. Tatilon's work is, however, reminiscent of the work Nord (1991) was doing at a similar time; its core rests on the analysis of the source text, which will ensure 'comprehension and correct interpretation of the text' (1991:1) and

⁴ I am referring here to the 'German School' of functionalist translation theory, based primarily on the work of Reiss, Vermeer and Holz-Mänttari (see Nord 1997: 4-14)

⁵ The notion of *skopos* theory will be taken up again in section 2.3.6.3.

will, in turn, lead to translators being better informed to make translation decisions. It also complies with Nord's loyalty principle, which requires translators to remain loyal to the source-text sender, the target-text addressees and the translation initiator (Nord 1997: 126). Although Taiton's work was based on translation theories, he omits to give evidence of the research carried out leading to his conclusions.

From 1995 the number of studies carried out into the translation of advertising material increased, concurrent with the emergence of global markets. According to de Mooij (1994: 20), 'the integration of the world economy has increased from less than 10 per cent at the beginning of the twentieth century to over 50 per cent in the 1990s'. There were many driving forces behind this integration, for example the end of the cold war, faster transport and communication systems (for example, cheaper air travel, the Internet, mobile phones), trends towards standardization and convergence of consumer needs and preferences, and saturated home markets. A more integrated world market encourages companies to carry out their business activities overseas. They then address their worldwide customer base through mass-media advertising, much of which is translated into the languages of the target markets. This increase in translated advertising material prompted an ever growing number of translation scholars to focus their research on the translation of advertising material.

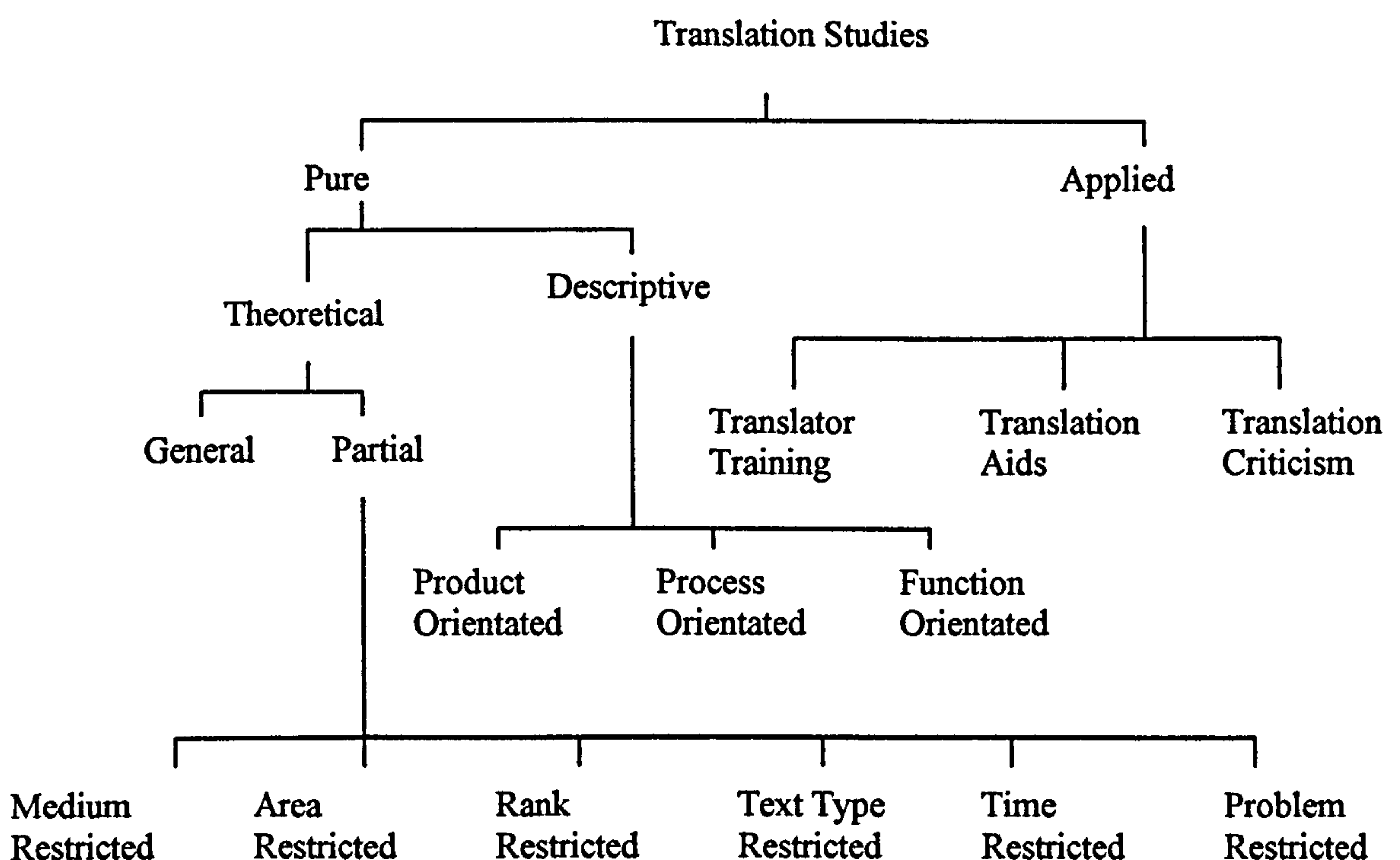
It is this current literature (published between 1995 and 2001) which is discussed in the remainder of this chapter. The authors of these texts have researched a wide spectrum of languages, using a variety of different analytical tools and methodologies, leading to very different, even conflicting results. This chapter focuses on the common themes running through the totality of research and offers an evaluative and critical analysis of the studies. However, it seems pertinent to situate these articles within the field of translation studies.

2.2 Advertisement Translation within the Field of Translation Studies

2.2.1 Classification of Translation Studies

Holmes wrote his influential paper 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' in 1972 and this work remains useful today when assessing the approach chosen by translation scholars as they embark on research into the translation of advertising texts.

Holmes' paper defines the field of translation studies, making a clear division between 'pure' (research-orientated areas) and 'applied' (for example, translator training). 'Pure' approaches to translation studies are classified as being 'theoretical' or 'descriptive'. These categories are further refined, and expressed diagrammatically (Toury 1995: 10):



Previous studies into the translation of advertisements are, for the most part, 'pure' primarily following a 'descriptive product-orientated approach', with one exception, an example of a 'process-orientated approach'. Many of the studies, however, cross these boundaries and carry content from more than one of these categories.

Holmes classifies the product-orientated approach to translation studies as being ‘that area of research which describes existing translations [...] The starting point for this study is the description of individual translations, or text-focused translation descriptions’ (Holmes 1972: 176). This approach differs from other descriptive methods: the process-orientated approach focuses on the act of translation itself, aiming to decipher what happens in translators’ minds at the moment of translation; the function-orientated approach describes the function of the text in the target culture, emphasizing the context of the translation rather than the text itself.

Some of the work reviewed falls into the other main branch of pure, theoretical translation studies. According to Holmes this branch is

not interested in describing existing translations, observed translation functions, or experimentally determined translation processes, but in using the results of descriptive translation studies, in combination with the information available from related fields and disciplines to evolve principles, theories, and models which will serve to explain and predict what translating and translations are and will be. (Holmes 1972: 178)

Some authors, having gained information about translation through their research, extend this work by incorporating findings from other disciplines to create models which could be employed by translators of advertising. (Au (1999), for example, draws on research into communication models).

2.2.2 Product-Orientated Approaches to Descriptive Translation Studies

The first product-orientated study is a general piece discussing whether adverts can be translated successfully. Odber de Baubeta (1996) suggests that since adverts and translation are both ‘multifaceted activities’ (157) it is necessary to investigate their interface using a number of different analytical approaches (semiotics, text analysis, sociolinguistics). The article concentrates on the analysis of an English advert for a Waterman pen and its translation into Portuguese and French. It discusses the use of the image, cultural references, binary oppositions, sentence structure and the product name. Odber de Baubeta concludes by saying that adverts can be translated with some degree of success if the content of the source text is not too culture-bound.

There are five product-orientated studies which take key concepts in advertising and investigate how these are rendered in another language and culture. The studies use corpora and describe patterns that emerge from their investigation. Abdul-Ghani (2000) takes the broad subject of culture as her starting point. She concentrates on problems and issues concerning the transfer of culture-specific items found in advertising texts with particular reference to register, visuals, semantic interplay and gender. There are two articles which focus on the use of stereotypes within different cultures, and more specifically their portrayal in advertising texts. Both authors use a contrastive approach to show the problems faced when translating texts and images which carry stereotypical information. Nomura (2000) compares corpora of German and Brazilian Portuguese texts, whereas Fuentes Luque and Kelly (2000) use a corpus containing non-Spanish adverts used to advertise Spain or Spanish products outside Spain. Quillard (1998) tackles the problems connected with translating humorous adverts in Canada, whilst Sidiropoulou (1998) describes the different strategies and techniques within British and Greek advertising genres. The authors discuss their results and make conclusions in the light of previous research in the field or languages concerned. These studies highlight patterns within these languages and form the bases of recommendations to translators of advertising texts.

Valdés's (2000) approach is less specific. She concentrates on the reception of translated advertisements. She shows, through a series of examples, how adverts are often adapted to fulfil the specific *skopos* 'purpose' of a particular translation commission and to ensure that the advert is acceptable within that target culture (in terms of connotations attached to signs taken from another culture). She shows how changes are made to reflect, for example, a different target audience, a new product in the target market, different target cultural habits, phonetic factors and stereotyped visuals. She concludes that, although globalization is seen as an attempt at worldwide cultural standardization, close analysis shows that translators are continuing to adapt their messages for local target audiences.

Jettmarová has published three articles about the translation of advertising material in the Czech Republic (1997b, 1998); one of these, in collaboration with Piotrowska and Zauberga (Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga 1997a), focuses

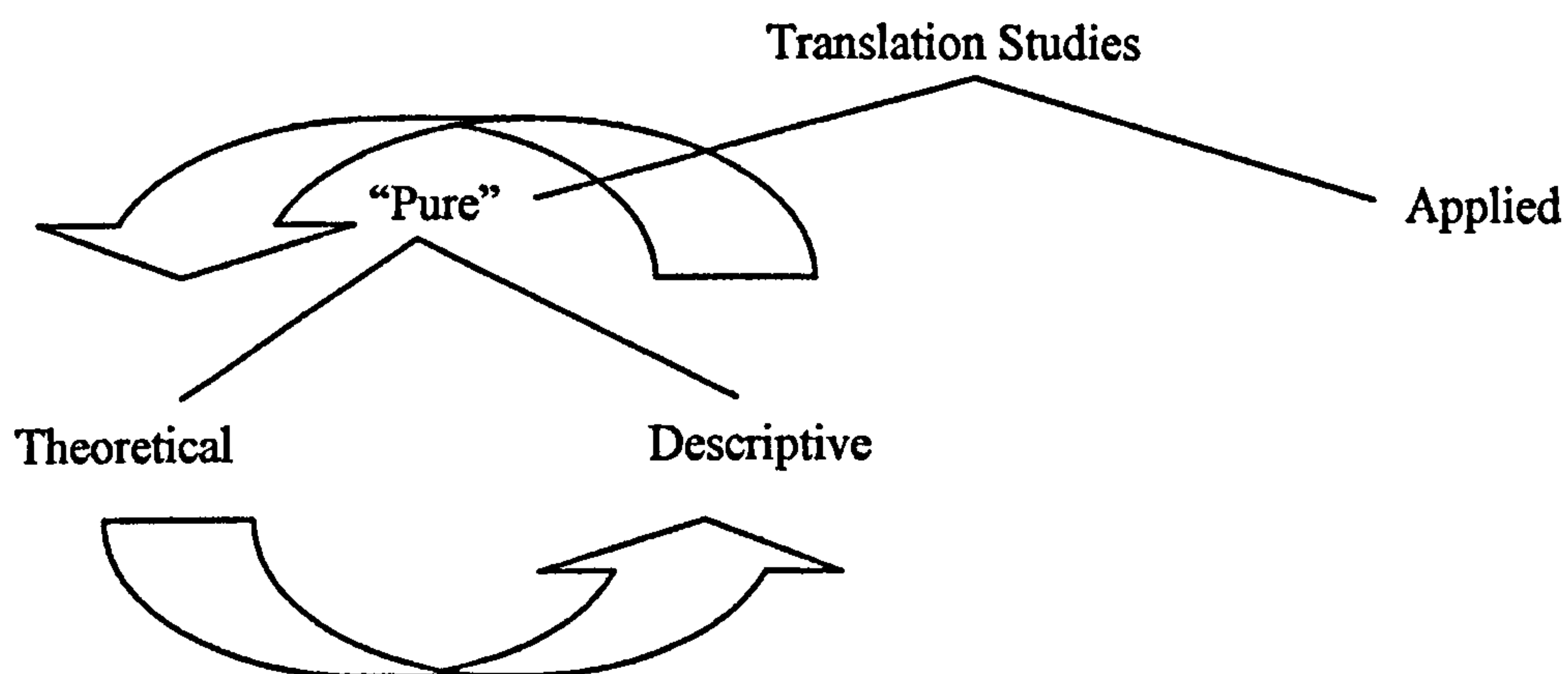
on the translation of advertising texts in Poland and Latvia. These articles are principally descriptive, although they are significantly wider in scope than the studies mentioned above. The joint article (1997a) offers a comparative description of three countries painting a picture of the state of advertising translation in Eastern Europe. The study has a diachronic element as it covers advertising produced between 1990 and 1996. According to Holmes, one of the goals of product orientated DTS 'might possibly be a general history of translation' (1972: 177). It could be argued that this has been achieved for advertising texts, albeit on a small scale, for the Czech Republic, Poland and Latvia by Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga. Although the approach is descriptive, the authors have very strong opinions about the most effective means of translating advertising and are not afraid to voice them.

Jettmarová (1997b) includes features which could be classed as function- and process-orientated approaches to descriptive translation as she uses both customer response questionnaires and interviews with translators of advertisements. This is an important feature, for as Toury (1995: 11) warns, 'to regard the three fields [Product, Process and Function Orientated] as autonomous [...] is a sure recipe for reducing individual studies to superficial description'. Toury believes that there is no point in carrying out a product-orientated approach that does not at some stage take into account both the process and function behind the translated text. Jettmarová (1998) contains a fair amount of translation criticism, a branch of applied translation studies. She questions some of the choices made by translators, and tries to explain why they occurred, for example due to double translation, and clients' insistence on literal translation.

2.2.3 Partial Approaches to Pure Translation Studies

Adab's doctoral thesis (1997) and subsequent article (2000) place a heavy reliance on a product-orientated approach, and offer a detailed description of a wide range of variables applied to a small corpus. In her article, Adab uses her results to extend her study to incorporate a list of 'dos and don'ts', acting as recommendations for those involved in advertisement translation. This is a movement towards a prescriptive theoretical approach to advertising translation, as her descriptive work is being used to suggest what should happen when

advertising is translated. In compiling her corpus, Adab restricts the following variables: medium (print advertising), area (French and English), time (contemporary adverts) and text type (as only adverts are considered). What Adab is attempting here is to 'bring the results of descriptive-explanatory studies executed within DTS to bear on the *theoretical* branch' (Toury 1995: 15). This can be represented diagrammatically (Toury 1995: 15):



The pattern is cyclical as a descriptive study will be based on some underlying theory and the results of the study may well bear on those same underlying theories, leading to verification, refutation or modification of certain hypotheses.

This pattern, of a descriptive approach serving as the basis for subsequent prescription to give strategies and principles for the translator, is present in the final five works under review.

Al-Shehari (2001) begins his study in the translation of advertisements by exploring the current conventions and techniques of advertising in the Arab world. He analyses a corpus of English adverts and their translated Arabic pairs before offering a list of broad translation strategies. The strategies are based on translating into Arabic, and do not claim to be universal. They include, for example, the need in Arabic adverts to cover the naked body, to transliterate brand names and to modify headlines.

Au (1999) extends his work on English language advertising translated into Chinese for the Hong Kong market as the basis for his suggestions for the most

suitable means of translating advertising. He bases his theory not only on his research into translated advertisements, but also on research into the communication process and the belief that an advertisement is a carrier of 'cultural reality' (Au 1999: 98). He offers examples to demonstrate how the process of translation is not only a linguistic transfer, but a cultural one. He advocates that adverts be adapted to cater for cultural differences, a principle, he believes, is relevant for all languages.

De Pedro (1995) carries out her research into television advertising, with particular emphasis on advertisements in Spanish and English. Although she says little or nothing of the actual investigation carried out into the translation of these adverts, I assume that one is behind the taxonomy of translation strategies she produces for advertising texts. De Pedro suggests that strategies for words and images can be combined to cover all methods used in translating advertisements and that these can be applied to any language pairs and, therefore, are not area-restricted. De Pedro restricts herself to the following variables: text type (adverts), time (contemporary) and medium (television).

Smith and Klein-Braley (1997) use their findings from research into printed German and English advertising to create a framework which they believe can be applied to other languages and media. The framework comprises five broad categories of translation strategy. There is little evidence, however, to support their assumption that the taxonomy is globally applicable to any media text in any language.

Guidère (2000b) bases his work on a contrastive comparison of adverts in many languages (with French and Arabic receiving most comment). In Guidère's work it is the *publisignes* which are important. According to Guidère, a *publisigne* is a translation unit formed from a linguistic sign and an iconic sign reflecting the same reality (2000b: 304). It is these *publisignes* which carry the instructions urging the receiver to act in a certain way and contain both linguistic and visual elements for:

Le mot n'est interprétable qu'à la lumière de l'image et inversement, l'image n'est correctement lisible qu'à l'aune du texte
'The word can only be interpreted in light of the image and conversely, the image can only be read correctly with knowledge of the text' (Guidère 2000a: 28)

The *publisigne* houses the persuasiveness of the advert, its ideology, poetics, rhetoric and argumentation. In order to find equivalence in the target language, according to Guidère, it is necessary to use an approach which incorporates language and picture and Guidère carries out research based on various levels of descriptive analysis.

2.2.4 Process-Orientated Approaches to Descriptive Translation Studies

There is one example of a process-orientated approach to DTS which stands out from the other research done into the translation of advertising material: Shakir (1995) uses advertisements as a means of investigating what cognitive strategies student translators use in the process of handling culturally opaque advertisements. This experiment was carried out on twenty schoolteachers and six MA students who were asked to translate five English adverts into Arabic. The study addresses other areas of translation studies when it attempts to answer the following questions: what surface features need to be present in a translated version of an advert for it to appeal and impact on the target audience (a function-orientated approach) and what criteria can be adopted to check the appropriateness of a translated advert (translation criticism). The study offers a methodology for translator trainers which may help when evaluating trainees' translations of register-specific texts, thus an example of applied translator training.

2.2.5 Summary

Having reviewed the body of work, I conclude that the studies using a product-orientated approach to DTS are the most successful. These focus on specific problems and treat them comprehensively. A product-orientated study with a rigorously selected corpus can be repeated with different variables, for example by enlarging the corpus, investigating different language pairs, changing the time periods, or comparing and contrasting with other text genres. Such extensions will help to paint a fuller picture of the translation of advertising texts. With a

solid foundation of research it will be possible to pursue a more theoretical approach with the aim of providing principles, models and theories for advertisement translation, as Toury (1995: 16) writes:

the cumulative findings of descriptive studies should make it possible to formulate a series of coherent laws which would state the inherent relationships between all the variables found to be relevant to translation.

I advocate the need for more product-orientated studies to form a basis for a theory of advertisement translation which would have a practical application for those involved in the translation of advertising material.

2.3 Strategies for Translating Advertisements

Despite its importance in devising an international advertising campaign, very little mention is made of translation in advertising literature; there seem to be few guidelines for translators of advertising. This perhaps indicates the industry's failure to appreciate the difficulties of translating advertising material effectively.⁶ When translation is mentioned, it tends to be in general terms; take the following example from Arens and Bovée (1994: 271–72), who offer four basic rules to follow when using translators:

- The translator must be an effective copywriter. It is not enough to merely rewrite the ads in a foreign language.
- The translator must understand the product, its features, and its market.
- Translators should translate into their native tongue and live in the country where the advert is to appear.
- The advertiser should give the translator easily translatable English language, without double meanings or idiomatic expressions.

Although there is justification for these rules, they are aimed at translation commissioners and not translation professionals, and, it seems, they are not always all adhered to. It is surely, in part, this lack of guidance for translators that has encouraged translation scholars to carry out descriptive work into the translation of advertising material, culminating in their own lists of recommendations for the translation of adverts, or their own strategies. In all of the work reviewed thus far this has been the case, with the exception of the two

⁶ Lewi (1995) notes that business practitioners are not as aware of cultural differences as they need to be for their businesses to function successfully internationally. Steyaert and Janssens (1997: 132) admit this 'lack of attention is remarkable insofar as the understanding of different cultures and of different languages is precisely what international marketing is about'. But as Hall (1976) observes many cultural differences are deeply rooted and imperceptible until we meet someone who responds differently in a similar situation. These differences were not so important in the past, as contact with people from other cultures was limited, but in the current environment, it is imperative that we understand them.

articles relating to the portrayal of stereotypes in advertising texts (Nomura 2000, Fuentes Luque and Kelly 2000). Rather than discussing these texts here, I will return to them later when looking in more detail at stereotypes and advertisements (see 6.1).

I have classified the studies as being synchronic, describing adverts at one specific time; or diachronic, describing the historical development of advert translation. Most of the studies are synchronic, so I have further subdivided this section according to the strategies or recommendations proposed by the authors. The categories include universal, pseudo-universal, prescriptive and language-specific strategies. The synchronic studies are dealt with first, followed by the diachronic studies and finally a multi-strategy approach to the translation of advertising texts.

2.3.1 Universal Strategies

This section concentrates on the formulation of universal strategies based on the analysis of a number of language pairs.

For Guidère, translators should be aiming at an ‘effective’ text which sells the advertised product in the target culture. Guidère believes, however, that there should still be some kind of equivalence between the source and target text.⁷

According to Guidère, the equivalence occurs not at word level, but at that of the syntagm.⁸ His understanding of equivalence does not necessarily mean fidelity to the source text, since the emphasis is not on staying close to the text, but on the advertisement’s ability to communicate meaning and create the necessary effect on the target audience. One of the ways of assessing this effectiveness is to carry out analysis at three levels:

⁷ It should be noted that Guidère appears to use the terms ‘equivalence’ and ‘correspondence’ interchangeably: ‘La représentation des *équivalences* traductionnelles, c’est à dire des *correspondances* inter-langues naturelles [...]’ ‘The representation of translation *equivalents*, that is natural inter-language *correspondence* [...]’ [my italics], see Guidère 2001.

⁸ The way in which signs create meaning by their relationships to the signs before or after them – by their order (Cook 2001: 65). Guidère’s approach the advertising texts is that of a semiotician. For more about the basic principles of semiotics, the study of signs, see footnote 18 (p.45) in this chapter.

- | | | |
|----|---------------|--|
| 1. | Semantic | The objective of the advert can be analysed through its lexis. |
| 2. | Communicative | The orientation of the message based on the structure and the use of presupposition. |
| 3. | Rhetorical | The aims of the producer, analysed through argumentation and rhetoric. |
- Guidère 2000a: 32

Guidère carries out his analysis on a large corpus of over two hundred adverts, in a number of languages. This analysis shows that equivalence is achieved at all three levels leading to the identification of lexico-syntactical and icono-figurative translational norms. The lexico-syntactical norms relate to how semantic and syntactic representation is achieved in another language, whereas icono-figurative norms describe the correspondence of images within the source and target cultures. The results of this descriptive analysis leads to the compilation of a five-stage model which Guidère believes will result in a successful advert:

1. Choose the *publisignes* (see p.30) for translation.
2. Carry out a functional translation according to the strategic content of the message.
3. Undertake quality control through a literalness test or possibly through back-translation⁹.
4. Edit the *publisignes* so that there is coherence between the text and image in the target version.
5. Test the effectiveness of the advert on monolingual, disinterested receivers.

Guidère 2000b: 216

I would argue that back-translation is not an effective quality control method and suggest it is more fruitful to employ a trained native proof-reader with access to the visual materials accompanying the text. The ideal proof-reader lives in the target culture and, as well as highlighting any misunderstandings or ambiguities of meaning, will be in a position to give an indication of the text's cultural suitability.

Guidère believes his approach to advertisement translation will result in a change of perspective, allowing more freedom in the translation of advertising texts and

⁹ As I see it the *test de littéralité* 'a literalness test' assesses the closeness of translation to the source.

leading to the production of 'dynamic' translations. In general, his approach offers a new way of assessing the unit of translation, through the *publisigne*. In advertising, this unit is important as it contains the elements which encourage the reader to act. The fact that this model has been based on research into different languages means that it is one of the most broadly applicable of the theoretical approaches reviewed. The strategies are broad enough to take into account a number of languages and different kinds of advertising, while constructive enough to give professional translators a guide to follow.

2.3.2 Pseudo-Universal Strategies

Pseudo-universal strategies are those which claim to be universal, but have been devised after the analysis of only one language pair. Both de Pedro and Smith and Klein-Braley offer their own strategies for translation; De Pedro's are based on research into English-Spanish television advertising, whereas Smith and Klein-Braley focus on English-German printed adverts.

De Pedro (1995: 30) summarizes the strategies open for translators in the following way:

	The words can be:	
a.	literally translated.	Literal translation is one in which 'the literal meaning of the words is taken as if from the dictionary (that is, out of context), but TL grammar is respected' (Hervey and Higgins 1992: 20).
b.	idiomatically translated.	Translated in such a way that the contents of the text are preserved, but its form is configured by the usual devices and patterns of the TL.
c.	freely translated.	A free translation occurs 'where there is only a global correspondence between the textual units of the ST and those of the TT'(Hervey and Higgins 1992: 20).
	The images can:	
a.	stay the same.	
b.	vary in each case, but conform to the ones in the proto-advert.	i.e. the advert as it was first conceived. For instance, different actors and actresses may appear, who nevertheless, act and gesture similarly in every version of the commercial.
	change altogether.	

Translators choose one strategy for the image and another for the words, although, as de Pedro notes, some combinations are unlikely to occur (for example literally translated words and completely changed images).

Smith and Klein-Braley (1997: 182–83) use their research to create a framework comprising five broad strategies of translation strategy which they believe could be applied to languages and media other than English-German advertisement translation:

<p>'Don't change advertisement: retain both graphics and text.'</p>	<p>This strategy is employed when the brand name is so strong that the product needs little verbal support. This strategy is used for perfume, alcohol and cigarette advertising and the target market is primarily that of businessmen and young people.</p>
<p>'Export advertisements: play on positive stereotypes of the originating culture, retaining logo, slogan etc. in the original. If necessary, have additional copy in target language.'</p>	<p>In these adverts the cultural origins of the product are seen as an asset and are stressed in the advert. An additional appeal is also addressed to the target market in the target language.</p>
<p>'straight translation.'¹⁰</p>	<p>Smith and Klein-Braley argue that this is an obvious strategy for international advertisers, but in reality is used infrequently, as it forestalls adjustment to the cultural demands of the target market and leads to translation errors that can attract ridicule.</p>
<p>'Adaptation: keep visuals, change text slightly or significantly.'</p>	<p>This strategy makes adjustments to the advert so that it is in accordance with the needs, expectations, cultural norms and the frames of reference of the target culture. According to advertising writers Belch and Belch this strategy is predominantly used by international advertisers and as Smith and Klein-Braley point out is the most interesting to examine in the context of translator training.¹¹</p>
<p>'Revision: keep visuals, write new text.'</p>	<p>The authors note this is a difficult strategy, in that advertising campaigns are designed with a specific communication theory in mind and that the message cannot be substantially different from the original. But they concede that it is easier to build on an existing concept than to start an advertising campaign from scratch. Products can have different values in different societies: the authors quote de Mooij (1994: 218), who notes that French women drink mineral water to stay slim, whereas German women drink it because it is healthy; Smith and Klein-Braley add that for British women it is a matter of following fashion. With these differences in mind it may be necessary to stress different aspects of a product linguistically in an advert, whereas the visual elements can remain unchanged.</p>

Smith and Klein-Braley suggest a sixth strategy where local advertising campaigns produce different adverts with unique visuals and language for each separate country, although the authors claim this is not relevant to the investigation of the strategies used in translating advertisements. I believe their

¹⁰ Smith and Klein-Braley do not define 'straight translation', although they may have in mind Newmark's 'semantic translation, where the translator attempts, within the bare syntactic and semantic constraints of the TL, to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the author' see Newmark (1981: 22).

¹¹ Belch and Belch quoted in Smith and Klein-Braley (1995: 183).

definition of translation is too narrow, and, where advertising texts are concerned, a much broader definition is needed. There is little evidence to support the assumption that the taxonomy is globally applicable to any media text. The article itself appears, to me at least, quite Anglo-German and does not encapsulate the experiences of Eastern Europe, let alone more diverse cultures, such as India.¹² I do not believe it is possible to form a valid global approach on the basis of just one language pair.

When Smith and Klein-Braley's taxonomy is compared with de Pedro's, the most noticeable difference is the lack of adaptation carried out on the image. It is possible to use combinations of the strategies in de Pedro's taxonomy to correspond to all those in Smith and Klein-Braley's. According to Smith and Klein-Braley, the transfer stops being a translation and becomes an adaptation as soon as the image is altered. This, however, seems to be a naïve view of the advertising market. In contrast to Smith and Klein-Braley, 'adaptation' for de Pedro is a combination of words which have been translated freely and an image which remains the same. As the two examples below show, these labels, as well as being contradictory are also too simplistic.

Translators sometimes have to alter advertising images to suit the target audience, for example for religious reasons. Al-Shehari (2001: 180) demonstrates certain changes made to adverts translated for the Arab world, including covering the naked body, removing tattoos, omitting Christian symbols (such as the cross of the Swiss flag) and making models appear more Arabic. These image changes may well be combined with literally, idiomatically or freely translated text. Of course, it also happens that advert texts have to be changed to match the image, as Guidère (2000a: 32) demonstrates with the following example. In the Arabic and French versions of Lancôme's advert for its perfume *Poème*, the text curves around the bottom right corner of the page.¹³

In the French version the text curves from bottom to top and reads:

¹² For an excellent overview of advertising in rural India see Bhatia (2000).

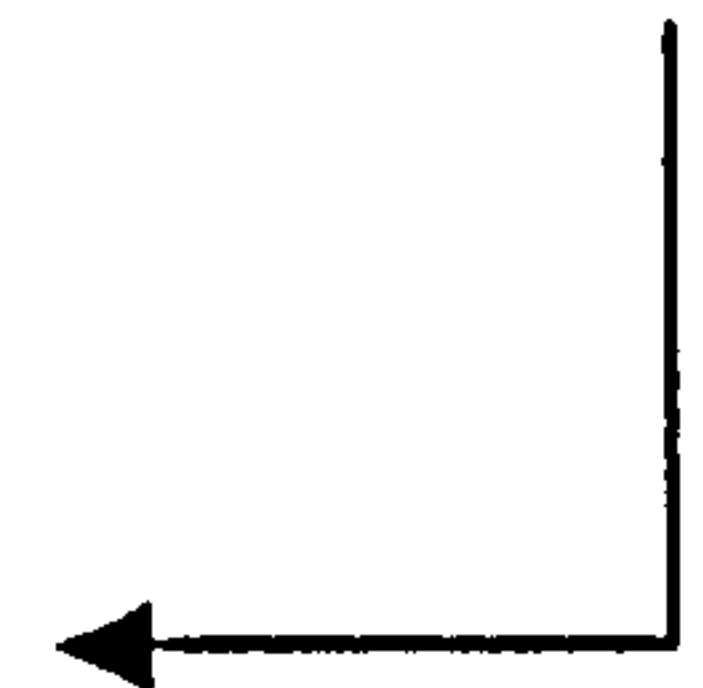
¹³ Lancôme uses the circumflex in its product name *Poème*, even though in French 'poem' does not have a circumflex, but a grave accent *poème*. Lancôme have altered the spelling as the circumflex accent is an instantly recognizable sign of its brand, due to its presence in the company name.

Tu es le grand soleil qui me monte à la tête
'You are the great sun which rises to the head'



Arabic is read from right to left and therefore the slogan has to be changed to reflect that the text is no longer going up the page, but down:

Tu es la lumière du soleil qui coule dans mon sang comme la
lave¹⁴
'You are the light of the sun which flows in my blood like lava'



This is a functional translation of the French original; it expresses an action of descending which matches the movement of the eyes when reading Arabic.

It is unwise to have a strategy which fails to take into account changes either in or due to the visual imagery. The examples above show that advertising images cannot be ignored when discussing the translation of advertising texts and question what can be classed adaptation and what, translation.

There seems to be a certain degree of overlap between these individual strategies. They use different terminologies, although a uniform message is being communicated. The strategies range from non-translation through to an advert which has been conceived for the target market. The stages within this range are where differences are noted, with authors putting emphasis on text, for example, over image. Smith and Klein-Braley and de Pedro suggest that the strategies are all equally applicable at a given moment. Smith and Klein-Braley (1997: 182) write 'it is possible, however, to group the approaches to the problem of translating advertisements into five broad categories'. What both sets of authors offer is a list of ways in which adverts can be translated. They do not give little indication as to which is the best strategy to apply in a given situation or when a particular strategy is likely to be used. The lists do not offer the same practical

¹⁴ Guidère has already glossed the Arabic text into French.

methodology found in Guidère's strategies, therefore their usefulness is debatable.

2.3.3 Prescriptive Strategies

In devising a taxonomy of strategies, Adab (2000) draws on the work of Neubert, Vinay and Darbelnet, Delisle, Reiss and Vermeer and Nord.¹⁵ Using this analysis, Adab categorizes the adverts in her corpus as being translated in a broadly linguistic or broadly functional way. Adab's hypothesis is that untrained translators and commissioners lacking language awareness are more likely to demand a linguistic translation, which will be less effective than a more functional one.

¹⁵ Vinay and Darbelnet (1995) carried out a comparative analysis of French-English translation which was the theoretical basis for such translation methods as equivalence, transposition and modulation.

Neubert and Shreve (1992) draw on text linguistics and pragmatics and see translation as a way of conveying the communicative intention of the text in the target language. The communicative intention is based on textual analysis.

Delisle (1998) advocates an interpretive analysis of translation which will ensure the comprehension of the author's intended message and its re-expression into the target language. Delisle suggests four levels of language manipulation needed to achieve this: observing conventions of form, performing interpretive analysis (transfer of monosemous terms, retrieval of standard equivalents, re-creation of context), interpreting style and preserving textual organicity.

Reiss and Vermeer (1991) focus on the target text. The most important aspect of the translation, in their opinion, is the intended purpose, or *skopos*, of the target text. This *skopos* may be explicitly stated in the translation brief issued by the translation commissioner. The way translators translate depend on the *skopos* of the target text.

Nord (1991) bases her work on the analysis of the source text and how a thorough analysis ensures that translators have fully understood the source text before attempting to translate. Through this analysis it is possible to determine the function of the source text. Having identified the function the translator has a clearer idea of how the text should be translated. Nord (1997) also argues for function plus loyalty, where the function refers to the factors that make the target text work as intended in the target culture, and loyalty is the interpersonal relationship between the translator, the source-text sender, the target-text addressees and the initiator.

Adab claims to have confirmed this hypothesis through detailed analysis of the following variables:

Variable	Categories
Translators and their profiles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agency • In-house • Non-linguist but marketing specialist • Agency, freelance.
Individual Brief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fidelity to ST • Fidelity to ST but flexible in form ensuring TL acceptability • Fidelity to ST function within norms of TL • Adaptation of ST for TL • Working to global mission
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Market research • Training translators to use product • Standardization
Overall approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional • Linguistic • Combination of both

Following this analysis, Adab uses the profiles of each advert to ascertain how the text is likely to be received. This appears highly subjective, since there is no data pertaining to the actual success of these adverts in the target market and it is unclear on what objective criteria her judgements are based. She concludes that adverts produced using a linguistic approach, although not inadequate, lead to the production of a less effective advert.

Disappointingly the analysis leads to assumptions rather than facts. The article would have been more convincing had she tried to obtain marketing data relating to the success of these adverts. Given her close collaboration with the agencies who produced the translations, this should have been feasible and would have shown whether the methods of analysis were valid.

The paper concludes with a prescriptive list of recommendations in the form of 'dos and don'ts' which came out of Adab's own research. They include such suggestions as 'do use suitably trained and qualified translators', and 'don't underestimate the TT's potential impact' (Adab 2000: 233–34). These recommendations are reminiscent of the literature in advertising handbooks, some of which was quoted at the start of this section. Although the

recommendations she makes are valid and useful, I do not believe she chose the correct place to present her findings. The article appeared in a compilation of essays relating to translation which will be read by people who already appreciate the difficulties of translation and the need to ensure that people are correctly trained and trusted. Adab's recommendations would have been of more benefit had they been published in the field of international business.

2.3.4 Language-Specific Strategies

This section discusses those studies offering either recommendations or strategies for the translation of adverts between specific language pairs, usually focusing on specific problems.

Humour is considered very difficult to translate, as Diot (1989: 84) points out, 'apart from allusions, references to various cultural idiosyncrasies, the content and the form of the jokes and of the comedy are radically different'. Redfern (1982: 269) goes further: 'it may well be that the supposed untranslatability of many puns deters advertisers, who often want to standardise their campaigns over various countries'. This implies that humorous adverts are almost impossible to translate, which is exactly what Quillard (1998) sets out to investigate; she bases her study on an existing model for translating humour.¹⁶ The adverts are classified as displaying one of the following, rather loose, categories of humorous effect (Quillard 1998: 23):

- visual / verbal humour
- visual / implicit humour
- verbal humour
- no word play in source text / word play in target text
- unsuccessful translation (where the humour is not translated into the target language).

Each of these categories is demonstrated through the use of examples showing how translators cope with the problems of translating humour between French and English. Using this method, Quillard draws interesting conclusions, noting, for example, that the humorous effects used in the source and target texts are often the same when the picture is catalyst, and that they are often similar when verbal humour is being used. She observes that some devices, such as antithesis, can be translated literally from English to French; but the use of alliteration and

¹⁶ Mateo quoted in Quillard (1998: 23).

assonance is not as deeply rooted in French culture as it is in English, so another device might be required for the advert to remain humorous. Quillard concludes that humorous adverts can indeed be translated, and that the translation is often at least as complex as in the source text. The research indicates that, in both English and French adverts, humour arises from visual, semantic and phonetic components of language. She believes that it may be possible, with a larger corpus, to ascertain the stylistic preferences of English and French adverts and to indicate the role of humour in the two societies. This kind of knowledge would be invaluable for translators, who could use it to find the best possible translation for humorous adverts.

Sidiropoulou (1998) focuses her analysis on the specific problems associated with the translation of persuasive techniques and strategies between English and Greek. She observes 'as cultural groups we are differently vulnerable to particular persuasion strategies and techniques, the content and linguistic choices vary cross-culturally' (1998: 191). Sidiropoulou analyses advertisements in terms of Rotzoll's (1985: 100) distinction between 'strategy' and 'technique'. 'Strategy' involves making decisions about what is to be said and focuses on the content and its organization; 'technique' relates to how the advertising strategy is implemented concentrating on the linguistic devices employed. Sidiropoulou investigates the modifications made at these levels. Any changes are further described as being 'expected' or 'unexpected'. 'Expected' changes have been noted in previous work into the translation of media communication (much of which Sidiropoulou carried out herself). 'Expected' changes include, for example, raising the degree of certainty; enriching cohesion and highlighting contrasts; enhancing the evaluative texture, through the use of words such as 'indeed' and 'already' in the target text. 'Unexpected' changes contravene the norms of media translation. Having classified the 'unexpected' changes, like avoiding imperatives and silencing the first and second person pronoun in Greek, Sidiropoulou attempts to explain why these changes have been made. 'Unexpected' changes have been observed over all products advertised, regardless of whether they are strategic or technical. Advertisements for cosmetic products are most tolerant of modifications made by translators; and this product category demonstrates more examples of 'unexpected' modifications.

Sidiropoulou concludes that Greeks seem to be more sensitive to information in advertising, resulting in fewer humorous and more definite statements in the adverts translated into Greek. Another important feature is the use of distancing devices in Greek advertising.¹⁷ These devices make advertisers sound more certain about what they are advertising. If advertisers use this approach, then consumers have more 'mental space' (Sidiropoulou 1998: 202) to process information and the advertising remains within the sphere of one-way public discourse. Sidiropoulou suggests that a lack of consistency in the use of translation strategies across product categories (for example, maintaining the humour in adverts for airlines, but removing it from adverts for cosmetics) may be linked to notions of 'soft sell' and 'hard sell'. A 'hard-sell' approach assumes that the consumer needs more information (in order to purchase products such as office equipment), whereas 'soft-sell' approaches are used where the impression is more important than the information (in adverts for perfume, for example). This shows that there are not only cultural differences in the ways advertising messages are constructed, but differences according to the products being advertised.

Abdul-Ghani (2000) carries out contrastive analysis of a corpus containing British English, Malaysian English and Malaysian adverts. Postulating that translation can be seen as a form of cross-cultural communication, she uses her corpus to show how adverts contain information which differs culturally. As far as the genre of advertising is concerned, alongside similarities between the Malaysian and British genres, there are also differences; for example, Malaysian adverts tend to be more 'serious' (i.e., non-humorous) than those found in the British press. As regards register, British adverts are likely to show a wider range of relationships between the advertiser and the reader than the Malaysian adverts. These relationships carry information about the kind of person the potential consumer is expected to be, which is often not present in the Malaysian adverts. Both the Malaysian English and the British English adverts tend to show visual meanings. These visual meanings carry information necessary to understand the advert and cannot be seen as a mere reiteration of the text. Malaysian English

¹⁷ The use of imperatives and pronouns is discussed with reference to my own corpus in chapter seven.

adverts emulate the British use of semantic interplay and are seen as more creative than Malaysian adverts which use less figurative language. Finally, regarding gender, Malaysian introduces gender values into English which differ from the current British or American English norms which, under the pressure of feminist discourse, are trying to remove gender bias. Through this study, Abdul-Ghani shows that language carries cultural messages and that translators (of all text types, not only advertising) need to be aware of the conventions that exist in both their native language and also the language with which they are less familiar. The thesis gives indications of some of these different conventions, and Abdul-Ghani advocates the need for courses to train potential translators and the need to have good and reliable sources of reference material.

Al-Sherhari (2001) concentrates his study on the translation of advertisements from English into Arabic, and formulates a taxonomy of strategies based on his research. His study is a semiotic analysis of the texts in his corpus.¹⁸ He does not claim any universality for his strategies, merely advocates that they will be useful for translators of advertising material for the Arab world. The strategies are combined with the constraints that they entail. The strategies can be summarized in the following way:

¹⁸ According to Al-Shehari (2001: 106), the source text is a sign which in turn includes a variety of other signs. The aim of translation is to ensure that the target text has the same sign-referent relationship. He focuses in particular on the Saussurean 'sign' which can be a sound, word, image or object which has a particular meaning for a person or a group of people. The sign is then divided into the 'signifier' (the form that signifies) and the 'signified' (the idea signified, its meaning); the Peircean triad where there are three types of relationship between the sign and its object: 'iconic' (where the sign resembles the object), 'symbolic' (an arbitrary, yet universally recognized relationship between sign and object), and 'indexical' (a sign which points to something else by virtue of causal relationships); and Kristeva's intertextuality, where signs from one system are transposed into another sign system.

Element	Strategy	Potential Constraint
Women	Women must be clothed	Many of the semiotic signs are lost when the model is covered
	Make model more Arab-looking	
	Same Western model shown	The significance of the model is lost
	More homely	
Marketing	Simpler	Less sophisticated
Newness and Originality	Addition of the words 'new', 'for the first time' and 'made in Britain'	
Brand names	Transliterated	Lose meanings
Slogans and Headlines	Left unchanged	Relevance lost, but derives new meaning
	Can be modified or replaced	

These strategies are useful for translators as they give concrete suggestions about how to translate certain features of English-language advertising material for the Arab world. The strategies are based on the analysis of a corpus. Including the potential constraints means that translators are made aware of potential problems, and may decide to find another more suitable strategy. These strategies are language-specific, although I believe that researchers of other languages will find them a useful starting point.

The studies in this section are language-specific, looking in detail at particular language pairs. This means that the strategies and recommendations are immediately applicable to the languages discussed, yet offer a starting point for research into other language pairs. Unlike other studies reviewed here, they do not ambitiously attempt to answer all the problems inherent in all the languages into which advertising texts are translated, and are therefore significantly more useful.

2.3.5 Diachronic Strategies

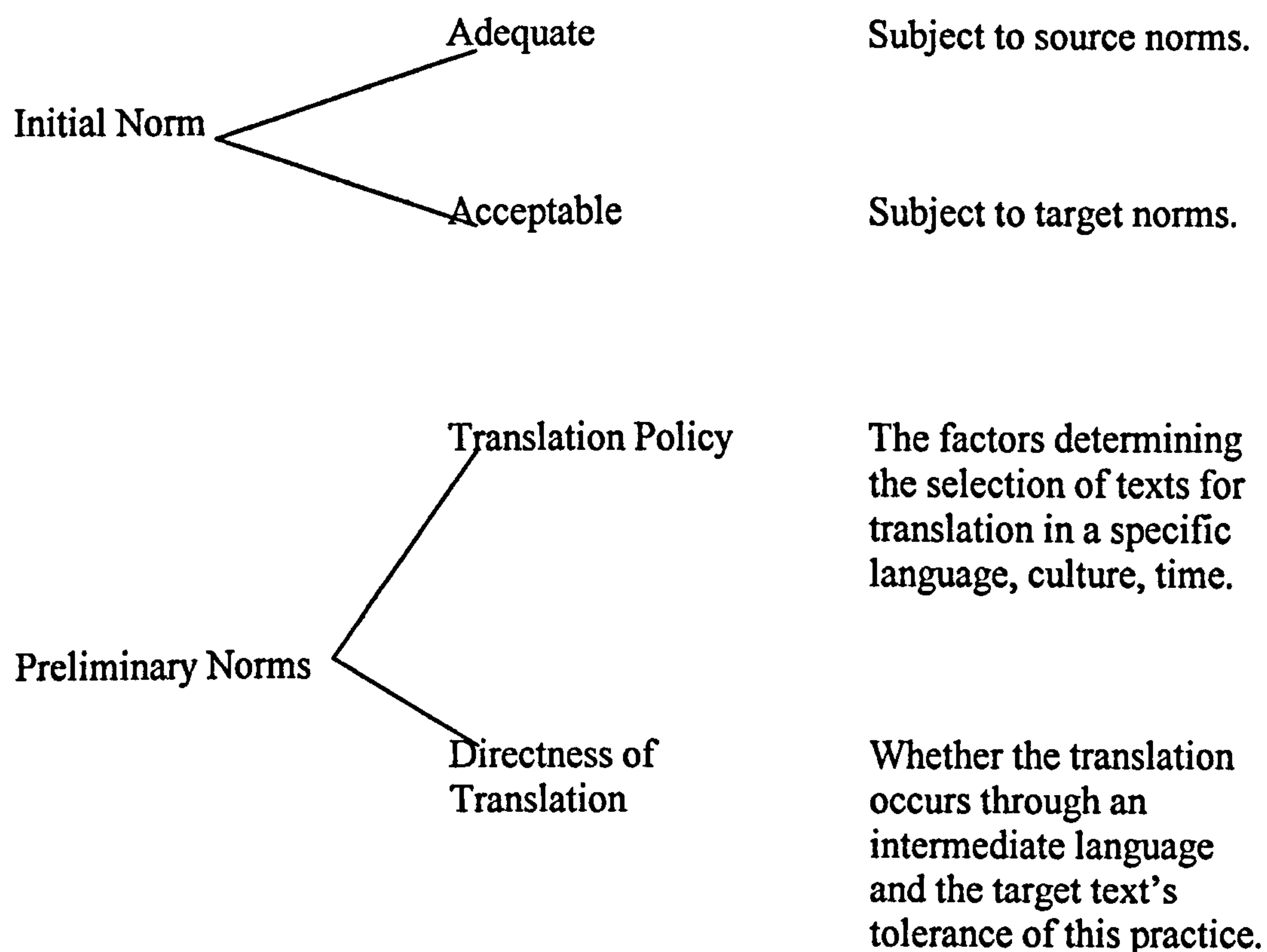
The studies carried out by Jettmarová (1997a, 1997b, 1998) are classified as diachronic as they investigate the translation of advertising texts in the Czech Republic across time. Of all the studies reviewed, those by Jettmarová are closest to my own research; like Russia, the Czech Republic faced massive social,

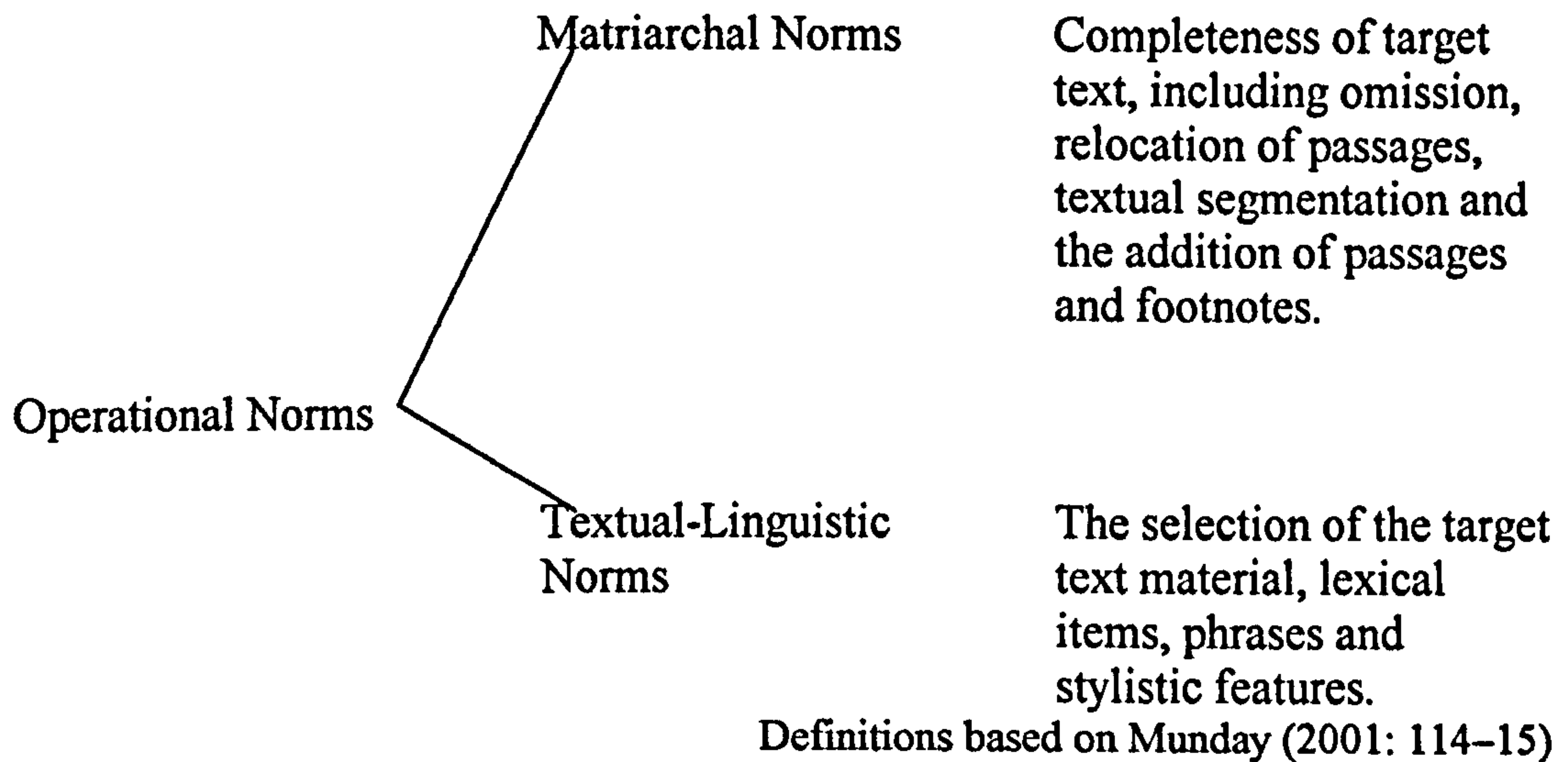
political and economic upheaval with the fall of Communism. The advertising which entered the Czech market was very different to that which had existed previously and Jettmarová charts how its translation has evolved.

Jettmarová bases her work on Toury's theory of the initial norm. Toury (1995: 56) argues that 'translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two cultural traditions, i.e., at least two sets of norm systems on each level'. Norms are regularities of translation within a specific socio-cultural situation (Baker 1998: 163). Toury suggests:

it has proven useful and enlightening to regard the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources as constituting an initial norm. Thus a translator may subject him-/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realized, or to the norms active in the target culture, or in that section of it that would host the end product. (1995: 56)

This is what is termed the initial norm where translators decide to stay close to the source text, resulting in an 'adequate' translation or to the target text norms leading to an 'acceptable' translation (Toury 1995: 57). Toury makes further distinctions between preliminary norms and operational norms, shown below:





The description of these norms makes no assumption about the target text, but marks a movement from the relationship between source and target texts to one which locates target texts within the target culture.

Jettmarová demonstrates how the initial norm in advertisement translation can change with time, thus showing how the translators' strategies have changed diachronically. In the first article, written in collaboration with Piotrowska and Zauberga (1997a), the following three major strategies for advertising translation are identified:

1	Total transfer = literalness (image and semantic contents preserved, exotic features of the original highlighted).
2	Translation with minimum changes = advertising compromise = partial adaptation (various degrees of departure from the original, partly adapted discourses).
3	Adapted translation = cultural transplantation = total adaptation (images and text transformed to appear more alluring to the target audience, exchange of picture and sound or text for a domestic milieu).

(1997a: 187)

Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga concede that literalness and adaptation are two extremes of translation policy, and that these extremes are joined by varying degrees of departure from the original advert.¹⁹ In their article they define these three strategies and add a fourth: suggesting that in Eastern Europe between 1990

¹⁹ Literalness and adaptation are what Hervey and Higgins refer to as 'exoticism' and 'cultural transplantation' (1992: 28–34). The authors argue that 'cultural transposition can be visualised as points along a scale between *exoticism* and *cultural transplantation*' (28), and that to transfer the contents of the source text into the context of the target culture, it may be necessary to depart, to some extent, from literal translation.

and 1995 the strategies of direct translation, non-translation, translation with minimum changes and cultural transposition were prevalent.

Direct translation occurred frequently in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 1990s, even though this strategy leads to a reduction in the persuasive element of an advert. Direct translation maintains the textual-linguistic structure of the source text and also uses many loanwords. This, however, was acceptable at the time in Eastern Europe where Western culture was embraced primarily because it was not Soviet. Many adverts were not translated at all. Introducing adverts into the target culture but leaving them in the source language is often a sign of hegemony (the domination of one country over another), although in Eastern Europe it was seen as 'the means of joining the rest of the civilized world' (Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga 1997a: 188). Translation with minimum changes includes the dubbing or subtitling of verbal elements in television adverts into the target language, but leaving the sound or picture transposed. Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga argue that this is a form of partial or overt translation, as 'the non-verbal semantics/semiotics and the verbal content are seen as alien to the target culture' (1997a: 187). The final strategy is cultural transposition, the use of which increased from 1993 to 1995.

Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga believe that advertising is undergoing a process of evolution in Latvia, the Czech Republic and Poland. When adverts were first introduced they were dealt with through the extreme strategies of direct translation or non-translation. Later, there seemed to be a shift towards target-orientated texts, adapted for the receptor culture. There was, however, no consistency in the translation process, since these countries did not have any advertising norms towards which the translator could work.

In subsequent articles Jettmarová (1997b, 1998) continues her work on Czech advertising. In the 1997b article, she tracks the development of the initial norm. During the period 1990 to 1996, she notes the movement from 'non-translation and word-for-word translation to literal translation; then from literal translation to communicative translation' (1997b: 161).

In Jettmarová's article the criterion for establishing the initial norm is through the frequency of occurrences of that norm at a given point in time. The type of initial norm is determined by sample analysis, interviews with translation and advertising agencies and, where possible, by using consumer responses to translated adverts. These methods made it possible for the author to note both strategies for message transfer and types of translation employed. Her account of the development of strategies builds on the work done in the previous article and results in a more comprehensive taxonomy.

Examining both the verbal and non-verbal elements of advertising, Jettmarová records a four-stage development in the transfer of the advertising message in the Czech Republic between 1990 and 1996. The development of strategies is described thus:

1	Complete Transfer	The picture, sound and text are transferred to the target text environment in their source text version. The strategy of non-translation popular from 1990 to 1992, became less frequent in 1993. This strategy is still used in adverts for luxury goods such as perfume and spirits (as in other countries) as it emphasizes the 'foreignness' of the product, thus raising its prestige. The period of 'complete transfer' coincided with the transfer of the Czech-Slovak economy to a free market and there was high demand for Western goods.
2	Partial Transfer	The picture and the sound remain unaltered while the verbal message is translated. Slogans are occasionally left in the source text version. This was employed from 1990 to 1996 where the translation strategy developed from word-for-word and literal translation to idiomatic translation. This method led to overt or semi-covert translations which were perceived as alien to the receiving culture. ²⁰ This period also showed that the Czech people were irritated by these advertisements, although young people reacted more positively to them. In 1993 market research results showed the Czechs' preference for hard-selling and this caused international companies to set up in the Czech Republic and brought about the movement towards idiomatic translation.
3	Partial substitution	The picture and sound are modified and the translation method shifted from literal to idiomatic. According to Jettmarová this was the dominant strategy from 1993 to 1996. Pictures were substituted in parts (product packages and Czech actors); the sound was retained although often given with Czech translations and the text was based on adapted source language texts produced for Eastern Europe. The adverts, however, retained their foreignness until 1995 when there was a tendency for 'covert' translation.
4	Complete substitution	The verbal message respects pragmatic and semiotic differences, including differences in cultural values and stereotypes, preferences for rational or emotional appeals and in advertising conventions in general. The adaptations take into account non-verbal components. At the time of writing, this strategy was still in the process of establishment. Jettmarová suggests that the influence of English language advertising models in the Czech Republic means that complete substitution has not been used there. An advert displaying complete substitution may be based on a creative brief and it is debatable whether this form of creative writing can be regarded as translation.

The strategies mentioned above were discernible in various types of translation. Literalness is a translation strategy carried out at a semantic level. A word-for-word translation can be classified as literal if it has semantic equivalence, that is

²⁰ According to House (1997) an 'overt' translation is 'one which the addressees of the translated text are quite "overtly" not being directly addressed: thus an *overt* translation is one which must be a translation and not, as it were, a "second original"', a 'covert' translation is 'a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture' (House 1997: 66 and 69).

if the exact meaning of the ST is translated within the norms of the TL.²¹ Where there is no semantic equivalence, word-for-word translations often violate target-language rules and norms, making texts strange and incomprehensible to the target audience. According to Jettmarová, adaptation can mean anything from:

- (1) linguistic idiomaticity in translation
 - (2) the technique of addition/submission/substitution and its product to
 - (3) a complete recreation of the advertisement based in the SLT [Source Language Text] or a creative brief.
- (1997b: 164–65)

In the Czech Republic, adaptation usually refers to the first two. From 1994 to 1995 ‘idiomatic translation’ was frequently used in the Czech Republic, which perhaps reflected the clients’ and agencies’ understanding of the need to adapt advertisements for the target culture. Jettmarová concludes by suggesting that the norm of idiomatic translation will further evolve into a norm of communicative translation as has been seen in other cultures where the translators and copywriters adapt adverts for different markets.

Jettmarová takes up the notion of literalness as a strategy once again in her 1998 article, noting its predominance from 1990 to 1995 for advertisements translated into Czech. By literalness, Jettmarová means not word-for-word translation, but ‘an overall approach to translation or the initial norm, or as a translational strategy operating on a semantic level and its result, the target text’ (1998: 98–99). Her notion of literalness is therefore more in line with Newmark’s definition of semantic translation, rather than Toury’s notion of a ‘linguistically-motivated translation’.²² According to Jettmarová, literally translated adverts observe target language idiomaticity and syntax (microtextual norms) but occasionally violate semantic collocational restriction rules, so Czech words are used together in uncommon combinations. Since advertising often uses unusual word combinations to ensure that adverts are memorable, this practice, it seems to me, might be a form of creative expression. At the macro level, Jettmarová suggests that textual patterns are copied from the source text. Literalness in the Czech

²¹ Semantic equivalence occurs when the translator conveys the precise meaning of the source text within the constraints of the target language (Newmark 1981: 22).

²² Newmark’s ‘semantic translation’ is ‘where the translator attempts, within the bare syntactic and semantic constraints of the TL, to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the author’ (1981: 22). Toury’s ‘linguistically-motivated translation’ is ‘any act of translation yielding a product which is well-formed in terms of the target syntax, grammar, and lexicon, even if it does not fully conform to any target model of text formation’ (1995: 171).

Republic has developed as a result of extra-textual factors, including the demands of clients, translation agencies and advertising agencies, the results of market research and opinion polls, the pressure of market internationalization as well as the social conventions, attitudes and values of the receiving culture.

Carrying out a study of advertising over an extended period means that Jettmarová has been able to chart the ways that translators' strategies have changed with time. The period chosen was an exciting one as it marked the opening up of the Czech market followed by the first influences of Western advertising practices. Jettmarová notes that the strategies have changed as the Czechs become more experienced in producing their own advertisements. She seems hopeful that as the Czechs gain experience, all translators of advertising will use a strategy of complete substitution, which she believes the best way of transferring adverts. In fact, it appears that she positions her strategies on a sliding scale with complete transfer seen as bad whilst complete substitution is good. This seems at odds with the descriptive translation theory she uses, which claims not to critique but interpret. To see transference as inherently bad and substitution as good is a rather naïve view of advertising and does not take into account the apparent success of adverts which appear completely in English in the Czech market (although she does mention that this strategy is used for some luxury goods); nor does it allow for adverts containing so-called universals. Guidère, for example, argues that there is an increasing tendency towards the standardization of advertising and that many adverts are based on globally accepted universals, for example night and day; sex, food, sleep; hate, desire and love. He believes that in standardizing advertising there is a tendency to focus on the aspects that diverse cultures share, as these adverts can be used effectively in other countries. This implies that there is often no need to completely substitute an advert for it to be successful in the target market. On the other hand, in certain instances it may be absolutely necessary for translators to change advertising copy and imagery quite substantially for the advert to have the desired effect on the audience. In order to make this distinction, it is necessary to look beyond the text, at the agents involved in translation. Agency is barely covered in Toury's work, and as a result is only touched on in Jettmarová's studies.

Although I am aware that Jettmarová has formulated her strategies through the detailed linguistic analysis of a corpus of adverts collected over a number of years and that the strategies are based on what she perceives as the prevailing norms in the data which have evolved with time, I feel that there is an overall assumption that this evolution is linear and will continue until her ideal, where each advert is adapted for the Czech market, is met. I do not believe that this will ever be the case for the reasons that I have noted above, and I therefore consider it necessary to have an approach to the translation of advertising which is more flexible, such as the multi-strategy approach outlined below.

2.3.6 Multi-Strategy Approaches

In multi-strategy approaches, translators have a wide range of strategies at their disposal and the one they choose depends on the type of text to be translated, and the function that text will have in the target culture. The multi-strategy approaches advocated by authors reviewed here are based on the ideas of the German school of ‘functionalist’ translation, with emphasis on text typologies and *skopos* theory in particular.

2.3.6.1 Text-Type Classifications

Text-type classifications suggest that all texts can be divided into different categories according to the text’s dominant function. In 1976, Reiss published a book devoted to text types: *Texttyp und Übersetzungsmethode – Der operative Text* ‘Text type and Translation Method – The Operative Text’. In this book, classification of text types is based on Bühler’s 1934 *Sprachtheorie* ‘Speech Theory’. Here the text type is dependent on the major focus of the text. If the major focus is on the producer (emotive), then the text is labelled *Ausdrucksfunktion* ‘expressive function’, if focus rests on the subject-matter (referential) then the text is *Darstellungsfunktion* ‘informative function’ and if the focus is on the receiver the text is *Appellfunktion* ‘appellative function’ (quoted in Reiss 1993: 9). In Reiss’ taxonomy, the text types (or *Texttypen*) are categorized according to the dominant communicative function of the source text. An informative text, *sachorientiert* ‘subject-matter-orientated’, instructs; an expressive text, *senderorientiert* ‘sender-orientated’, affects; and an operative text, *verhaltenorientiert* ‘behaviour-orientated’ persuades (Reiss 1993: 20). Text genres or varieties (*Textsorten*) are classified according to linguistic

characteristics or conventions. In addition to the three traditional types, Reiss adds a fourth: the audio-medial text type which accounts for the use of different sign systems, for example songs, comic strips, advertisements (Reiss 1989: 111). However, Reiss later decides this is not a separate text type; but should be discussed in relation to the other three (Reiss 2000: 165). Nord (1997) expands on Reiss's taxonomy by adding a fourth type based on Jakobson's phatic function (1960: 335). Her typology includes the expressive, referential, appellative and phatic function of texts. Comparison can be made between all these taxonomies with Reiss's operative text being equivalent to appellative texts in both Bühler and Nord. In contrast, Jakobson has six text types (1960: 353–57), the emotive, conative, referential, phatic, metalingual and poetic macro-functions of language. Here the conative function is equivalent to the operative and appellative types mentioned above (and also to the 'instrumental', 'vocative' and 'pragmatic' types (Newmark 1988: 41)). Irrespective of the different terminology, the terms all describe a text which aims to influence the behaviour of the addressees, calling on them to act, feel and think in a certain way. This is the dominant function of a persuasive, advertising text. For simplicity's sake, I will henceforth refer to this kind of text as operative, following Reiss.

2.3.6.2 The Operative Text

According to Reiss's functionalist approach to text typology within translation studies (1993), an advert is classified as an operative text, with the focus on the text receiver. This text type is defined by Reiss as a communication situation which leads to:

The inducing of behavioural responses. Texts can be conceived as stimuli to action or reaction on the part of the reader. Here the form of verbalization is mainly determined by the (addressed) receiver of the text, by virtue of his being addressable, open to verbal influence on his behaviour. The text is doubly, or even triply structured: on a semantic-syntactic level (in some circumstances, but not necessarily, on the level of artistic organization), and on the level of persuasion. (Reiss 1989: 109)

In other words, an operative text calls readers to respond in a certain way and may require them to call on encyclopaedic knowledge, either of the text genre or culture in general. Operative texts influence readers by appealing to their sensitivities and hidden desires and encouraging them to do or buy something (as in advertising texts). The aim of the operative text is to persuade and any

information given is secondary to this function.²³ The success of any operative text is dependent on the readers' experience and cannot work without their co-operation. The target text, then, is aiming at achieving a particular response from its readers, rather than giving specific information or producing a stylistic effect (although this might be a secondary device used to facilitate the primary objective of persuasion). Any approach to the translation of advertising material has to be flexible enough to allow for a wide range of strategies needed to fulfil this goal. According to both Au (1999) and Valdés (2000), using a functionalist approach to translation, with emphasis on Vermeer's *skopos* theory is one such approach.

2.3.6.3 Skopos Theory

Skopos theory is particularly relevant in Au's (1999) work, demonstrated through his quotation of the functionalist Nord: within *skopos*, 'cultural adaptation, paraphrase, expansion, reduction, modulation, transportation, substitution, loan-word, calque, literal translation or even omission' are all acceptable translation strategies (Au 1999: 103). In short this means that any strategy is acceptable, as long as the *skopos* is fulfilled. *Skopos* is Greek for 'aim' or 'purpose' and is the term, introduced into translation studies by Vermeer, to refer to the purpose of a translation and the process of translating. According to Vermeer, *skopos* theory is part of a theory of translational action:

Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose. [...] The word *skopos*, then, is a technical term for the aim or purpose of a translation. (Vermeer 2000: 222)

Skopos theory is further described in the following way:

Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The Skopos rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely the way they want it to function. (Nord 1997: 29)

It follows that the target text does not have to perform the same function in the target culture as the source text did in the source culture. A *skopos*-based

²³ The operative function is the dominant function of advertising texts, although there can be any number of secondary functions. Cook (2001: 134–35) draws attention to the poetic function (Jakobson's terminology) of advertising. Here each 'signifier is important not only for its relation to its signified, but also for the relation of its form to other signifiers'. The emphasis is on the aesthetics of the language, for example, through the use of rhyme, rhythm and sound.

approach, rather than giving translators a ‘fixed body of facts’ that must be passed on to the target audience, provides information which must be rendered to correspond as closely to the requirements of the target audience as possible (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997: 156).

The *skopos* of the translation depends on the client commissioning it. The client will have a specific purpose (or *skopos*) for the text and call on the translator to produce it. The information supplied by the client is what Vermeer calls *Übersetzungsauftrag*, subsequently translated as ‘commission’, ‘assignment’, ‘translating instructions’ and ‘brief’ (Nord 1997: 30). In the translation of advertising material, source text producers can issue one of several ‘translation briefs’. For example, a company with a strong corporate image may require that the style and layout of the source text be maintained in the target text. There may, for example, be a strict word limit leading to a rather literal translation. In another instance it may be possible to move away from the text, and greater freedom in the design of the advert leading to a more idiomatic translation. The furthest extreme is the ‘translation brief’ which has no limitations and is not bound to the target text. In this instance the translator uses information given in the brief to create an advert which is original to the target culture. In each of these examples the same source text advert would produce a different target text and require a different translation strategy.

Skopos theory has been criticized for being an all-encompassing approach (to non-literary texts at least), which is, at times, vague; and for minimizing the importance of the source text, reducing it to a ‘mere offer of information’ or the translator’s ‘raw material’, making it difficult to differentiate between translation and adaptation (for a summary of criticisms against *skopos* see Nord 1997: 37 and Munday 2001: 81). For advertising texts, these observations are not necessarily negative; adverts are created with a specific audience and product in mind and have a clear *skopos*. The translation of that advert aims to achieve the function set by the commissioner: ‘the aim of any translational action, and the mode in which this is to be realized, are negotiated with the client who commissions the action’ (Vermeer 2000: 221). In the case of advertising the aim of the target text is to advertise and as Vermeer quite rightly suggests: ‘the

translation thus has to be comprehensible, in the right sense, to the expected readership, i.e. the set of addressees. There is no question that such “pragmatic texts” must be goal-orientated, and so are their translations’ (Vermeer 2000: 226). Au concludes by noting that aiming at an equivalent effect is not always the primary concern of advertisement translation and that ‘at times cultural transposition or adaptation is inevitable in the translating of advertisement [sic ks]’ (Au 1999: 104). Au also believes this is both legitimate and necessary in the attainment of the *skopos*. For Au, a whole range of strategies are open to translators when they begin to translate adverts. How they decide which strategy to use depends heavily on the *skopos* of the commission. Valdés (2000: 274–75) demonstrates how *skopoi* can differ, for example a product which is already on the UK market is introduced onto the Spanish market, ensuing a more informative Spanish text devoting more space to an explanation of product use. The target text should function in the target culture in the fashion laid down in that commission. Usually, in the case of advertising, the function is to encourage the potential consumer to buy. The advert should be translated in such a way that this function is achieved, irrespective of the strategy used. For Au and Valdés, it is impossible to make generalizations, as the strategy for one advert differs from the next.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

When discussing the translation of advertising material it is important to be clear as to what is meant by translation. The literature has shown that there are differing views of what is classified as a translation and what must be seen as adaptation. Some authors see the change of an image as adaptation (Smith and Klein Braley 1997); whilst others contest that altering an image is an example of translation (Guidère 2001b). I believe that in the case of the translation of advertising material, it is necessary to move away from the traditional understanding of translation (propounded by Jakobson 1959: 114), where interlingual translations or translation proper is ‘an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language’.²⁴ It is necessary that translation incorporates both linguistic and visual elements.

²⁴ Jakobson (1959: 114) suggests there are three kinds of translation: interlingual, intralingual (rewording: verbal signs are interpreted by other signs in the same language) and intersemiotic (transmutation: verbal signs are interpreted by signs from a nonverbal sign system).

As adverts are operative texts, the overall aim of their translation should be to ensure that they function in the desired way in the target culture, so the translated adverts should increase sales of the advertised product or improve brand recognition, for example. It is therefore necessary to have an approach to translation which can accommodate the many and varied ways this is achieved. Guidère (2000b) suggests a methodology based on the *publisigne* which incorporates both the linguistic and verbal elements of advertising texts and is broad enough to be used across different cultures and languages. Despite his insistence that the resulting text be an effective advert within the target culture, he also believes that there should be levels of equivalence between the source and target texts. Questions of fidelity and equivalence to the source text are rather meaningless when discussing the translation of adverts, for the source text is not as important as it is in other text types (for example literature or technical texts); however, there can be and often is equivalence at many levels between the source and target texts, and a successful translation of an advert does not necessarily mean departing from the source text completely (which is Jettmarová's preferred method); although this does need to be an option. The approach to translation should be able to encompass any change made to an advertising campaign to achieve its function in the target culture; including, for example, the translation proper of the text (be it literal, idiomatic or free), changing the models in an advert so they resemble the target market population, or adding extra text if there is a gap in the target market.²⁵ The approach must be flexible enough to cater for changes in the function when adverts are transferred between the source and target markets. *Skopos* theory (as used by Au and Valdés in their treatment of advertising texts) is capable of doing this, as it puts the emphasis on the target text and its place in the target culture.

Despite the flexibility of *skopos* theory and its obvious applicability to advertising texts, I believe it is still important to carry out research into the actual

²⁵ Myers (2001) believes that everything in an advert can be changed so that the advert functions in the target market, with the exception of the font and colours, as these are the elements which give brands meaning. (Lecture given by Greg Myers at UMIST as part of its Translation Studies Seminar Series, entitled 'Comparing Ads across Cultures – 26-11-01). The process, in my opinion, only stops being translation when an advertising campaign is devised for a specific market, and draws in no way on a source text.

analysis is based on the work of the previous functionalists (Munday 2001: 81–82): she draws on Holz-Mänttari's work by emphasizing the importance of the translation brief;²⁶ uses Reiss and Vermeer's *skopos* to promote the function of the target text without enthroning the target text at the expense of the source text; and finally draws attention to the source text and its genre features, but does not impose a rigid taxonomy. This is a sound approach to the investigation of translation, and particularly suited to a study of advertising texts. This model advocates an understanding of the 'source text features and the selection of strategies appropriate to the intended purpose of the translation' (Nord 1991: 1). Nord advocates the principle of loyalty, which is the responsibility that translators have toward their partners in the translational action (source-text sender, target-text addressees and the initiator). Loyalty commits the translator bilaterally to the source and target sides (Nord 1997: 125).

However useful these *skopos* and functional approaches are, with their ability to take into account the target audience, they are not flexible enough to take into consideration the different levels of power held by the agents of translation. Vermeer himself says: 'Advertising texts are supposed to advertise; the more successful the advertisement is, the better the text evidently is' (Vermeer 2000: 226). So a good translation of an advert should, in theory, advertise the product successfully as this is the specific goal or function that the translator has in mind when translating. This assumes that translators have complete power over their translations; it cannot accommodate situations where translators are constrained by external factors, such as commissioning advertising agencies, companies, proof readers, the historical context, advertising regulations and so on, hindering the fulfilment of the *skopos*. Toury's descriptive approaches to translation, advocated by Jettmarová, where shifts between the source and the target text are situated within a specific culture helping to formulate translational norms, do not seem adequate either. These shifts are pregnant with meaning and something always lies behind them; yet Toury's norms are autonomous, there is no agent

²⁶ Holz-Mänttari offers a translational action model which views translation as purpose-driven, outcome-orientated human interaction focusing on the process of translation as message-transmitter compounds involving intercultural transfer. The translational action involves a number of players: initiators, commissioners, ST producers, TT producers, TT users and TT receivers. These players have their own primary and secondary goals. The focus of the translational action is to produce a target text which is functionally communicative for the receiver (Munday 2001: 77).

who controls them.²⁷ Translation is not a neutral event carried out by a translator in isolation from society and external agents; but a complicated, multi-layered process performed by translators who are constantly grappling with other agents, working between complex cultures in conditions of constant change.

In accordance with the 'cultural turn', which sees translation not as purely text; but as a part of cultural studies, I propose that a broader view of translation be adopted which moves away from prescriptive studies of texts at a micro-level and suggest that advertisement translation be considered in the wider context of power, history and culture.²⁸ In the next chapter, I offer a four-stage postcolonial approach to the evolution of translation strategies for print adverts, based on literature relating to Russian advertising. This approach helps elucidate the history of Russian advertising translation whilst highlighting the influence translation has had in shaping a new advertising genre in Russia and gives indications of future developments in the field. The postcolonial approach shows how power relations change with time and that these changes have repercussions on the strategies employed in translating adverts. Rather than suggesting that one strategy is superior to another, I attempt to describe why certain strategies have been employed at certain times and the influence of external strategies in the predominance of those strategies. My own subsequent analysis, which concentrates on specific genre features of the source text and their subsequent translation into Russian, describes contemporary advertising practices in Russian and situates them within the historical context of a rapidly changing world.

The current literature on advertising and its translation has shown that there is still a need for systematic, well-defined, descriptive studies into the translation of advertisements. Only through these comparable and quantifiable studies will it be possible to gain more insight into the translation of advertising material. No such study has yet been carried out into adverts translated for the Russian market. Russia, like the Czech Republic, has faced major social, political and economic changes over the past decade, since the fall of Communism and it is impossible

²⁷ Wolf, M. 2002. 'Power to the Agents of Translation? Towards a Sociology of Translation' (Lecture given by Michaela Wolf at UMIST as part of its Translation Studies Seminar Series, 18-03-02).

²⁸ 'Cultural turn' is a term introduced in 1990 by Mary Snell-Hornby to mark the move in translation studies towards cultural studies (Munday 2001: 187).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

to discuss the way in which adverts have been translated without making some reference to the society in which they will be used.

3. A Postcolonialist Approach to Translation Strategies for Russian-Language Advertising Texts

The literature review has shown that previous studies in the translation of advertising texts have not adequately taken into account the often unequal power relations between those who commission adverts and those who receive them. Existing work in the area of postcolonial studies demonstrates that there are many parallels between the evolution of strategies for translating advertising texts into Russian and the cases described in postcolonial studies, making postcolonialism a good metaphor for understanding this evolution.

The postcolonial approach adopted here is based on a four-stage model of evolution. It is particularly effective as it has the flexibility to address the status of both the sender and the receiver of the translated advert, to investigate the power relations between the participants in the translation act, to emphasize the importance of the translated advert and its place in the target culture, to suggest why certain strategies have been employed and to accommodate the diachronic changes to those translation strategies. In terms of the development of understanding the translation of advertising texts, the postcolonial framework encourages researchers to move away from subjective criticism of choices made by translators and look for the reasons why certain choices have been made over others. The focus is no longer on 'good' versus 'bad' translation, or 'functional' versus 'literal' translation; but on the motivation behind why different strategies are employed. The postcolonial approach draws attention to how translation strategies have changed with the development of the advertising genre in Russia and highlights the important role translation has played in the formation of that new genre. Changes in translation strategies are often the result of power differentials in the translation act, and the postcolonial model shows that very often translation decisions are influenced, not only by the translator, but by a range of external factors over which the translator often has no control.

3.1 Translation and Power

The notion of power is central to any act of translation. What appears on the surface to be a simple transfer of one set of linguistic signs from one language into another is, in fact, a highly complex operation which hinges on the balance

of power between one culture, its history and its language, and another. In translation, this balance of power is rarely stable; complexity and inequality are inherent in its process and the resulting product. In the introduction to their volume devoted to postcolonial translation, Bassnett and Trivedi (1999: 2) note:

Translation is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems.

This inequality is unsurprising when one considers that the balance of power between the cultures and societies involved in translation is far from equal either. Venuti, in particular, has concentrated on the disproportionate power of certain languages, in particular the hegemonic role of English. Venuti (1995: 14) shows that in 1984, 22,724 books were translated from English worldwide, in contrast to only 839 from Spanish, 536 from Arabic and 163 from Chinese, even though Spanish and Arabic have roughly the same number of native speakers as English, and Chinese twice as many (Robinson 1997: 33). These figures clearly demonstrate an imbalance between the relative power of different languages.¹

Discussions about inequality and power differentials can be seen in many guises within the field of translation studies. Recently there has been an increasing tendency for translation scholars to explore translation's identity-forming power and the ways that translation creates a representation of the foreign which is acceptable to the dominant culture (Venuti 2000: 337). These studies draw on areas of cultural studies such as Marxism, feminism, and poststructuralism and demonstrate how identities construed by translation can be determined by ethnicity, race, sexuality and gender.²

¹ Anthony Pym (2001), however, argues that Venuti's findings are produced using misinformed data and calls for more empirical studies. Pym suggests that comparisons should not be made of the number of speakers of a language, but of the relative size of languages (defined as the number of books published.) Since more books are originally written in English, it follows that more will be translated. Regardless of the method of measuring the size of a language, English remains extremely influential.

² Venuti's *Translation Studies Reader* (2000) reproduces some of these influential texts, for example Brisset. A. 'The Search for a Native Language: Translation and Cultural Identity', 343–76; Chakravorty Spivak. G. 'The Politics of Translation', 397–416; Appiah, K. A. 'Thick Translation'. 417–30; Harvey, K. 'Translating Camp Talk: Gay Identities and Cultural Transfer', 446–67; Venuti, L. 'Translation, Community, Utopia', 468–89.

3.2 Postcolonialism and Power

Another area which combines translation studies and power relations is postcolonial studies. The traditional view of postcolonial studies is well-defined by Robinson (1997) in his book *Translation and Empire*, dealing specifically with translation in terms of postcolonial studies:

The study of Europe's former colonies since independence; how they have responded to, accommodated, resisted or overcome the cultural legacy of colonialism during independence (Robinson 1997: 13).

Postcolonial refers, here, to the end of colonialism and covers the second half of the twentieth century. Rather confusingly, scholars use *postcolonialism* as a blanket term for the cultural legacy of colonialism since its inception in the sixteenth century. They argue that this broader definition allows continuations of control and moments of resistance to be viewed throughout the process, and the problematic requirement of defining the switch from colonial to postcolonial is removed (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 128–29). To limit confusion, following McLeod (2000: 5), I use a hyphen to differentiate between these meanings, with *postcolonial* reserved for the whole experience of colonialism and *post-colonial* for the historical period following colonization. Postcolonial studies, as defined above, have resulted in scholars addressing issues relating to various former colonies, such as South America, Africa, India and the United States. Within the field of postcolonial translation studies, diverse topics have been covered, such as writing in the 'contact zone' of the white settler colony of Quebec (Simon 1999), the Brazilian cannibalist movement in the New World (Vieira 1999): two of the essays in Bassnett and Trivedi's (1999) volume on postcolonial studies and translation; writing in the colonizer's language (Mehrez 1992), and cultural hegemony with reference to French-Arabic texts (Jacquemond 1992), in Venuti's (1992) book, calling for new ways of thinking in translation studies; the way in which colonial power has rewritten the image of the 'East' (Niranjana 1992); and two books about internal colonialism in Ireland (Cronin 1996 and Tymoczko 1999).

The traditional understanding of postcolonialism given by Robinson above, and the examples of studies in this area, do not cover the whole scope of postcolonial studies, which combines many diverse subjects and cultures. Rattansi (1997:

481) attempts to draw the strands together by suggesting that the central defining theme of postcolonial studies is the:

investigation of the mutually constitutive role played by the colonizer and the colonized, centre and periphery, the metropolitan and the 'native', in forming, in part, the identities of both the dominant power and the subalterns involved in the imperial and colonial projects of the 'West'.

According to Rattansi's definition, the core of postcolonialism is the power relations between binary opposites: colonizer/colonized, centre/periphery, metropolitan/'native' and the roles they play in creating the identities of those involved in the so-called former colonies. It is the question of power relations that is most relevant to this study. Robinson (1997: 14) offers another definition of postcolonial studies, this time as a study of power relations:

The study of cultures / societies / countries / nations in terms of their power relations with other cultures / etc.; how conqueror cultures have bent conquered cultures to their will; how conquered cultures have responded to, accommodated, resisted or overcome that coercion.

Using this definition, in the context of my own work, suggests that the evolution of Russian advertising and the strategies used to translate adverts into Russian can be seen in terms of the power relations between Russia and the 'West': how the 'West' conquered Russia with its consumerism, how it shaped Russian consumer behaviour, and how Russia and Russian advertising have responded to these changes.³ Although Russia was not, of course, a political colony, the

³ The exact location of 'the West' in contrast to Russia is difficult to determine. One *OED* definition for THE WEST is 'the Western part of the world. Now commonly, Europe as distinguished from Asia' (1990: 00283758, *adv.*, *n*¹, and *a* 2a). This is the dichotomy between the 'Occident' standing for 'freedom, reason, dynamism' compared to the 'Orient' of 'despotism, obscurantism, stagnation' (Malia 1999: 6). Or what Said (1995: 43) famously describes as the familiar (Europe, the West, "us"), versus the strange (the Orient, the East, "them"). Geographically, Russia lies at the frontier between these, as it appears, diametrically opposed cultures and is simultaneously Western, Eastern, European and Asian. Throughout its history Russia's affinity with both sides has fluctuated (see Malia 1999). Russia's adoption of Communism led to it being placed in opposition once again with 'the West', leading to the definition of THE WEST as 'the non-Communist States of Europe and America' (*OED* 1989: 00283758, *adv.*, *n*¹, and *a* 3a). To its opponents, Russia was seen as the 'totalitarian menace to the free world of the West' (Malia 1999: 3). Even when Communism collapsed and Russia joined the 'free world', the Russian / Western dichotomy remained. I would argue, following Carrier (1995: 26), that 'people select one or another element as standing for the West according to their circumstances, which includes both their position to Western centres of power and the nature of the things that they want to distinguish from the West'. In this study, 'the West' refers to what Miller has termed 'the World Wide West' (1998b: 18) which, by alluding to the universal, boundary-free Internet, demonstrates the complexity of pinpointing precisely where 'the West' is situated. The distinction is no longer one of fixed borders, or even political orientation, but in relation to the increasing homogenization and globalization of culture, where one culture is installed world-wide (Tomlinson 1999: 23). This culture is often described as being 'Western'; but I believe it is more specific than this. In the *TS* definition of *ZAPAD* 'west', reference is made

experiences of colonized countries can be a useful analogy to help comprehend what has happened to Russian advertising. Russia has experienced a cultural colonization, not by guns or God, but by goods and products. I make it clear, however, that I am not suggesting that Russia or the Russians have suffered the same inferiorization that the more traditionally colonized peoples endured at the hands of the colonizer. My point is that although the situations are not identical, the parallels between Russian advertising translation and the experiences of colonized countries offer a useful comparison for describing the translation of advertising texts and its evolution.

3.3 Postcolonialism and the Evolution of Russian Advertising

The postcolonial approach is based on four working premises:

- The corporation is the colonizer
- The translator of adverts into Russian is the colonized
- The translated advert is the contact zone
- There are four states of colonization

3.3.1 The Corporation is the Colonizer

Just as the economically strong Europeans colonized less-developed territories such as India, America, Africa etc., so the modern day corporation is also a colonizer.⁴ This is not a new or original idea; as Childs and Williams (1997: 218) note, traditional 'colonialism was itself a globalizing project, a will-to-power of nation states whose imperial drive has since been taken over by multinational

not only to the countries of Western Europe, but also to America (1995: 209). The United States, then, is the key, for the generic notion of 'the West' is more specifically American. In this study, 'the West' shall refer to those cultures which show features of the social life and social relations initiated during the United States' expansionist period, which followed the second World War, and resulted in mass production, mass communication and mass consumption (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 113). This definition of 'the West' is no less vague than those given above, but offers a useful referent with which Russia can be compared.

⁴ Superpowers, such as the US, play a commanding role over less powerful nations through international monetary bodies, the fixing of prices on world markets, multinational corporations and cartels and a variety of cultural institutions. This is often referred to as neo-colonialism (see Ashcroft, Griffiths and Triffin 1998: 162–163). This does not reduce the relevance of my own approach, as I am arguing that the changes in advertising can be likened to the more traditional postcolonial experience. This dominance by the superpowers is also referred to as imperialism. Childs and Williams (1997: 227) argue that imperialism is an ideological concept which upholds 'the extension and expansion of trade and commerce under the protection of political, legal, and military control of one nation by another'. However, advertisers are not concerned with ideology and are just trying to make money by inhabiting the market. Such settlement is a feature of colonialism in its literal sense, making a model of postcolonialism more appropriate than one of imperialism.

corporations.’ Corporations carry out their colonization through the channel of mass-media advertising; and as early as 1978, Hoggart was asking whether the mass-media were a new form of colonialism. The West and primarily the USA, he argued, produced most of the films seen throughout the world, controlled the publishing flows, news media came predominantly from American or British agencies, and most American television was seen throughout the world (Hoggart 1978: 1).

Korten (1999: 181) suggests that corporate colonialism is based on the pursuit of elite interest, and that this is aligned with the corporate interest of advancing deregulation and economic globalization. As a result, corporations are extremely influential, with ‘turnovers equivalent to the GNP [Gross National Product]⁵ of small countries and considerably more international power’ (Childs and Williams 1997: 218). Klein (2001: 340) notes that of the top one hundred economies, fifty-one are multinationals and only forty-nine, countries. Corporations are always on the lookout for new markets and countries to colonize; their primary aim is to make money, yet they enter their new markets believing their way best and that their duty is to educate the colonized.

3.3.2 The Translator of Adverts into Russian is the Colonized

In the same way that during the sixteenth century Europeans set off to colonize the New World, today’s corporate colonizers found 1990s Russia fertile ground for expansion. Under Communism, Russia had a relatively closed, centrally planned economy, and entrance into its markets was restricted. With the opening of the Russian market to international investors, corporations found a country ready and willing to be invaded and they wasted no time in introducing their products through mass-media advertising.⁶ Far from being a hostile invasion, resisted by the Russians, Russia was a receptive and co-operative market, buying the advertised products and absorbing new advertising techniques. Since there was little domestic competition and demand for foreign products was so great, translators of adverts found themselves at the mercy of the colonizing

⁵ GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT – the total monetary value of all goods produced and services provided in a country during one year’ (OED 1989: 00099262, 6c).

corporations, who dictated the form and content of adverts, encouraging a globalizing strategy for their translation.⁷ These translations were themselves to play an influential role in the creation of a new advertising genre in Russia, as the first adverts translated into Russian set a benchmark for aspiring Russian copywriters. It could plausibly be argued that the whole contemporary Russian advertising genre began as a translation of that produced in the West.

3.3.3 The Translated Advert is the ‘Contact Zone’

Pratt (1992: 4) defines contact zones as social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other. The cultures come into contact and establish relationships which are often highly asymmetrical, showing facets of domination and subordination. Transculturation occurs within these contact zones. Transculturation describes how subordinated groups select and make use of materials transmitted to them from the dominant culture and suggests that, although subjugated people have little control over what arrives from the dominant, they do control what is absorbed into their own culture and how it is used (Pratt 1992: 6). The new transcultural forms within the contact zone are referred to as hybrids. Hybridity can be observed throughout the colonization process, although I think it is particularly relevant in the post-colonial state, discussed later in this chapter (see 3.6.1).

In this approach, the contact zone is not a physical meeting place between colonizer and colonized, but a metaphorical encounter where translator and advertiser vie, against a background of tradition, language, culture, and history, to communicate the advertising message. The way in which this message is communicated depends on the transient balance of power between translator and advertiser, colonized and colonizer.

⁶ The end of Communism in 1991 did not lead to the overnight opening of the market, as it had been becoming increasingly more open from 1985 due to changes to Soviet economic policy under the leadership of Gorbačev (see 3.5.1).

⁷ Fairclough (1989: 208–11) takes a different viewpoint suggesting that advertising itself can have colonizing tendencies within a particular country. He argues that the increase in the volume of advertising in contemporary society means it has permeated all areas of life and, as a result, has been reshaping family and other aspects of non-economic life.

3.3.4 Four States of Colonization

In a study based on the colonization of India, Niranjana (1992) sees the post-colonial state as still very much marked by the colonizer. Along with education, theology, historiography, and philosophy, she sees translation as a major player in the colonization process, with translation into English seen as a means of creating an image of the 'East' which has become standard in the 'West'. Niranjana has a vision of retranslation which would remove traces of the colonizer. This vision of retranslation is situated within the anti-colonial myth which is founded on the belief that Indians have to recover the pure essence of Indian-ness which existed before colonization, if the Indian continent is to develop and become unified. The four states, in this myth, are summarized by Robinson (1997: 89–90) thus:

Precolonial state (distant past):	pure, good, uncorrupted
Colonial state (recent past):	impure, evil, corrupting
Post-colonial state (present):	good and evil mixed, hybridized
Decolonized state (future):	pure, good, cleansed of colonial evils

Although a driving force behind many postcolonial studies, Niranjana warns against such the myth's negative view of the colonial contact, calling instead for more positive theories which celebrate heterogeneity rather than suppress it. I will heed these warnings in my own work. When using the four notions given above to trace the evolution of Russian advertising and the current state of research relating to it, I will not assume that the precolonial state is inherently pure, good or uncorrupted; it will merely define the period prior to the colonial state and show how advertising during that period was different to what came later. Neither will I argue that in the decolonized state Russian advertising must be cleansed of all traces of the colonizer, for Russian advertising will always bear the marks of the West, although the extent to which these marks are visible will change with time.

I will discuss these states in detail, drawing on previous work in the field, the results of a questionnaire distributed during a research trip to Russia in 2000,⁸ and my own correspondence with advertising agencies and translators of advertising material.

⁸ A synopsis of the results of this questionnaire can be found in appendix five.

3.4 The Precolonial State

The precolonial state refers to the time prior to colonization and, according to my model, is split into two periods. The first covers advertising prior to the Russian revolution in October 1917 and the second, advertising in the Soviet system, from 1917 to 1985.

3.4.1 Early Russian Advertising

The first Russian advertising can be traced to the tenth and eleventh centuries when nomadic tribes travelled to different settlements to sell their goods (Pankratov, Baženov, Seregina et. al 2000: 27). These adverts were simply spoken declarations of the advantages of the goods on offer.

The first print adverts appeared in the seventeenth century in the form of the *lubok* ‘popular print’ which were easy for all to understand (Rodinova and Levit 1997: 48). These posters had clear text and high quality images. The first adverts to appear in newspapers were in the *Petrovskie Vědomosti* in 1710 and they promoted books and medicines. On 31 May 1710, for example, *Vědomosti* carried a piece announcing the forthcoming publication of a number of books.⁹ Although closer to an announcement than an advert, these texts mark the beginnings of the advertising industry. By 1753, the adverts were more like the classified adverts published today, as the example in plate one for mineral water from the *Sanktpeterburgskija Vědomosti* on 8 January 1753 shows.

By 1840 adverts were so sophisticated that they were produced by professional artists, who were quick to take advantage of the commercial opportunities available to them as the advertising industry grew. The abolition of serfdom in 1861 led to the rapid development of capitalism in Russia, and adverts were featured regularly in the written press. The first Russian advertising agency was opened in 1878 and by the beginning of the twentieth century advertising was everywhere (Smith and Kelly 1998: 150). The period from 1909 to 1913 saw Russian advertising flourish in the fields of commerce and finance in particular (Rodinova and Levit 1997: 49). This advertising was high quality and advanced, displaying different modes, for example informative or fictional, using both text

⁹ *Vědomosti vremeni Petra Velikogo, vypusk*'' vtoroj 1709–1719 gg, p.57

and illustrations. In the period prior to the revolution, the growth rate for the Russian advertising industry was higher than that of the USA (Repiev 2000); the advertising was similar to that of other European or American cities. During this period, adverts for non-Russian goods were not uncommon, as the 1913 Ford advert in plate two shows.

The situation in the Russian Empire, however, was not stable. Although both industrialization and agricultural practices were growing, the progress was uneven, giving rise to social and political unrest (Nove 1992: 17). These problems coincided with the outbreak of the First World War which destroyed any confidence left between the government and the people (Kochan and Abraham 1990: 285); a revolution was imminent.

3.4.2 Soviet Advertising

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, captured the Winter Palace in Petrograd (now St Petersburg) in October 1917. According to the Marxist-Leninist tradition, the foundation of the Soviet doctrine, advertising is a means of exploitation in capitalist countries. It is seen as a waste of resources, as it adds nothing to real output, whilst keeping a substantial part of the labour force ‘non-productively’ employed (Hanson 1974:1). It is not surprising, then, that one of the first acts signed by the new government after the October Revolution was a Decree on the Introduction of a State Monopoly in Publicity (Hanson 1974: 21). This did not lead to the end of commercial advertising in Russia, but meant that private adverts were subject to censorship and insertions in publications could not be bought by advertisers to be filled with material aping editorial copy. The result of this increased censorship was a period of stagnation in the advertising industry (Vorošilov 2000: 9).

Advertising was allowed a little respite between 1921 and 1928, during the period known as NEP [New Economic Policy]. NEP was introduced to help Russia recover from the effects of the First World War, the Civil War following the Revolution, and the emergency policies during the so-called ‘War Communism’ from 1918 to 1921 (Hanson 1968: 27). NEP began primarily as an agricultural measure to encourage peasants to produce more food for towns; however, it expanded to allow for commodity exchange between town and

country, and finally to stimulate industrial production (Kochan and Abraham 1990: 338). This change of focus (seen by some as being at odds with Communist ideology) led to a more prominent role for the market in the State's economic sector (Nove 1992: 78). There was a rich private enterprise sector in the Soviet Union, fronted by entrepreneurs (*Nepmen*) who played an important role as wholesalers and, in 1922 to 1923, controlled seventy-five percent of the retail trade (Kochan and Abraham 1990: 339). This commercial activity continued to use commercial advertising and contributed to the finances of the Soviet press, with two-thirds of the Soviet government's daily newspaper, *Izvestija*'s, revenue coming from advertisements (Hanson 1974: 22). Private trade flourished due to NEP and the government found itself having to challenge the *Nepmen* head-on to market its own goods and services. The government's weapon was advertising. *Agitreklama* 'agitation advertising' produced the Soviet advertising posters for State enterprises. These were designed by talented poets and artists such as Majakovskij; working primarily with the artists Rodčenko, Ryndin and Kukryniksy¹⁰, Majakovskij created advertising highlighting the uses of products and encouraging people to buy from the State shops. Plate three shows an advert for dummies from 1923, designed by Rodčenko with rhyming text written by Majakovskij. These poems were typical of Majakovskij's adverts and they aided memorability: 'Moscovites knew off by heart every Mayakovsky advertisement that was posted up around the city' (Anikst 1987: 25).

These artists changed advertising style in the Soviet Union by using poetry combined with original forms of montage, simple type face and pure geometric forms. Members of the *Agitreklama* were actively fighting NEP private enterprise (Shklovsky 1972: 165); they saw their role not as sellers of goods, but disseminators of information and educators of the masses (Ljaxov 1972: 7).

Lenin died in January 1924, and five years later Stalin began the Soviet Great Leap Forward, a revolution from above, designed to make Russia a superpower. Collectivization, industrialization and the creation of the Soviet economic system, where land, capital, resource allocation and basic production units were

¹⁰ This is a pseudonym for three artists, M. V. Kuprijanov, P. N. Krylov and N. A. Sokolov, who worked together and were particularly famous for their caricatures.

centrally controlled, destroyed NEP. The need for the State advertising posters also disappeared with NEP. These changes meant that advertising decreased significantly from the late 1920s until the 1960s, and any organization offering *reklama* 'advertising' in its services would, in reality, supervise shop window displays (Hanson 1974: 21).¹¹

Stalin's death in March 1953 and Xruščev's 'secret speech' in February 1956 saw an end to the severest period of Soviet history.¹² The advertising industry began to grow in the 1960s and 1970s, seeing the creation of enterprises, including *Sojuztorgreklama*, *Glavokooptorgreklama* and *Rostorgreklama* and magazines giving advice on advertising, such as *Reklama*, *Kommerčeskij vestnik*, *Moskovskaja reklama* and *Novye tovary* (Vorošilov 2000: 9).¹³ The adverts at this time followed the official principles of advertising policy; their aim was to educate people's tastes, provide information and improve distribution services. Advertising was guided by ideology, and was therefore to be truthful, concrete, effective in selling goods and in conformity with the Soviet plans (Hanson 1974: 65).¹⁴ The function of these adverts was quite different from those found in the West at the same time.

Soviet adverts were used to promote *dostatočnye* 'sufficient' goods; that is goods for which there was a ready supply (through, for example, overproduction). Advertising was not used to promote anything that was already in demand, as this was seen as a waste of resources. Thus a new product would be developed and sold to distributors without advance advertising. Retailers would find

¹¹ Interestingly, at this time Russian was being used to publicize Guinness, but not in the Soviet Union. A show card, produced in 1950, was made in a number of languages (including Russian: *Pejte Ginèss na zdorov'e* 'Drink Guinness for health') to promote Guinness Export. Guinness has no records to confirm or disprove that it was exporting to the USSR; but it was certainly not using any poster or print adverts there during that period. Email correspondence with Sue Garland, the archivist at the Guinness Brewery, 30 April 2002.

¹² The 'secret speech' was a closed meeting at the 20th Party Congress where Xruščev's speech, 'On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences', criticized Stalin's career by highlighting the arrests, killings and purges. Although supposedly secret, the speech was soon known throughout the Soviet bloc and in the West and marked the beginning of liberalization in the Soviet Union.

¹³ *Sojuztorgreklama* 'Union Product Advertising', *Glavokooptorgreklama* 'Main Cooperative Product Advertising', *Rostorgreklama* 'Russian Product Advertising', *Reklama* 'Advertising', *Kommerčeskij vestnik* 'Commercial bulletin', *Moskovskaja reklama* 'Moscow advertising', *Novye tovary* 'New products'.

¹⁴ The five-year plans were targets set by Soviet leaders for the country to achieve (for example increasing production of steel, or extraction of coal). The aim was to modernize and industrialize the Soviet Union and close the gap between it and the West.

themselves with excess stock and carry out advertising at their own expense. The retailer, not the manufacturer, was in control of advertising.¹⁵ When knitting machines were first introduced into the Soviet Union, for example, they were heavily promoted by retailers to educate the population about their use and benefits. Advertisements for 'sufficient' goods helped to absorb the excess demand for those goods that were *deficitnye* 'scarce'. In the 1960s, for example, pacific fish was advertised as an increase in the Soviet fishing fleet meant a large supply of fish was available in contrast to poor levels of meat production. Germogenova (1994: 13) cites the slogan *Eš'te rybu xek* 'Eat hake fish', used when hake was abundant. Advertising was influenced by social considerations; milk, for example, was advertised for its nutritional value (Hanson 1974: 51). For an example of a Soviet advert, see plate four.

There was more emphasis on promoting import and export goods than on the domestic production and distribution of goods (Gricenko-Wells 1997: 112); one advertising agency, *Vneštoreklama*, specialized in producing advertising material in foreign languages for trade fairs. Alexandr Rep'ev remembers the beginning of his career in 1966:

when I began freelancing there [at *Vneštoreklama*] as English-language copywriter, there was no literature on advertising, no courses, no contacts with Western advertising industries, no nothing (Repiev 2000).

Adverts could be found in some publications, but not all. *Večernjaja Moskva*, for example, ran a weekly advertising supplement, while television adverts were bunched together in short bursts on secondary channels (Smith 1976: 429). This is a major contrast with the overwhelming pervasiveness of advertising in modern-day Russia, where it is on television, radio, interspersed in magazines and newspapers, on public transport and even obscuring the architecture of cities. One of the major complaints about contemporary advertising is that there are too many television advertisements, they are repeated too frequently and last too long.¹⁶ Major offenders in this area are home-shopping slots.¹⁷

¹⁵ This differs from Western economies where the retailer is not expected to know a great deal about creating demand. Demand is moulded by the producer by means of advertising (see Hanson 1968: 191).

¹⁶ Based on findings of questionnaire, see appendix five.

¹⁷ These home shopping channel style adverts have also been criticized for infringing the Advertising Law (Korneva 2000: 8).

Soviet adverts, by contrast, were inoffensive and unmemorable, informative and imperative rather than imaginative. Like their Western counterparts, Soviet adverts were exaggerated, vague and used technological imperatives or borrowed phrases from other genres; however, they did not use celebrities such as film stars to promote products, nor did they try to enter the subconscious of the consumer.¹⁸

Advertising remained functional, as there was no incentive for manufacturers to advertise; individual initiative was frowned upon, and increased sales one year might mean unattainable sales targets the next. In addition, newspapers did not need the revenue from advertising to survive.

The amount of expenditure on advertising in the Soviet Union was extremely low. In 1980 spending on the promotion of Soviet products for its three hundred million consumers was seven hundred and fifty million dollars, which was equal to the *increase* in spending on advertising in Italy during the same year (Mattelart 1991: 27). This precolonial advertising, although pleasantly naïve and rudimentary (Hanson 1968: 129), was designed for a different era and was not sufficiently equipped to cope in the new economic environment in which Russia found itself.

3.5 The Colonial State

The colonial state began in roughly 1985 and continued through the period called *perestrojka*, ending around 1998. These dates cannot be exact; as with any historical study, it is very difficult to compartmentalize the changes that occurred. The colonial state is defined by the invasion of foreign corporations into the Russian market, the receptiveness of that market to invasion and the role played by translation in facilitating the colonization process.

3.5.1 Perestrojka and the Fall of Communism

In 1985 Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Soviet Union. During the twenty-seventh Party Congress in 1986, it became clear that he envisaged major

¹⁸ Contrast this with the worry about subliminal advertising in the West at the same time, highlighted in Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*, published in 1957.

changes to Soviet economic policy through his strategies of *perestrojka* and *glasnost* which proved to be the catalyst to end the Communist regime. *Perestrojka* 'restructuring' describes the period of economic, social and political changes which started in the Soviet Union shortly after Gorbačev came to power. The policy of *glasnost* 'openness' was interpreted as greater openness on the part of the authorities; but later led to greater freedom for criticism, discussion and publication (Nove 1992: 396). The changes encouraged a limited amount of private ownership and profitability in Soviet industry and agriculture and resulted in an economic environment more receptive to foreign players. Large corporations were quick to take advantage of the changes in the Soviet system, and from 1986, the first joint-ventures took place between the Soviet Union and Western companies. By the late 1980s, Western companies such as Ford Motors, Kodak, Pepsi-Co, Singer Sewing Machines, Gillette and J Kraft were all exporting to Russia (Gricenko-Wells 1997: 104). In 1989, Y&R signed a mixed-ownership undertaking with *Vneštoreklama* to offer a full range of consultancy and communication services to the increasing number of Western businesses operating in the Soviet Union (Mattelart 1991: 26).

By 1991, Gorbačev's changes had taken on a life of their own and the government was no longer strong enough to control them. *Perestrojka* was not working and *glasnost* meant that the failures could be freely reported in the press. People had become disillusioned with the Soviet Union, which in their opinion provided only 'shortages, queues and poverty' (Moynahan 1994: 297). Gorbačev was attacked from all directions, from hard-line Communists (who mounted a coup in August 1991) to free marketers; eventually the USSR voted itself out of existence in December 1991. El'cin became the first democratically elected President of the Russian Federation, which quickly set about the 'shock' tactics of economic reform. The market reforms prompted an advertising boom and Russia's small advertising industry began to grow. Soon world-renowned advertising agencies set up in Russia; Ogilvy, Saatchi, McCann, Eriksson and Publitalia, for example, all opened local offices in 1991. According to Čečetkina (1995: 67–68) it was these and other agencies which followed that taught the younger Russian generation to appreciate the worth of imported goods,

understand the concept of marketing and become acquainted with world-famous brands.

The interest in Russia, shown by the large corporations and advertisers alike, was understandable. For foreign investors the newly democratized Russia represented a very lucrative market. Korten (1999: 57) notes that the fall of the Soviet Union was heralded 'a victory for the free market', continuing:

The governments and corporations of the West quickly reached out to urge Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union to embrace the lessons of Western success by opening their borders and freeing their economies. Armies of Western experts were fielded to help these and other 'transition states' write laws that would prepare the way for Western corporations to penetrate their economies.

Russia possessed an untapped market, as levels of trade with non-communist countries were low and tended to focus on industry rather than consumers. Pankratov, Baženov, Seregina et. al (2000: 34) observe how foreign companies came to this new market armed with advertising weapons, and soon advertising could be found in places where it had not been seen for a long time, on bus and tram timetables, on the walls of underground stations and on vast billboards smothering city buildings.

3.5.2 Receptive Market

The market was ready for the influx of Western goods. Having been denied capitalist commodities for so long, Russians were eager to try Western goods, some of which had achieved mythical status under Communism. In a scene from the classic 1968 film *Brilliantovaja ruka*, after the hero's return to the Soviet Union from an eventful trip abroad, his wife's first question is:

A Koka-Kola pil?
'Did you drink Coca-Cola?'

Gentleman (2000: 23) suggests that Russians were infatuated with Western goods as status symbols. If the money were available, Russians bought goods because they were Western, irrespective of their quality. The thirst for things Western encouraged Russian companies to use Western names in order to make their goods more appealing and thus increase sales. The idealization of Western culture led many Russians to believe everything they were told in adverts, without rejecting what was obviously false. Although the idea of reading

between the lines was common in Soviet Russia, the Russians found it hard 'to associate the "crude" and "aggressive" *reklama* now being foisted on them with the perceived sophistication of Western culture' (Kelly 1998: 223). This can be compared with what, in colonial discourse, is described as a fetish for the West based on difference, in the sense that Bhabha (2000: 74) describes.¹⁹ In the period directly following *perestrojka*, Russians were obsessed with the long-desired capitalist life that was fundamentally different from that which they had lived for the previous seventy years; to engage in this capitalist lifestyle was seen as a matter of course, and the most natural and valuable option for Russians at the time, thus the colonizers achieved consent over the Russians (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 117). It was this attraction to the Other that made the entrance of the large corporate colonizer relatively easy, there were elements of autocolonization (Niranjana 1992: 32), as many Russians wanted to be colonized, leaving translators powerless in face of the colonizers' demands.

From 1995 to 1996, between forty and fifty percent of all consumer goods on the Russian market were foreign, and eighty-five percent of television adverts were produced by non-Russian firms (Vorošilov 2000: 10). Russian advertisers were little equipped to compete with this onslaught:

Obščij professional'nyj uroven' reklamy v našej strane byl nizok – reklamnye obraščeniya otličalis' primitivizmom i serost'ju – tipa "Pejte tomatnyj sok", "Pejte sovetское šampanskoe", "Letajte samoletami Aëroflota" i tomu podobnoe (Pankratov, Baženov, Seregina et. al 2000, 34).

'The general professional level of advertising in our country was low – advertisements were primitive and bland, for example "Drink tomato juice", "Drink Soviet champagne", "Fly by Aeroflot aeroplanes" and the like.'

Western advertisers fuelled the advertising boom in Russia. The new Russian advertisers had no working experience of a market economy, and tended to adopt and copy not only Western production patterns and technologies, but also Western style and psychology. This led to criticism in Russia and in 1995 Krylova (51) wrote:

Do six por my ne imeem nastojaščej ruskoj reklamy, ne vychodim iz rabskogo podražaniya Zapadu, ispol'zuja ne samye dostojnye obrazcy
'To this day we do not have genuine Russian advertising, we do not go beyond from the slavish imitation of the West, using less than suitable models.'

¹⁹ One cultural group believes 'all men have the same skin / race / culture'; later it realizes that, in fact, 'some do not have the same skin / race / culture' and it is the differences that make the Other so appealing (Bhabha 2000: 74).

3.5.3 The Role of Translation in Colonization

The role of translation cannot be underestimated in the colonization of the Russian market; its effects can be seen in the marketing techniques used, and the adverts appearing in the media. Translation is used as a means of education, thus ensuring that Western practices maintain their supremacy. In Lambert's terms (quoted in Robinson 1997: 37), the exporting (active) systems, here the West, are in a power position in relation to the importing (passive) systems, here Russia. It is difficult to say how Russian language advertising would look today had there not been this translational input, but it would surely have looked very different.

3.5.3.1 Literature on Marketing

When the new wave of advertising flooded Russia there was little written in Russian about it. Although there had been research into advertising during the Soviet period (see Kostomarov 1971, Odincova 1973 and Koxtev and Rozental' 1978, for example), it was now out-dated and not suitable for the new economic environment.

Many copywriters had to use texts in English, which they often preferred. Natal'ja Rumjanceva, a copywriter at the advertising agency Leo Burnett & Moradpour in Moscow, writes: 'I don't like Russian books in [*sic* КС] advertising at all, anyway they use parts of foreign theory trying to find Russian words for short and understandable English terms. It sounds heavy'.²⁰ With Russia not having an advertising genre compatible with the market economy, it was necessary to look elsewhere. Many Western advertising books have been translated into Russian, for example Wells, Barnett and Moriarty's *Advertising – Principles and Practice* (first published in 1989) is available in a Russian edition. Many of the models on which Russian advertising is built, then, have been passed, almost directly, from those used in the West and therefore translation has played a defining role in the evolution of Russian advertising.

There was a desire by the West to teach the Russians the 'best way' to advertise; Russian advertising was undeveloped and unsophisticated when compared to that

²⁰ Email correspondence with Natal'ja Rumjanceva, translator at Leo Burnett & Modrapour Moscow, 17 July 2000.

in the West. This can be explained within postcolonial discourse in the following way:

Members of dominant groups have always had the tendency to define their own subjectivity as dynamic, flexible, plural and complex, whereas subjectivity of the others remains traditional, unproblematic, unsophisticated and transparent.
(Slater 1998: 669)

The aim was to 'raise' the standard of advertising in Russia to that of the West. Western companies understood how advertising works within a market economy and this made them extremely powerful. This belief is demonstrated by the UK's then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who suggested that the most useful thing that the West could give the former Communist bloc was its 'know-how'.²¹

3.5.3.2 Borrowed Models

Just as a child copies its parents in order to learn new things, so Russia copied Western advertising practices. It borrowed Western advertising models and applied them wholesale to the burgeoning Russian advertising industry. Fanon (1990: 178–79) makes reference to this kind of imitation of models, styles and genres in the first phase of his evolution of national culture, described as 'the period of unqualified assimilation'.²² The Western models are apparent in the investigations carried out by Russian authors relating to the form and content of Russian adverts. Both Koxtsev (1991) and Klušina (2000), for example, concentrate their research on the composition of adverts. The assumption lying at the heart of both articles being that an advertisement's function is to persuade a potential consumer to act; that is to buy the product being advertised. Adverts are comprised of four distinct parts: advertising slogan (to draw attention and inspire the reader to continue reading), beginning (continues the slogan, indicating the product's use), content (extends the argument by provided more persuasive information), and conclusion (strengthens the claims and removes any remaining doubt) (Koxtsev 1991: 70). Since advertisers want potential customers to remember the advert, certain elements are used with the intention that they will not be forgotten, for example logic, facts and key words. The advert has to be interesting, emotive, original, and highlight the product's positive attributes. Klušina (2000) bases her article on Koxtsev's, but focuses on the beginning and

²¹ This led to the neologism *nou-xau* 'know-how' entering Russian.

the end of the advert. She notes that expressive slogans, with allusions to proverbs, songs and literature, are particularly effective. This four-part model of advert content is also observed in many Western advertising manuals (see Arens and Bovée 1994: 248; Rossiter and Percy 1997: 288–89; for example). Employing the same models for Russia and the West suggests that their advertising industries are the same; however as this review has shown, this is not necessarily the case.

3.5.3.3 Translation-Specific Issues

When the first adverts appeared in Russia, the demand for Western goods was so great that many Western adverts were introduced onto the Russian market in their original form, without any translation. Even in 1996, advertisers were still finding they could advertise entirely in a foreign language, as an early copy of *Cosmopolitan* shows.²³ In this edition, fourteen adverts are produced in a language other than Russian. The most striking example is Guerlain's Issima, plate five, which has a detailed and lengthy description of its product completely in English. The fact that the product was Western was its 'unique' selling point, so the advertising text was somewhat redundant, its incomprehensibility only adding to its cachet.

Later, Russian consumers became more discerning wanting to know more about the products on which they were invited to spend their money. The adverts began to be translated, though the translation was often described as poor and in television advertising was pronounced with English patterns of intonation (Ryazanova-Clarke 1996: 102). Kara-Murza (2001) suggests that an aggressive American style of intonation has been imported into Russian advertising but is rejected by viewers and listeners as it is at odds with the more traditional melody of Russian found in its native poems. With time, the adverts began to develop and the 'translations became more accurate and more adequate' (Ryazanova-Clarke 1996: 103). With this in mind, one would have expected more to have been written about the translation of advertising into Russian, although, to my

²² Fanon (1990: 178–79) suggests a three-fold evolution moving from assimilation of the Other, through disaffection, to violent estrangement culminating in decolonization.

²³ *Cosmopolitan* was launched in Russia in 1994.

knowledge, there is only one text devoted solely to this subject: Rodionova's (1999) *Anglijskaja i amerikanskaja reklama – istorija i osobennosti perevoda* 'English and American advertising – history and peculiarities of translation', highlighting potential problems faced by translators of advertising material into Russian. The problems include the use of colours in different countries, trade names which carry different connotations in the target language, the translation of epithets, figurative language and word play. It is surprising that there appears to be no other work carried out in this area considering the negative opinion held of advertising by many Russians.

Translation played an important role in ensuring that advertising literature was available in Russian in order to 'educate' the Russians; the models used by advertisers were translations of those to be found in the field of Western marketing and the translation of Western adverts into Russian showed Russians how advertising was done in the West. Another major feature of this period was the visibility of the Other. The language of the adverts themselves was heavily influenced by non-Russian sources, English in particular.

3.5 4 The Influence of English

In the colonial state, the colonizer is extremely visible. In 1996, Kurokhtina (23) noted that English was the language having by far the most influence on Russian, being the chief source of loanwords. There are many reasons for the increasing influence of English on Russian: English is the language of international business;²⁴ it is spoken in America, which for so long was the Russians' epitome of freedom; and it is the predominant language of popular culture (particularly films, fashion and pop music) and the media.²⁵ One especially successful form of

²⁴ English is now accepted as the international language of trade, although Crystal notes that many native English speakers who do not speak their partners' language feel disadvantaged as they do not have a language to 'plot in'. If negotiators are able to speak the target language, they will not feel they are being conspired against since they will understand the negotiations. Pidgin English is often used in business and Crystal points out that such varieties are often not mutually comprehensible, with different cultures understanding the words they are using differently, leading to misunderstandings which are as serious as those occurring when two different languages are being used. David Crystal speaking to Jeremy Paxman on 'Start the Week', *Radio 4*, 19-3-01, 9am.

²⁵ An article in *The Observer* notes how 'in the aftermath of the Soviet collapse there was a global flight from the Russian language. Quickly, in countries as diverse as China, Russia and Brazil, the language most commonly taught as a foreign language became English' (McCrum 2001: 1).

media is MTV, a television music channel aimed at teenagers. Russia is but one of eighty-three countries which MTV broadcasts to and its 'near universal appeal to teenagers and preteens around the world makes it an ideal instrument for globalisation of consumer culture' (Korten 1999: 153) and according to Klein (2001: 121) the more viewers who watch 'MTV's vision of a tribe of culture swapping, global teen nomads, the more homogenous a market its advertisers have in which to sell their products.' The aim of many large corporations is to ensure their brand achieves world recognition and that the globalized consumers unite around the brand, irrespective of cultural differences. Such brand loyalty means that companies can sell the same products with 'the same advertising copy in Bangkok as in Paris or New York' (Korten 1999: 153). Ryazanova-Clarke (1999a: 221) notes that 'the genre of advertising was the first to adopt the trendy westernized style, including the use of borrowed lexis'. The pressure for the Russians to adopt this Western style was great, as in doing so the corporate colonizers could introduce their advertising into Russia, with few changes, thus increasing profits.

3.5.4.1 Lexical Borrowing

One of the most obvious ways the colonizer shows its visibility is through the use of its language. This was first manifested through the complete transfer of English-language adverts onto the Russian market; although subsequently most advertising texts were translated, English still featured heavily in Russian advertising. This stems from the added value English brings to Russian adverts, since English is associated with the West and better quality goods and services. This use of foreign languages is by no means unique to Russia; it is a successful sales technique in many countries, including the UK, Saudi Arabia and Japan.²⁶

Ryazanova-Clarke (1999a: 221) suggests that the English-language elements in Russian advertising fall into one of four categories: Anglicisms which existed previously in Russian and have been recently reactivated; loanwords, borrowings and calques undergoing extensive acquisition; English elements in the initial stage of borrowing; and English language elements which have not been adjusted

²⁶ This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter 6 which deals specifically with the analysis of the Other's visibility in my own corpus.

for the Russian system. The fact that it is possible to define such a variety of English-language usage in Russian advertising demonstrates its prominence.

One of the main uses of English words in Russian has been to fill semantic gaps, where Russian does not have an obvious word for the English equivalent. This can be seen particularly in the field of economics, where the change of economic system led to the need for a new vocabulary, for example *diler* 'dealer', *trejder* 'trader' and *broker* 'broker' (Dann 1998: 27). Many of the words used to describe advertising practice are borrowed from English, such as *sejtz promoušn* 'sales promotion', *brènd-menedžer* 'brand manager' and *redi-mejd* 'ready made' (Gorožankina 2000: 54–56).

English patterns of word formation are also employed in Russian; a good example of this is the names of many Russian companies. Ryazanova-Clarke (1999a: 223) offers the following examples: *Art-finans*, *Al'fa-bank* or *gran-kruiz*.²⁷ According to Ryazanova-Clarke, these compounds 'present a fusion between word and collocate, and are a novel type of word formation strongly influenced by English'. Dann (1998: 31) suggests that these are a kind of 'pseudo-exoticism', where the Russian forms are pretending to be foreign. Through doing this the advertisers 'connote the international scope of their business, and a presumably high standard of their products or services' (Ryazanova-Clarke 1999a: 223). Again, it amounts to the added extra English-language elements bring to Russian adverts.

It often takes time for these words to be assimilated into Russian. The initial stage of borrowing is characterized by unstable spelling, since the words need to be converted from Latin to Cyrillic. There seem to be no rules for this, although there is often an attempt to retain the same pronunciation of the word in Russian as in English.²⁸ Timofeeva (1991) clearly demonstrates how elements in the initial stage of borrowing have unstable spelling by offering a number of examples of borrowed words spelt in a variety of ways, for example 'session' spelt: *sejšn*, *sejšen*, *sèšn*, *sešn* and *sèjšn* in the Russian press (1991: 31). This

²⁷ A more comprehensive discussion of names can be found in 6.5.

unsystematic method of converting non-Russian words, strictly neither transcription nor transliteration, can affect the ways words are pronounced. Kurokhtina (1996: 23) notes this phenomenon with product names in advertising texts which are transcribed into Cyrillic, but then pronounced according to the rules of the Russian phonetic system and therefore not sounding quite as they did in English. This is potentially harmful to advertising campaigns, leading to confusion on the part of consumers when faced with a television advert where the name is not pronounced as expected.

The high level of borrowing, both of lexical items and the models on which adverts are based, led to criticism in Russia. There was concern that the level of English-language borrowing was too high and this was having an adverse affect on Russian.²⁹ In part this concern may be based on the fear of the increasing influence of American society and culture, not just on the Russian-speaking countries, but on most of the world. In 1996, for example, Sèšan asked whether the use of *-ing* on loanwords in Russian was a symbol of American linguistic expansion (1996). The threatening power of English is especially relevant in advertising, since advertising influences not only the consumer market, but, due to its pervasiveness, Russia's political and cultural life (Kara-Murza 2001). People began to suggest that the Western advertising models used in Russia were not particularly suitable for the Russian market. The mechanical transfer of advertising was not successful in encouraging the target market to buy and much of the Russian population was left cold by advertising. Germogenova (1996: 14) blames advertisers who did not take into account the special characteristics of the Russian consumer. Adverts were criticized (and still are to some extent) for using bad Russian (see in particular Kara-Murza's series of articles in the Internet

²⁸ The 1960s marked the change from the transliteration to the transcription of borrowings (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 211), the aim being to maintain pronunciation rather than spelling which had been the preferred method prior to the 1960s.

²⁹ This is not unique to Russia. The German government, feeling the threat of English, has proposed a "language purification law" (against the invasion of English nouns, verbs and adjectives). This law will enforce fines on Germans using 'Denglish' (Deutsch-English) (McCrum 2001: 1). In 1995, the French introduced *La loi Toubon* 'the Toubon law' to restrict the use of English. This law stipulates that 'all-English advertisements must not be shown in French cinemas; all-English small advertisements must not be published in the French press; bilingual advertisements and signs must not display the French part of their message in characters smaller than those in the English part' (Lamy 1996: 35). Those breaching the law can be referred by individuals through associations, such as the *Commissariat générale de la langue française*, direct to the authorities.

journal *Gramota*).³⁰ Russia was ready to move away from the colonizer and, paradoxically, the 1998 Russian crisis helped achieve this.

3.5.5 The Russian Crisis

Despite a slight recovery in 1997, the Russian economy was not in good shape; the transition to a market economy was proving difficult. The Russian economy was characterized by instability, an unequal distribution of wealth, rushed privatization, the legacy of an inefficient, over-industrialized past combined with a lack of investor confidence. The 1998 Russian financial crisis was ‘the outcome of a series of decisions, domestic and foreign, which have persistently denied the sheer magnitude of transformation in Russia’ (Akyuz and Rayment 1998). There appears to have been a need to carry out the transition on as small a timescale as possible, although the Russian economy was not equipped for the changes that had to take place.³¹ Particularly relevant for the 1998 crisis was Russia’s dependency on its exports of energy and other primary commodities to help reduce the budget deficit, rather than concentrating on fiscal policy and ensuring that all taxation was collected; this dependency on foreign capital levels left it vulnerable to external crises. The year 1998 was one of global financial instability and world prices for the commodities which Russia exported came crashing down. Russia was little equipped to cope with these price changes and the result was a negative impact on both the external and fiscal balances fuelling Russia’s own financial crisis in the summer of 1998. The crisis culminated in the depreciation of the rouble, a debt repayment postponement by the government and a sharp deterioration of the standard of living of most of the population.

Although the advertising industry was small, it had been growing prior to the 1998 crisis. Market sources, however, suggest that the value of the industry dropped some seventy percent in dollar terms after the crisis. Western corporations were major players in the Russian advertising market, but many of them put their advertising campaigns on hold after the rouble devaluation on 17 August 1998. Companies importing into Russia, such as Rowenta/Tefal,

³⁰ *Gramota* Internet Journal on the Russian language. Available online at:
<URL:<http://www.gramota.ru>>

³¹ This differs from other former Communist bloc countries, such as Poland and Hungary, which implemented slower economic reforms resulting in a more stable economic environment.

Samsung Electronics, Philips, Electrolux, Bosch/Siemens, pulled out. Large Western companies producing in Russia, such as Proctor & Gamble, Nestlé, Unilever, Cadbury and Coca-Cola, stayed put, but scaled down advertising in line with sales, choosing for example to regulate the goods advertised according to the season, or to advertise in conjunction with another advertiser. Others moved away from more expensive forms of advertising such as television and concentrated on cheaper point-of-sale promotions.

The financial crisis, however, was advantageous for domestic producers: a reduction in the cost of advertising space, which prior to 1998 had been extortionately expensive, enabled them to promote their brands. Furthermore, as consumers felt the pinch, advertisers were compelled to produce adverts with more domestic appeal, concentrating on real product strengths, rather than lifestyle branding. With the market less saturated with foreign competitors, Russian producers began to realize the power and importance of advertising campaigns in a market economy and the demand for services such as consultation and PR increased.

This change in the balance of power, resulting in a reduction in the pressure on translators' to conform to the colonizer's model, and the ensuing change of focus in the Russian advertising industry has been reflected in the strategies employed in the translation of printed advertising material and led Russia into another stage of evolution, the post-colonial state.

3.6 The Post-Colonial State

The post-colonial state began in 1998 following the Russian crisis, and continues to the present. By definition, no published research on Russian advertising can cover the whole period, although my own empirical research suggests the contemporary printed advertising is currently in the post-colonial state.

As the prefix *post-* implies, the post-colonial state is the period of evolution following colonization. The Russian financial crisis caused many of the significant colonizers either to leave the Russian market or downsize operations there. The colonizer, then, is no longer the dominant player it had been in the past, although its influence is still markedly present in the discourse of the

colonized. The result is texts which, whilst being restrained by the dominant form, are searching for and experimenting with new and more culturally appropriate styles and models.

In a metaphor employed by the Brazilian translation community, the post-colonial state can be likened to the process of cannibalism. This metaphor has been used since the 1960s, within the poetic work of the de Campos brothers, to stand for the experience of colonization and translation. The metaphor is summarized thus by Munday (2001: 136):

The colonizers and their language are devoured, their life force invigorating the devourers, but in a new purified and energized form that is appropriate to the needs of the native people.

Applying this metaphor to the evolution of Russian advertising, the experience and language of the multinational companies was devoured by Russian advertising agencies and advertising translators. This knowledge was taken in and digested. Its energy, however, was used in a way suitable to the Russians, producing advertising based in part on Western models but fulfilling the needs of Russian consumers. This is a positive view of the colonization period: the colonized is no longer seen as the helpless victim, but as a powerful group fuelled by the colonizers.

3.6.1 Hybridization

The term *hybridity* comes originally from biology where it means the cross-breeding of two species by grafting or cross-pollination to form a third hybrid species. Hybridity was originally used by the Russian linguist and literary theorist Bakhtin (1992: 304) to describe:

an utterance that belongs by its grammatical (syntactic) and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages', two semantic and axiological belief systems.

Here the hybrid is intentional and is used to create multivocal language situations and multivocal narratives. Within postcolonialism this often takes the linguistic form of pidgin and Creole languages. Bhabha, however, has taken Bakhtin's concept of hybridity and 'transformed it into an active moment of challenge and resistance against a colonial power' (Young 1995: 21–23). For Bhabha colonial power is 'the *production* of hybridization rather than the noisy command of

colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions' (2000: 112). Rather than referring just to the linguistic forms, hybridization is 'the process by which races, ethnic groups, cultures and languages are mixed with others' (Robinson 1997: 118). Hybridization is a positive process which enriches society. The positive elements of hybridity are emphasized in the term *synergy*, which is the fusion of two distinct traditions to produce a new and distinctive whole (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffen 1998: 229). Although examples of hybridity can be seen throughout the colonization process, it is this positive sense of hybridization on which I want to concentrate. Hybridization is a feature of the post-colonial state, as it shows the colonized moving away from the colonizer, using the colonial experience constructively, in a way relevant to its own culture. Postcolonial texts are often described as hybrids due to the culturo-linguistic layering which exists within them (Mehrez 1992: 121); and demonstrate a search for identity, where the colonized assess their position in light of the experiences of colonialism.

3.6.2 Hybridity and Translation

A hybrid text can be a text resulting from translation which shows features perceived as 'strange' in the target culture. The text may not be fully established in a culture (due to this perceived 'strangeness'); but is accepted as it fulfils its intended purpose in a communicative situation (Schäffner and Adab 1997: 325). The 'strangeness' may be the result of the wholesale transfer of concepts into the target culture (a strategy carried out in the colonial state, see 3.5.3.3); yet is often counterbalanced by an attempt to localize these concepts, thus making them more applicable to the target culture (a feature of the post-colonial state). The result is a text that displays transculturation, showing features of both the colonizer and the colonized.

3.6.2.1 Hybrid Models

The economic changes in Russia called for the creation of a new Russian advertising text-type based on the Western model. Several authors, however, have noted how these Western models are now being filled with native Russian content (Ryazanova-Clarke 1999a: 219), Russian traditions and Soviet practice (Litvinova 1996: 35). According to Ryazanova-Clarke, it was possible in 1996 to observe the mutation of the Western genre resulting from contact with Russian

culture (1996: 104). This is a clear example of the Western genre being used in a way which is more reflective of Russian needs. Pankratov, Baženov, Seregina et. al (2000: 36) take this observation further suggesting that there are the beginnings of actual 'Russian Advertising'. This advertising differs from that produced by foreign firms as it takes the so-called Russian mentality into account.³²

This process seemed sufficiently inevitable that it was predicted in Pelevin's (2000a) novel *Generation P* (published in English as *Babylon*). The novel's protagonist, Tatarskij, is employed to devise Russian alternatives for well-known Western adverts. Tatarskij's new employer, Pugin, explains why this is necessary:

[...] sjuda, skoro pojduť tovary s Zapada. A odnovenno s ètim xlynet volna reklamy. No ètu reklamu nel'zja budet prosto perevesti s anglijskogo na russkij, potomu èto zdes' drugie ... kak èto {cultural references}... Koroèe, reklamu nado budet sroèno adaptirovat' dlja russkogo potrebitelja. Teper' smotri, èto delaem my s toboj. My s toboj berem i zagodja – ponimaeš'? – zagodja podgotavlivaem bolvanki dlja vsech ser'eznyx brèndov. A potom, kak tol'ko nastupaet vremja, prihodim s papoèkoj v predstavitel'stvo i delaem biznes. (Pelevin 2000a: 31–32)

'[...] soon goods will start pouring in here from the West, and massive amounts of advertising will come flooding in with them. But it won't be possible simply to translate this advertising from English into Russian, because the ... what d'you call them ... the *cultural references* here are different. That means, the advertising will have to be adapted in short order for the Russian consumer. So now what do you and I do? You and I get straight to the job in advance – get my point? Now, before it all starts, we prepare outline concepts for all the serious brand names. Then, just as soon as the right moment comes, we turn up at their offices with a folder under our arms and do business.' (Pelevin 2000b, trans. by Broomfield: 20–21)

This 'adaptation' sees, amongst others, Tatarskij comparing Sprite to birch trees (Pelevin 2000a: 35), using quotations from Russian poets for the slogans for Parliament cigarettes and Smirnoff vodka (56 and 74), and a reference to Russian history in an advert for Gap (81).

³² One striking example of the fusion of Western nonce and Russian tradition is the MMM television campaign which ran in 1994, before the financial crash. MMM mounted a campaign to promote their pyramid investment scheme, the collapse of which led to many Russians losing vast amounts of money. The adverts were designed to resemble the Mexican and Brazilian television soap operas that are phenomenally popular in Russia. However, since the target audience was not Latin America, the creators of the adverts 'took the *telenovela* and Russified it' and 'drew on particularly Russian sources especially folklore and socialist realism' (Borenstein 1999: 55–56). The campaign became a cultural phenomenon.

3.6.2.2 Hybrid Texts

The hybrid mix is visible within the texts themselves, for example, the combinations of Latin script, transcribed foreign words and Russian within a single advert. In all advertising media, it is common to see product names given in both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets and Russian neologisms abound. Certain features, however, are more typically Russian, such as the use of proverbs, popular sayings and allusions to political slogans as demonstrated by Ryazanova-Clarke (1999b: 124) in a detailed analysis of two native Russian television adverts. These adverts have become more sophisticated, due to the digestion of Western style; and Ryazanova-Clarke sees the changes as a real advance on the 'clumsy official bureaucratic language, typical of the Soviet era' (1996: 112). Čečetkina (1995: 69) notes that whereas in the past an advert consisted of an account of a company's services and its address; the modern adverts create a conversation with the consumer, telling society why a product produced by such and such a company is better.

Advertising images show famous Western models and actresses, or environments that differ from the Russian norm; however there are some which employ those famous within the Russian Federation. One example is an advert for La Grande Classique watch by Longines (*Marie Claire*: November 2001). The printed advert carries the headline, in English:

{Elegance is an attitude}

This is accompanied by a smiling Oleg Men'šikov, famous throughout Russia for his theatre and film work and outside of Russia for his roles in *Utomlënnye solncem* 'Burnt by the Sun' (1994), *Sibirskij cirjul'nik* 'The Barber of Siberia' (1999) and *Vostok-Zapad* 'East-West' (1999). He is part of the campaign that Longines have called the 'Legendary and Contemporary Symbols of Elegance' where he joins the distinguished ranks of Audrey Hepburn and Humphrey Bogart, among others. Also mentioned is the Russian gymnast Alina Kabaeva. The combination of English text and a Russian star is unusual; usually the text is changed rather than the image. This perhaps demonstrates Longines' appreciation of the power the image has over the text in contemporary advertising.

The importance of hybridity and transculturation in general in post-colonial texts (and I have suggested that contemporary Russian advertising is in the post-colonial state) has led me to make this the focus of my own research and will therefore be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

The above examples show the value of combining experience of the past, cultural elements and the lessons learnt from the colonization. Fanon (1990: 179) believes this historical and cultural (re)discovery is a fundamental part of the evolution of national culture; this (re)discovery is notable, particularly in Russian television adverts, which feature folklore and pre-revolutionary values.³³ These states have to be experienced in order to move on, or in Bassnett and Trivedi's terms (1999: 4–5): 'only by devouring Europe could the colonized break away from what was imposed on them'. Pratt (1992: 180–81) cites a similar example when the Venezuelan revolutionary leader Simón Bolívar triumphantly reaches the summit of the Andean peak, Chimborazo. This was an achievement that the European explorer Alexander von Humboldt had not managed. Nearing the point where Humboldt failed, Bolívar is seized "by the violence of a spirit unknown to me". As Pratt says: 'Bolívar leaves his European predecessor's footprints behind – but only after choosing to take them in the first place'. In other words, only by experiencing the Western style of advertising could the Russians advertisers learn what was suitable for them and then adapt the adverts to their requirements. This assimilation of the Other is regarded as being necessary in order to move to the next state.

3.7 Towards Decolonization?

The decolonized state will occur in the future when the colonized has found its own identity based on past colonial experiences, it remains true to itself, and is not pressurized by outside influences. Nationalism is often an important feature of the decolonization struggle, as societies attempt to regain identities which were oppressed during colonization. Decolonization, then, may manifest a violent anti-colonial nationalistic retaliation resulting in xenophobia and racism. In contrast, however, decolonization which emphasises the *trans* in

³³ These are features which respondents to my questionnaire noted as being characteristic of native Russian advertising, see appendix five.

transculturation, will result in the mutual transformation of colonizer and colonized, where both are active, equal partners in the transcultural contact. These relationships, based on equality, are necessary in our increasingly globalized society, where national borders are less important due to the free movement of people and information. Rather than an ever more homogenized society, I suggest that in the decolonized state, cultural diversity will be embraced and accepted.

Referring to print advertising and its translation specifically, decolonization will have occurred when Russian advertising is created to reflect the needs of the Russian consumer, when Western adverts are translated with the Russian target market in mind and when Russian advertising exists on a level with the West's and not subservient to it. The decolonized state based on equality is utopian and reminiscent of Communist ideology; however, like any 'ideal' it is something translators can aim for, if given the freedom to do so. Although I do not believe that Russia has entered the decolonized state as the ties with the West remain strong and visible, there are examples of practice which are indications of tentative steps towards decolonization, at least where advertising is concerned.

3.7.1 Russian Marketing

Western advertisers' knowledge of the workings of a market economy gave them a powerful advantage when it came to marketing their goods in the Russian Federation, making their penetration that much easier. With time, however, comes experience and with experience come both knowledge and power. The growing number of advertising courses in Russian universities (Moscow State University, for example, has a very active Journalism department carrying out work into advertising) has led to the production of texts written in Russian about advertising practice: for example, Pankratov, Baženov, Seregina et. al 2000, Vorošilov 2000 and Koxtev 1997, and texts which deal with Russia in particular such as Germogenova 1994. With the exception of Koxtev 1997, these give an overview of all elements of advertising: different advertising media, the organization of advertising in shops, different styles of advertising and the implications of the advertising law. Koxtev's (1997) focuses on the linguistic elements of advertising, looking in particular at the use of rhetoric as well as

highlighting some problems that should be avoided when writing copy. In addition to books on advertising, there is also a vast literature on *marketingovye kommunikacii* 'marketing communications' and *pablik rileyšniz* 'public relations', currently very popular amongst students in Russia and jobs in these fields are often well-paid. As the new generation finish their courses on advertising the amount of marketing literature will increase further and will be more attuned to the specific characteristics of the Russian market, leading to the production of native adverts and the translation of adverts for foreign-made products which are more target-orientated, and thus less 'foreign'.

3.7.2 Changes in the Russian Advertising Law

Changes to the Russian Advertising Law have been introduced and proposed which will have far-reaching effects on the Russian advertising industry. Prior to April 2001, Russian companies were in a disadvantageous position when compared to their Western counterparts, as they were restricted in the amount of turnover spent on advertising that could be allocated as a production cost. Any expenditure over the allotted sum would be included in profit and taxed accordingly. This reduced the ability of Russian companies to use advertising services (Savchenko 1999). From 1 April 2001, however, a new law allowed enterprises to increase advertising expenditure by fifty percent meaning that companies with turnovers of less than fifty million roubles per annum can allocate 7.5% of advertising costs as production costs, those with fifty to three hundred million rouble turnovers, 4.5%, and turnovers of three hundred million roubles or over can allot 1.5%.³⁴ This should increase the potential for domestic advertisers to launch campaigns that can compete with high-budget campaigns mounted by Western corporations.

Another significant change was proposed for the Advertising Law. There is a clause in the 1995 Law which decrees that all advertising should be circulated in Russian and, at the discretion of the advertisers, in the languages of other native

³⁴ MindReader Regional Newsletter. 2001. *Russia – the Year So Far* [online]. London: Mindshare. Available at:
<URL: <http://www.mindshareworld.com/mindreaderCtry.asp?region=6#9>> [Accessed 4-12-01]

peoples of the Russian Federation.³⁵ However, the article further stipulates that television, radio and print adverts which are completely in a foreign language are exempt from this ruling. As it stands, this clause is ineffective as it appears that advertisers can legally offer an advert in any language. In May 2001, however, the nationalist Liberal Democrat leader, Žirinovskij, drafted a bill to prevent the use of foreign languages in Russian advertising. Žirinovskij proposed that foreign language advertising be classed as *nenadležaščaja* ‘improper’ and those infringing the law be fined or imprisoned. The clause was introduced in the belief that Russians seldom understand foreign adverts which is extremely dangerous when advertising products such as food, perfumes and goods for children.³⁶ In June, the law was turned down by the Duma at its first reading; however, the fact that it was drafted at all shows the dissatisfaction, in certain quarters, with the former colonizer. It has stimulated discussion about the overuse of foreign languages in Russian adverts, prompting the Duma deputy Aksakov to suggest that the overuse: ‘*inogda sozdaetsja vpečatlenie, čto my živem v kolonial’noj strane*’ ‘sometimes the impression is created that we are living in a colonial country’ (Kizilova 2001). It has also fuelled the debate that foreign languages in adverts are having a negative affect on the Russian language. Belousov (2001), however, is not so sure. He believes that the so-called crisis of Russian has been caused by a number of factors, of which advertising is only one; others include a lack of government control, insufficient proof-reading of television broadcasters’ scripts, the freedom to speak spontaneously, as well as the borrowing of American slang. He suggests that the crisis is not one of language, but of culture. This seems justified when one considers the cultural upheaval caused by the collapse of Communism; one means of self-reference was removed for Russians and they were left struggling with an identity crisis and feelings of insecurity. Nida (1964: 173) observes how a typical reaction of any country to cultural insecurity is the refusal to admit borrowed terms, and to purge the language of foreign traces in the hope of keeping it pure and resisting further foreign, cultural

³⁵ Chapter II – *Obščie i special’nye trebovanija k reklame*, Article Five – *Obščie trebovanija k reklame*, Paragraph Two of the Russian Federation Advertising Law. State Duma, 1995. *Rossijskaja federacija federal’nyj zakon o reklame* [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.tl.ru/%7Epsp/rekl_law/reklama.htm#g2> [Accessed 7 May 2002]

³⁶ Gramota. 2001. *Za reklamu ne po-russkij – straf i daže ugolovnaja otvetstvennost’ (24-5-01)* [online]. Russia: Ėleks-al’fa. Available at: <URL:http://www.gramota.ru/nws_arch.html?nn=124> [Accessed 30 May 2001].

domination. This crisis of culture is not Russia-specific. Many countries feel the threat of globalization and the increased homogenization of cultures. According to Korten (1999: 158) corporations are trying to create their own universally-recognized symbols to replace existing cultural symbols. He continues:

Instead of being Americans, Norwegians, Egyptians, Filipinos, or Mexicans, we become simply members of the “Pepsi generation”, detached from place and any meaning other than those a corporation finds it profitable to confer on us.

The globalization of culture is not, however, the same as its homogenization. Although globalization ‘involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization (armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies and clothing styles)’ (Appadurai 1994: 333); these are absorbed by a country, re-shaped and used according to the needs of that country. Russia was not an unwitting player in a global game; the impetus to become part of a global economy cannot be imprinted on a nation, it must come from within (see 3.5.2). Russia has been absorbing global culture and Western experience, and how it decides to use what it has learnt depends very much on the Russian people themselves.

3.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has offered a brief history of Russian advertising practices while highlighting the important role played by translation in shaping a new Russian advertising genre. I chose to liken the evolution of advertising translation strategies to a four-part model of postcolonialism (precolonial, colonial, post-colonial and decolonized states), and this chapter has shown that there are enough parallels between the two to make this a valid approach.

When the Soviet Union first opened its doors to foreign investors it presented a vast untapped market, a relatively unique situation in today’s consumer culture. The country was ripe for ‘invasion’, and although other countries may feel dominated by large corporations, the effect is more marked within Russia, which went rapidly from practically no advertising to an advertising overload. The postcolonial approach charts the progression of the advertising genre and suggests why certain strategies have been employed for the translation of advertising texts at certain points in history. Unlike previous studies into advertisement translation reviewed in the last chapter, the postcolonial model

Chapter Three: A Postcolonialist Approach to Translation Strategies for Russian-Language Advertising Texts

does not suggest that a particular strategy is better than another, but demonstrates that strategies change with time and that when charting them it is important to take into account a number of external factors, which are perhaps outside of the translators' control.

Translators can be constrained in many directions: advert senders (advertisers) may insist that adverts be delivered in a certain style, or call for a very close rendering of the target text; target text receivers may have different expectations about the advertising genre or the product being advertised than source receivers, thus forcing translators to make fundamental changes to the advertising message; the demand for the product may be so great and the competition so small that it is bought irrespective of the translation strategy used; the economic and political environment within the target country could well affect the means of advertising, for example a command versus a market economy, laws which restrict advertising or financial instability which reduces the potential market's disposable income. These constraints mean that, when discussing the translation of advertising at least, translators cannot be seen in isolation. The translation of advertising material is in no way the simple transfer of linguistic signs; but a cultural exercise controlled at every level, and translators may not always hold overall power.

The postcolonial approach has demonstrated that in the evolution of advertising, and by extension its translation, the balance of power shifts with time and that the progression has, in the case of Russia, been cyclical. In the first period of the precolonial state, native advertisers appeared to control the advertising market in Russia. Although Western firms advertised in pre-revolutionary Russia, their adverts catered to native needs (for example, through the transliteration of trade names). The result was the golden age of Russian advertising (see Kelly and Volkov 1998: 149). During the second period of the precolonial state, advertising was controlled by the Communist government; here there was no cohabitation, as non-Soviet advertising did not appear in the Soviet Union and capitalist advertising was vilified. The colonial state saw a dramatic shift; advertising, it seemed, continued to be monopolized. This time, however, the influence was foreign and the corporations used their financial sway and global reputations to

suppress the smaller, less-sophisticated Russian advertisers. The post-colonial state, following the 1998 financial crisis, saw a change in the balance of power. Russian producers, using advertising techniques learnt from corporations since the opening of the economy, marketed their cheaper products at the Russians who had less disposable income. The foreign corporations experienced real competition and the strategies for translating the adverts began to change to cater for the Russian consumers. The pressure on translators to conform to the global model was relaxed, leaving them to use their expertise and experience to create advertising for the Russian market. This appears to be a movement towards the kind of relationship between native and foreign advertisers seen in the early pre-colonial state, a relationship of equality predicted for the decolonized state.

Throughout the evolution, there have been changes in the strategies employed when translating advertisements. The importance rests not on which strategy has been chosen, but rather why. In a persuasive discourse such as advertising, departures from the original are not arbitrary but calculated. The translation shifts are the result of complex decisions which reflect the interaction between those involved in the advertising process (including advertisers, receivers, agencies, regulatory bodies, as well as translators); the ultimate power, however, rests in the hands of consumers who are free to choose whether or not they will purchase what they have seen advertised. It is the job of the producers and the translators of advertising to ensure that the consumers are sufficiently attracted to the product through the advertising campaign to make a purchase. The changing translation strategies, then, are due to the perceived changes in what the potential consumer will find persuasive at a given time. The postcolonial model has proved sufficiently accommodating to chart these changes and offer predictions for the evolution of translation strategies. Using the postcolonial model, I have suggested that contemporary Russian advertising is in the post-colonial state. The remainder of this thesis investigates transculturation within a corpus of recently translated Russian adverts. It will assess the influence of the colonizer and the colonized through close analysis of the source and target versions of the texts. However, before beginning the empirical analysis, I will situate the adverts which comprise my corpus within the wider field of advertising.

4. Corpora Content and its Location in the Advertising World

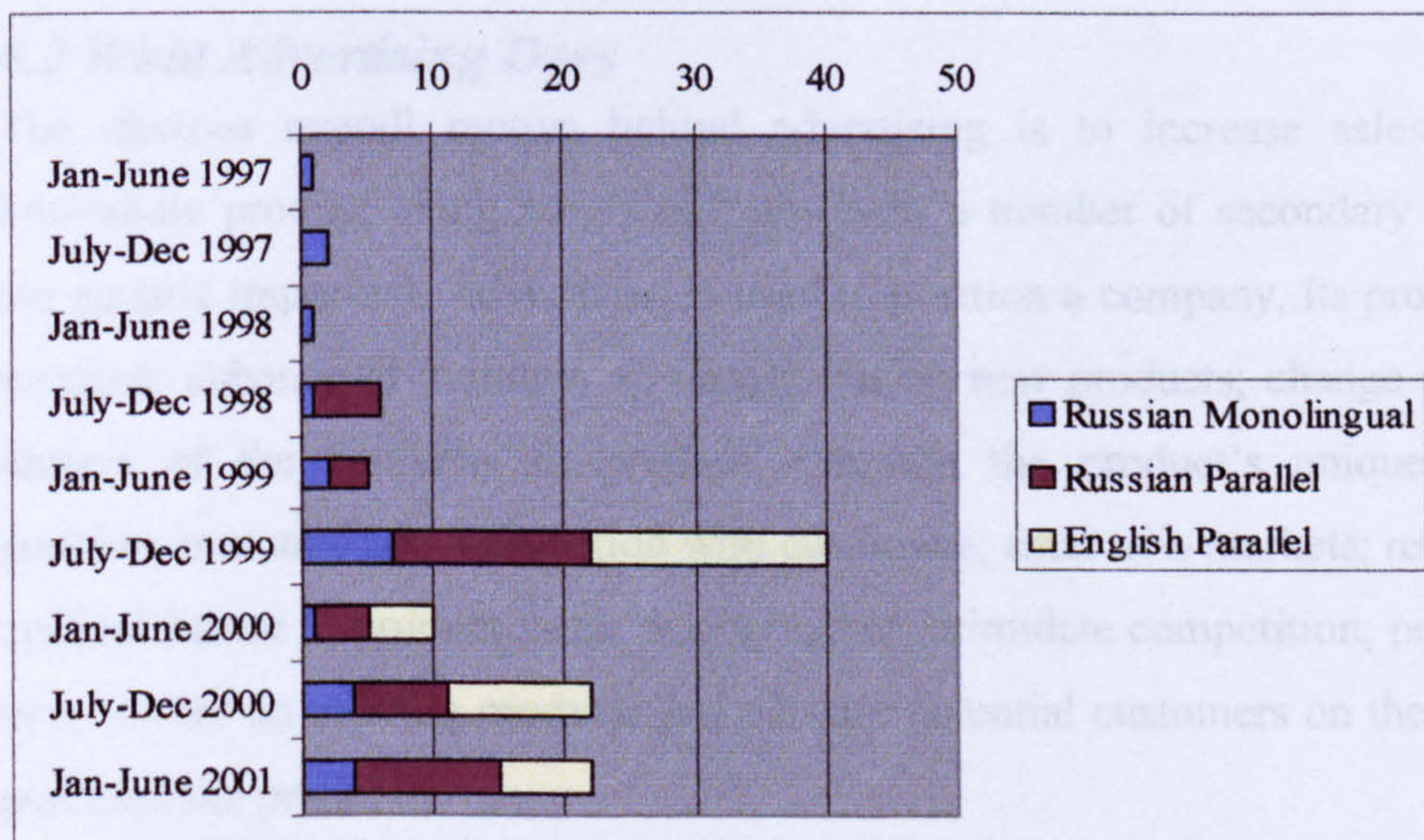
This chapter describes the contemporary advertising genre and situates my research data firmly within it. The overview begins with general questions about advertising and its impact, moving through the advertising process to the specific verbal devices analysed in the remainder of this thesis. Approaching advertising in this way emphasizes how its component parts fit together, justifies why I have made decisions to focus on certain elements of advertising rather than others, and describes the texts which make up my corpora. The research for this chapter comes primarily from surveys of the field, however there are also references to material received from advertising agencies, companies and magazine publishers; email correspondence with companies, advertising agencies and translators; telephone interviews with marketing staff; informal discussions with Russians; and the results of my questionnaire.

Wherever possible, I refer to my own corpora of adverts; the empirical research in this thesis is concentrated primarily on the analysis of a parallel corpus. By parallel corpus I mean, following Baker (1995: 230), a type of corpus consisting of original source-language texts in language A and their translated versions in language B. In translation studies reference to *corpora* often means a large body of tagged text which can be searched electronically; however, the corpora used in this study have been collated and searched manually. Since there are no existing corpora devoted solely to advertising language it would have been necessary to manually input, tag and parse the text before beginning analysis, a task beyond the remit of this research project.¹ Having decided to focus the research on contemporary printed adverts for luxury consumer goods, forty-five English language adverts and their translated Russian counterparts which met this criteria were selected, at random, from a larger corpora of Russian and English advertising texts. I have also constructed a monolingual control corpus comprising twenty-three Russian adverts selected using the same criteria as the parallel corpus, except that they were originally written in Russian, to advertise

¹ Barnbrook (1996: 19–20) offers a useful checklist to help decide whether to use computers for language analysis.

Russian goods in the Russian market. The function of the monolingual corpus is not to set the standard for the Russian advertising ideal to which translated adverts should aspire, but to aid comparison. It acts as a guide, indicating which results are features of translated advertisements and which are part of a more general trend in Russian advertising. The parallel corpus comprises an English and Russian corpus and will be henceforward referred to as *the parallel corpus* when both languages are being discussed; *the parallel English corpus* when referring specifically to the source language adverts; and *the parallel Russian corpus* when addressing the target language adverts translated into Russian. The monolingual control corpus of native Russian adverts will be known as *the monolingual Russian corpus*. The corpora are synchronic and as contemporary as possible. All the adverts collected date from 1997 to 2001, as shown below:

Publication Dates



The graph shows that the data was mainly collected between July and December 1999 with very few adverts from 1997 or the start of 1998; the majority of the data, then, comes from after the Russian financial crisis, what I term the post-colonial state (see 3.6).

4.1 Towards a Definition of Advertising

The *OED* offers the following definition of ADVERTISING: ‘a bringing into notice, spec. by paid announcement in a printed journal, by prominent display of placards etc.’ (1989: 00003316, *vbl.n.* 2). This definition, however, seems altogether too narrow to encompass all the meanings of *advertising*. Advertising

is concerned with the promotion of goods and services, but also with the promotion of charities, politicians, public-services and health campaigns. Advertising can be found in a variety of media, not only the print medium. The motivation behind an advertising campaign is not simply to bring something to notice; but to increase sales; improve brand recognition; change the audience's perception of a brand, service or personality; or to change people's behaviour. Since advertising is paid for, advertisers have a right to insist on how, where and when their advert appears (Wilmshurst and Mackay 1999: 23). I therefore propose the following definition as going someway towards describing what advertising is in contemporary society:

Advertising is one-way discourse, paid for and controlled by the advertiser, which uses techniques and practices to bring products, services, opinions or causes to the attention of a mass-audience, through a public medium, with the intention of changing the will, opinions or attitudes of that audience and persuading it to act in a particular way that will bring profit to the advertiser.

4.2 What Advertising Does

The obvious overall motive behind advertising is to increase sales of the immediate product being advertised; however, a number of secondary motives are equally important. Advertising is used to position a company, its products or services; enhance or maintain an image; launch new products; change negative images of the company or product; promote the product's unique selling position; maintain communication with customers; enter new markets; reduce the cyclical nature of product sales; discourage or intimidate competition; promote a new use for an existing product; and educate potential customers on the need to purchase the product.

The Advertising Association has summarized the many motives into four broad categories.² For each suggestion, I have added an example from my own corpora:

² Advertising Association and the Department of Trade and Industry. *Advertising Means Business*. [online] London: Advertising Association. Available at: <URL:<http://www.adassoc.org.uk/guide/should>> [Accessed 4-01-02]

Advertising Association Motive	Example from Corpora
Stimulate initial interest To attract new users to a company and its products.	In the parallel corpus there are examples of adverts introducing new products, or even new colours in an existing range. This newness is highlighted by the use <i>novinka</i> 'new thing' (RP:29); or 'new' (EP:29).
Develop loyalty Inspire existing customers to buy more of the advertised product.	Max Factor's adverts for its Midnight Passion collection are an example of this. In this advert readers are invited to purchase all three of the products which form the collection (EP/RP: 27).
Encourage change Channel demand away from competitors.	The Advance Cat food adverts emphasize their position within the area of pet foods, by using the following declarations <i>mirovogo lidera v oblasti soderžanija i pitanija domašnjx životnyx</i> 'the world leader in the area of care and food for domestic animals' (RP:43) or 'The World's leading Authority on Pet Care and Nutrition' (EP:43). The aim is to encourage people to switch pet food suppliers to one with excellent credentials. Gracija is also trying to channel demand by warning that fake foreign brands have flooded the Russian market – its advice being: <i>ne riskujte, kupajte otečestvennoe</i> 'don't take a risk, buy native' (RM:7).
Maintain loyalty Reassure those who are already buying.	Many of the large, well-known brands use this type of advertising, their aim is to remind consumers of their market presence. These adverts are often simple, as they do not need to provide a lot of information. Tommy Hilfiger's advert is an image maintaining advert. The Russian and English versions carry a simple headline: <i>nastojščij amerikanskij aromat</i> 'genuine American fragrance' (RP:40) and 'real american [<i>sic ks</i>] fragrance' (EP:40).

Irrespective of the type of advert used, the long-term goal of any advertiser is to increase profits generally by increasing sales and this must be seen as the primary motive behind any advertising campaign.

4.3 The Creation of Advertising Materials

A company's advertising policy is part of an overall marketing strategy to enhance the product concept and is often referred to by marketers as the *Four Ps* of the marketing mix. The Four Ps are product (including service packaging, brand-names and design), place (distribution), price (of the brand) and promotion (including advertising, public relations, personal selling, gifts, exhibitions, conferences and sales promotion) (Brierley 1995: 41). Advertising is only a small, although important, part of the overall marketing strategy. Any form of advertising begins with the advertiser who has a product or service to sell.

4.3.1 The Advertisers

Advertisers are the advert senders; they are usually mentioned somewhere within the advert, so that potential customers will know who produces the goods or services being advertised and be able to purchase them.³ In each of the adverts in my corpora, the advertiser is named and I have tried to represent as wide a range of advert senders as possible so as to have variety within the corpora reducing the risk of trends being noted that result from the practice of one particular advertiser.⁴ The distribution of adverts according to advert sender can be found in appendix six, p. 338.

In the parallel corpus some advertisers have a disproportionately large presence, for example Clinique, L'Oréal and Max Factor, this is because they are all prolific advertisers in Russian and British media, their adverts covering a wide range of cosmetics. The distribution in the monolingual Russian corpus is more evenly spread, with no advertiser being represented more than twice.

The adverts in the parallel English corpus appeared in the British press, whilst those in the parallel Russian and the monolingual Russian corpus appeared in the Russian Federation.⁵ Ensuring that adverts originate from the same countries helps to reduce problems arising from differences in advertising style. Since this thesis deals primarily with translation it is important to uncover the source language of the adverts that have presumably been translated into Russian. I have, therefore, tried hard to ensure that the adverts in the parallel Russian corpus originated in English; however, this has not been an easy task. The companies able to divulge this information seem reluctant to help. The following extract from an email is typical :

After careful examination of your project, we are sorry to inform you that we cannot comply with your request as the information you are looking for must remain confidential (Email correspondence with Dior, 4 December 2000).

³ This is not always the case, as the company's emblem may become so well-known that the company name does not need to be mentioned, as in the case of the Nike swoosh or the cigarette manufacturer Silk Cut which uses a visual pun involving a piece of purple silk and a cutting implement to represent the name (the only text is the obligatory health warning).

⁴ Unfortunately, I have not been able to remove this effect completely, as trends have been noted in the data resulting from the repetition of L'Oréal and Maybelline's slogans.

⁵ Although this may seem obvious, the English-language adverts could well have been published in any English-language speaking country (such as the US, Australia, Canada), and the Russian adverts in a number of countries which have a large Russian-speaking population, such as Israel.

When no concrete evidence is available, it is necessary to look elsewhere, for example at the company's country of origin. It seems quite likely that the source language of Waltham's Advance dog food will be English, as this is a British company. This method, however, is not reliable with many global and transnational companies. L'Oréal, for example, has headquarters in the USA and France and in certain L'Oréal adverts the USA's influence can be seen through endorsement by Andie McDowell, Heather Locklear and Jennifer Aniston; while in others, French influence is prominent with reference to the Cannes Film Festival. The L'Oréal Group is a large corporation owning other major cosmetics companies; Laboratoires Garnier, Maybelline, Redken 5th Avenue, Cosmetique Active, Lancôme, Prestige & Collection and Helena Rubinstein. Even though an advert originates from a French company this does not mean that Russian translators will use the French version as the source text. Natal'ja Rumjanceva, a translator at Leo Burnett & Moradpour in Moscow, informed me that she often works from English, although 'I prefer to have the first original (if it's not English) and its English translation'.⁶ So, even if the source text is French, Natal'ja Rumjanceva works from both the French and English versions. On occasions the image gives clues as the text on the products in the pack-shot is not always translated into Russian; if the text is in English it would be safe to assume that the source language was English, and French if it appeared in French. Unfortunately, the above are mere methods and do not offer any conclusive evidence; however, when there is no available information it is necessary to resort to this kind of investigative analysis.⁷ I have, however, been scrupulous in constructing this corpus, rejecting many advert pairs where I could not sufficiently guarantee their source language.

⁶ Email correspondence with Natal'ja Rumjanceva, translator at Leo Burnett & Moradpour, 17 July 2000.

⁷ One way of overcoming this problem is to adopt Toury's 'assumed translation', which refers to 'any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumedly derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded – within that culture – as necessary and/or sufficient.' (Toury 1995: 35). Although I see the value of this as translations can be studied as translations (without being bound to the source text); it is not a particularly useful for my study, where I compare a translation with its source text to ascertain cross-cultural differences. It is therefore important to have a clear idea of the source text.

4.3.2 Advertising Agencies

In modern-day advertising, advertisers are not usually the advert producers as this job is given to advertising agencies which interpret the message advertisers want to communicate and suggest where and how to say it. The benefit of hiring a good advertising agency is that it has all-round skills, experience, an objective outsider's view, and will complete the whole job (including buying media space) (Wilmshurst and Mackay 1999: 87).

Larger agencies also include departments which buy art and print, a TV library or press production, for example. A single agency may hold accounts for a number of large advertisers; Abbott Mead Vickers – BBDO has amongst its clients Gillette Industries, Pizza Hut, Pepsi-Cola International and the RSPCA, whereas Ogilvy Mathers works with Nestlé, Unilever and IBM.

Within advertising agencies, it is the creative department, which includes an art director and a copywriter, that creates advertisements. It is important that the brief be clear and understandable as this is the key to producing good advertisements. If advertisers do not understand what is written in the brief, there will be a breakdown in communication and the result may well be a disappointment.

4.4 Overseas Advertising⁸

Overseas advertising is produced to support the sales of products and services in more than one country. There are four kinds of structures for those advertisers who expand their markets outside their home country: international, multinational, global and transnational (De Mooij 1994: 7–10).

An international company begins by exporting some of the products which it already produces. The home office controls overseas operations, but as the company becomes more involved in international trade it may enter into joint ventures with local companies or invest in overseas facilities.

⁸ I am using the term *overseas*, as *international*, *multinational* and *global* have specific meanings within the field. I am conscious this is not a totally suitable alternative, but I want to maintain the distinction between the meanings of these terms.

A multinational company responds to market differences by formulating marketing strategies for each country in which it operates. Each subsidiary within a multinational company is managed as though it were an independent city-state.

A global company focuses on the cost-effectiveness of centralized operations. The global advertiser centres on global customers by determining a basic marketing strategy that can be used worldwide.

A transnational company uses global resources to serve global customers. The transnational company mixes and matches to achieve optimum efficiency, and displays both centralized and localized aspects. In recent years, many companies have been switching from global to transnational methods of production. A transnational company focuses on core-competency, and outsources the activities in which it is less strong. Reebok, for example, concentrates on designing fashionable sports footwear, but outsources the actual production to Indonesia and China.⁹

4.4.1 Multinational and Global Advertising Agencies

When companies extend and expand their markets across national boundaries, they need to educate potential customers on the merits of their product and persuade them to purchase it above a national brand. As with domestic advertising there are a number of ways that advertisers publicizing outside of the home market can have their adverts created. Advertising can be carried out by domestic advertisers, agencies specializing in creating adverts for exporters or local foreign agencies; but the method most frequently used by large companies is to hire multinational or global advertising agencies. Such agencies are well-established in foreign markets and have shifted their focus from domestic to overseas advertising. A number of large agencies dominate the market, these include Ogilvy Mather Worldwide, McCann-Erikson Worldwide and BBDO. Ogilvy Mather Worldwide, for example, represents Unilever in seventy-one countries;¹⁰ whilst BBDO supports Pepsi-Cola International in sixty.¹¹ These multinational and global agencies often have overseas offices employing

⁹ For analysis of the less positive practices of certain transnational companies, such as Reebok, see Klein (2001)

¹⁰ Source: *Ogilvy – June Credentials*

¹¹ Source: *An Introduction to Abbott Mead Vickers BBDO – July 2000: 26*

multilingual creative specialists. In global campaigns, one agency is usually the lead creative office. Michelle Hush at the advertising agency Grey explains:

[t]hat office creates the advertising and supplies our offices in other countries with all the elements required to recreate the campaign locally. If T.V, the voice-over and the on-screen copy may be translated. For print, copy is translated and local information is added as required.¹²

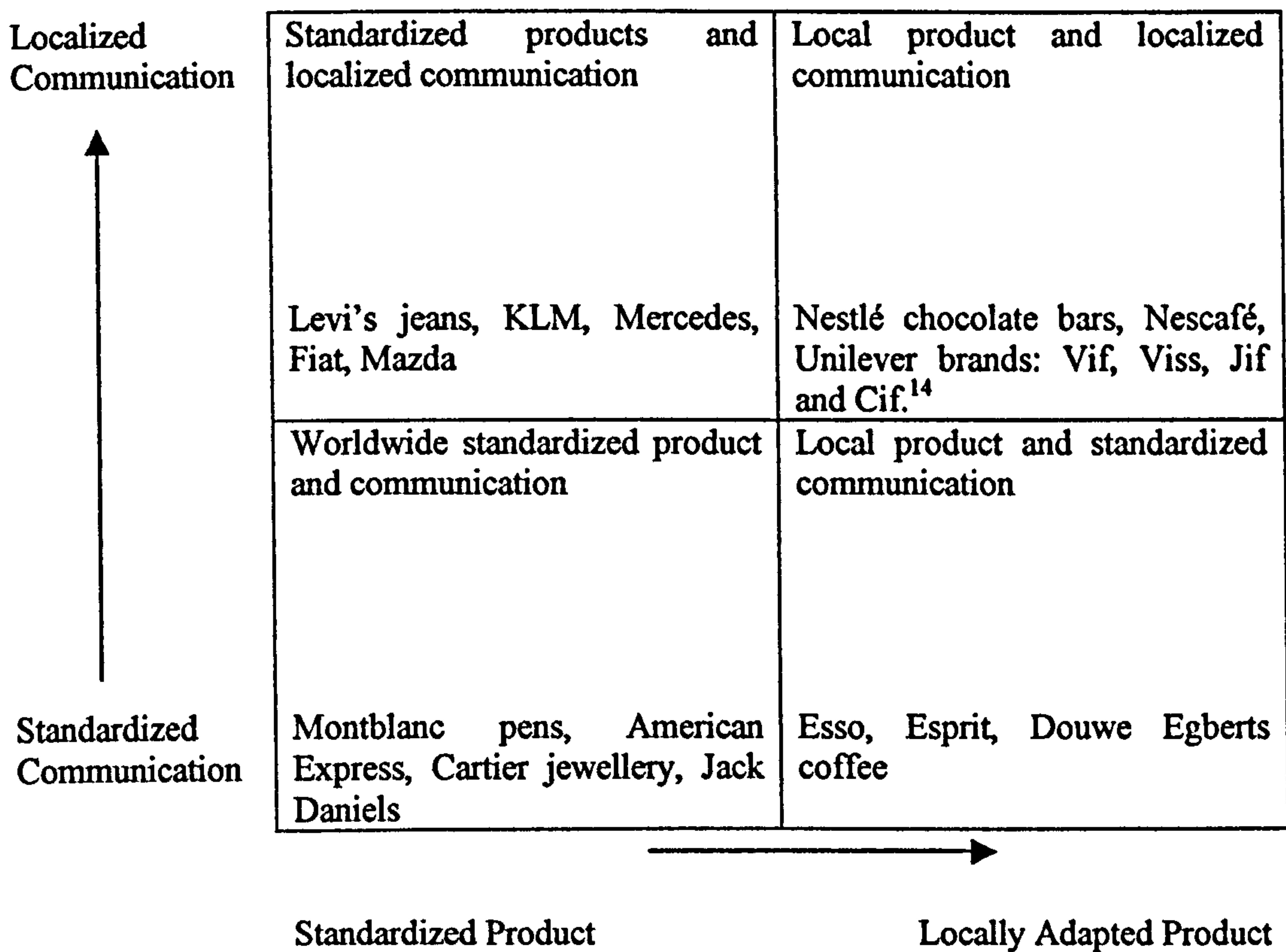
Grey has offices in eighty-six countries and its policy is to have translations handled in the country where the translators are native to the market. This practice appears to be carried out in most organizations, Procter & Gamble, for example, have branches in all the countries where their products are marketed.¹³

4.4.2 Strategies for Overseas Advertising

The overall strategy employed for overseas advertising is part of a company's general marketing strategy. The basic choice is between standardization (using the same products and same communication strategies) and localization (using locally adapted products and communications strategies). This can be represented in a matrix:

¹² Email correspondence with Michelle Hush at Grey, 17 July 2000.

¹³ Telephone interview with Zbyszek Kalenik at Procter & Gamble, 18 April 2000.



From De Mooij (1994: 203)

4.4.2.1 Globalization, Standardization and Localization

Whether to standardize or localize has been the source of much debate in both the fields of advertising and advertising translation. The term globalization is also used prolifically, with the assumption that all global approaches start with the intention of standardizing as much as possible across a geographical area, or to quote the original 1983 article by Theodore Levitt, 'The Globalisation of Markets':

The globalisation of markets is at hand [...] The global corporation operates with resolute constancy – at low relative cost – as if the entire world (or major regions of it) were a single entity; it sells the same things in the same way everywhere. (Levitt 1983: 92–93)

There are actually very few examples of truly global brands. Coca-Cola, often cited as a global brand, actually adapts its product to cater for different tastes and offers a variety of different packages in different markets. Coca-Cola's production is based on franchising and it has agreements with local bottling plants which have exclusivity for specific regions, therefore it cannot be a global brand (Miller 1998a: 171). For Coca-Cola, as with most other products, the choice is to the level of standardization employed across markets. Standardized

¹⁴ Unilever has recently standardized its brand name to Cif.

adverts are made to appeal to a homogenized consumer and their advantages include creating a consistent brand image worldwide and reducing costs. Brierley (1995: 18) notes that Coca-Cola, Marlboro and Gillette have successfully advertised their brands across frontiers based on universal tastes and one reason for the increasing levels of standardization is that ‘consumer tastes around the world are converging’ (Cadbury 1987: 88). According to Leiss, Klein and Jhally (1990: 117), the increasing homogenization of needs and tastes in contemporary society has been testified to by ‘the world wide success of McDonald’s, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, rock music, Hollywood movies, Revlon cosmetics, Sony televisions, and Levi jeans’. Standardized advertising, however, has been criticized on various grounds: it often results in bland adverts created by the subtraction of any verbal or visual play that might not work in any one market (Myers 1999: 60); campaigns aimed at ‘the lowest common denominator’ (Brierley 1995: 18); and a ‘global’ culture which is in fact American culture. The opposite approach is one of adaptation or localizing; its advantages include the ability to shape advertisements to suit particular cultures and to take differences in infrastructure, economies and technological capabilities into account (De Mooij 1994: 80–83). Many international advertisers such as Nestlé, Unilever and Procter & Gamble tailor their individual campaigns to national and regional markets (Brierley 1995: 18).¹⁵ Tailoring adverts to individual markets, however, is expensive. The solution appears to be a strategy which invites advertisers to think globally and act locally, in other words to be ‘glocal’ (De Mooij 1994: 80 and Smith and Klein-Braley 1997: 173) or ‘multi-local’ (Clifton 1997: 138). According to Adab (2000: 224):

Probably, the optimum compromise is *glocalization* – the production of a globally relevant ST [source text], based on a message that will have similar impact across cultural contexts. Such messages will require minimum adaptation, mainly at the level of style and use of language, to be relevant for any single target community.

¹⁵ This was reinforced by Procter & Gamble, who informed me that local copy is prepared only when there are cultural differences between markets; one wonders, though, whose job it is to determine whether a cultural difference exists. Pampers advertising in Russia is an example of a campaign tailored for a specific market. The use of disposable nappies is much lower in Russia than in Western Europe, so the adverts for the Russian market had to be adapted to accommodate these different perceptions. Telephone interview with Zbyszek Kalenik at Procter & Gamble, 18 April 2000.

The strategy of ‘glocalization’ ensures that adverts function within the target culture with the amount of adaptation depending on the cultures, languages and even the products involved (see Al-Shehari 2001: 77, De Pedro 1995: 41, Sidiropoulou 1998: 202). Advertising created globally is more economical than that which involves writing unique (or at least discrete) campaigns for individual markets, whereas advertising adapted at a local level is more likely to be effective as it will appeal directly to the specific culture of the target market.

4.4.3 Overseas Advertising Strategy in the Parallel Corpus

Having presented the various options open to advertisers choosing to publicize outside their domestic market, it seems appropriate to assess those adverts which comprise my own parallel corpus. The products advertised have all been produced by global or transnational companies (many of which have long histories of overseas trade). The advertising has been produced, on the whole, by global and multinational advertising agencies, the biggest single advertiser in the corpus, L’Oréal Group has its advertising created by the worldwide advertising agency Universal McCann. Both the products and the adverts are standardized across markets (I have seen some of the adverts in my corpus not only in English and Russian, but in French, Spanish, Italian, Czech and Arabic). They use universal appeals (such as love, youthful appearance and a luxurious life-style) to publicize the goods. There are examples of minimum adaptation (of products, language and slogans), so the strategy of ‘glocalization’ is also being adopted. Despite the criticism levelled at them, standardized adverts are rich in data when investigating translation, as they are, on the whole, close copies of the source advert.

4.5 Advertising Media

The medium is the channel through which the text is communicated; the table below categorizes five types of media, and with some typical forms for each type:

Type	Forms
Print	Newspaper, magazines, trade publications, journals
Broadcast	Television, radio
Outdoor	Poster hoardings, bus shelters, blimps, Underground, buses, taxis
Other	Cinema, direct mail, fliers
New Media	Digital television, Internet, compact disks, games systems, interactive kiosks, interactive teletext

This study will focus on print.

4.5.1 The Print Medium

The print medium offers a variety of publications catering for a wide range of audiences and has certain advantages over other media; for example, the prestige of advertising in certain esteemed titles; the possibility of using colour; the permanence of the medium meaning that potential customers can read the adverts more than once; reader loyalty to certain magazines or newspapers; the cost effectiveness; secondary readers who read the magazines or newspapers after the original purchaser has finished. Since there is such a range of printed publications, it is easier for advertisers to target their products than in the broadcast media, for example, which aim at a less specific, homogenized audience.¹⁶ Advertising space in print media is defined as being display or classified. Display advertising (typical of magazines) is traded through an agency and usually incorporates copy, headlines, and visual components; while in classified advertising (typical of newspapers) advertising space is sold directly to the advertiser, by the newspaper, and is typically copy only, without advertising images (Arens and Bovée 1994: 414).

The print media are roughly divided into magazine or newspaper advertising. Newspaper advertising can be found in all types of newspapers: national daily, national Sunday, regional daily and local free distribution newspapers. Magazine advertising can be divided into two main types: consumer magazines (purchased for entertainment and information) and business magazines (which target business readers and include trade publications, industrial magazines and professional magazines). In this study, all the adverts come from consumer magazines.

¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that both cable television and radio (especially in the USA) provide excellent platforms for niche marketing, enabling the targeting of specific markets. Thanks to Dr Neil Bermel for this observation.

4.5.2 Consumer Magazines

The range of consumer magazines is extremely wide, for example those aimed at women, men, special interest, or general interest. Although a smaller market than television, in 1998 printed advertising in Russia accounted for thirty percent of all advertising, fifty percent of which was in specialized publications, thirty percent in newspapers and twenty percent in magazines.¹⁷ Consumer magazines are a fruitful place for finding adverts translated from English into Russian. The abundance of consumer magazines on the market in the UK meant that the original English-language texts could be located. The forty-five adverts in the parallel corpus offer enough authentic data on which to base my research. Creating the control monolingual corpus proved more difficult. In order to maintain consistency, I wanted to use the same types of magazine from which I had extracted the translated adverts, however it soon became apparent that these magazines are predominantly filled with adverts of foreign origin, nevertheless twenty-three native adverts were finally collected.

There are sixteen magazines featured in the parallel English corpus; according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations [ABC] classification system¹⁸, fifteen of the magazines are defined as ‘women’s interests’; this category is further subdivided into ‘women’s lifestyle and fashion (11), women’s health and beauty (1) and women’s weeklies (3). The exception is from ‘news and current affairs – business and finance’. This suggests the target recipients of the majority of adverts in the parallel English corpus are women. In the parallel Russian and the monolingual Russian corpus, fourteen magazines are represented. The classification system used at Media Atlas¹⁹ (an encyclopaedia of Russian media) is not as universal as the ABC’s. There are categories including ‘style and fashion’; ‘women’; ‘health, fitness and fashion’; ‘men’ and ‘business’. Collation of these categories suggests that nine of the fourteen magazines relate to women

¹⁷ Savchenko, L. 1999 (U. S. Department of Commerce - National Trade Data Bank) *Russia – Advertising Market* [online]. Moscow: Tradeport. Available at: <URL:<http://www.tradeport.org/ts/countries/russia/isa/isar0007.html>> [Accessed 5-12-01]

¹⁸ The Audit Bureau of Circulations [ABC] is an independent body which audits the circulation of magazines. Their aim is to provide an unbiased view of the media. The data in this chapter is taken from a survey carried out between 01 January 2001 and 30 June 2001 and is freely accessible online at: <URL:<http://www.abc.org.uk>> [Accessed 31-12-01]

¹⁹ The Media Atlas fulfils a similar role to the ABC by giving detailed information about all forms of media in the Russian Federation. Available online at: <URL:<http://www.mediaatlas.ru>> [Accessed 31-12-01]

or women's issues, two to economy and business, two to men and one to society and politics. Eight of the Russian-language magazines carry further information relating to the sex of the reader, supplied by Comcon.²⁰ Of these eight, five are read almost exclusively by women (between 86.7% and 93.7%), one by men (93.5%) and a magazine devoted to society and politics is read equally by men and women (48.6% men and 51.4% women). Although there are more magazines in both Russian corpora targeted at men, the target audience of the magazines as a whole remains female. The corpora, then, are based primarily on women's glossy magazines, an important market where, in the UK at least, circulation of women's magazines has been growing in contrast to newspaper circulation and television viewing (Wilmshurst and Mackay 1999: 206). Magazines also provide useful data about the target audiences of advertisements.

4.6 Target Market

It is a common misunderstanding that successful products need to appeal to the majority of the population (Arens and Bovée 1994: 138). Advertisers need to select specific target markets at which to aim their products. Having done this, advertisers use the marketing mix (the Four Ps, see 4.3), to match the needs, wants, and desires of the chosen market.

4.6.1 The Target Market of the Corpora

English publishers are happy to provide data concerning their core readers, as this is a means of attracting particular advertisers to promote their products in certain magazines. If publishers offer specific information about their core readers, advertisers can ensure that they are reaching the audience for whom the advert is intended.

All magazines in the parallel English corpus have slightly different profiles, thus justifying their position within the competitive magazine market. The table below gives an overview of the monthly magazines in the parallel English corpus.

²⁰ Comcon is a media and market research company and the official representative of Research International in the Russian Federation. They supply data relating to the demographics of Russian media consumers.

Publisher	Magazine	Age Range	Profile
National Magazine Company ²¹	<i>Company</i>	18-28	Women in 'their freedom years'
	<i>Cosmopolitan</i>	Mid- to late-twenties	Women who are 'intelligent and independent'
	<i>Good Housekeeping</i>	Average age: 48	For the 'grown up woman'
	<i>Prima</i>	Mid-forties	Likes value for money and has a family
	<i>She</i>	Mid-thirties	Women in steady relationships
	<i>Zest</i>	25-34	Women who care about how they look and feel
Emap ²²	<i>Elle</i>	Average age: 29	Women who have been through higher education and have a career
	<i>Red</i>	Average age: 33	Women who have 'grown up, but not grown old'
IPC media ²³	<i>Marie Claire</i>		Independent, stylish and image-conscious women
	<i>Woman & Home</i>	Over forty	Women who enjoy their role in the family
Attic Futura ²⁴	<i>B</i>	Early-twenties	Women who feel good about life
Condé Nast ²⁵	<i>Glamour</i>	18-34	'Successful, independent, modern women who know how to have fun, how to dress and how to spend'

Of the weekly magazines, *Hello* pitches itself at a wide range of readers and focuses on world events and celebrities;²⁶ *OK* concentrates on celebrity gossip, and *Bella* is aimed at married women between twenty-five and forty-four. The only magazine not targeted at women is the *Economist*, whose core audience is highly-educated, well-paid management and business professionals.²⁷ Although readers have different interests, it is possible to generalize that the average reader

²¹ Information about *Company*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Prima* and *Zest* can be found at the National Publishing Company. Available at: <URL:http://www.natmags.co.uk> [Accessed 31-12-01]

²² Information about *Elle* and *Red* can be found at Emap. Available at: <URL:http://www.emapadvertising.com> [Accessed 31-12-01]

²³ Information about *Marie Claire* and *Woman & Home* can be found on the website of their publishing company, IPC Media. Available at: <URL:http://www.marieclaire.co.uk/frameset.html> [Accessed 21-12-01]

²⁴ Information about *B* can be found on the website of its publisher, Attic Futura. Available at: <URL:http://www.atticfutura.co.uk/factfiles.html> [Accessed 31-12-01]

²⁵ Information about *Glamour* obtained via email correspondence with Sally Berkerey at *Glamour*, 02 January 2002 and from the *Glamour* Media Pack.

²⁶ See the *Hello* website. Available at: <URL:http://www.hellomagazine.com/about/index/html> [Accessed 31-12-01]

²⁷ A UK *Economist* reader profile can be downloaded from the *Economist* website. Available at: <URL:http://ads.economist.com/print/reader_pr.htm> [Accessed 31-12-01]

of the adverts in the parallel English corpus is a woman in her twenties or thirties.

The Russian publishers are less likely to offer reader profiles for their magazines. This is perhaps unsurprising, as market research in the Russian Federation is in its relative infancy. The market research company Comcon does, however, give data pertaining to the average age of the readers of eight of the Russian-language magazines featured in the corpora. Most of the Russian readers of *Cosmopolitan*, and *Elle* are aged between twenty and twenty-four; those who read *Ona* and *Burda* are between twenty-five and thirty-four; whilst readers of *Liza*, *Itogi* and *Playboy* are in the thirty-five to forty-four bracket.²⁸ As with the average English reader, I suggest that the Russian reader is a woman in her twenties or thirties.

Some of the English magazines classify their readers as belonging to a certain socio-economic groups, defined by the letters A to E.²⁹ *Company*, *Cosmopolitan* and *She* readers, for example, are ABC1; whereas *Glamour* readers are ABC1C2. I would venture to suggest that all the magazines in the parallel English corpus are aiming at people in the middle and upper groups. An expensive monthly magazine, such as *Red* (£2.80) may be aiming at a higher section of the market than the cheaper *Glamour* (£1.50). The *Economist* at £2.70 each week is targeting A, whereas *Bella* at £0.64 is aiming at the lower C2. The classifications of Russian magazines that I have seen do not use this system, but I suggest that glossy foreign magazines are aiming at the higher earning section of the market as they retail at 80 roubles (£1.85), whereas weeklies such as *Liza*, costing just 14 roubles (£0.32), are aiming at a lower strata of society.³⁰ However, even the relatively cheap magazines in this corpus are still out of the price range of many Russians, who would buy the cheaper newspapers, such as *Izvestija* at 6 roubles (£0.21). A glossy magazine, for example, costs thirteen times the price of a

²⁸ Data online at the Media Atlas website. Available at: <URL:<http://www.mediaatlas.ru>> [Accessed 31-12-01]

²⁹ According to the socio-economic groupings, a person classified A (for example a solicitor) would be the most wealthy, whereas E (someone on a state pension or benefits) would have least money. In order to add more subtlety to the system the letters can be combined, AB for example would be a teacher. In the middle of the classification, that is C, numbers are also added. C1 is a white collar worker of lower middle class; whilst C2 is a blue collar worker, or skilled tradesman. These classifications are based on disposable income and spending patterns of the population and are useful when targeting a particular market.

³⁰ Out-of-date glossy-magazines can be bought in Russia at reduced prices.

newspaper, and a weekly magazine twice as much. In the UK, when compared with the cost of a daily newspaper such as *The Independent* (£0.50), an expensive glossy is five and a half times as expensive and a weekly, one and a quarter.³¹ Magazines, then, are more of a luxury in Russia, than in the UK, and the average reader of one of the Russian-magazines (for they are almost all of the glossy-foreign kind) is likely to have a higher relative disposable income than her English counter-part.

With the target market clearly defined, advertisers can ensure that suitable products are promoted at that particular market.

4.7 Product Classifications

Products can be broadly divided into goods or services. A service is an intangible bundle of benefits that may or may not be physical, are temporary in nature, and come from completion of a task, such as a haircut, travel and insurance (Arens and Bovée 1994: G-19). Goods, however, are tangible. This study focuses on goods rather than services. Goods can be further classified as consumer goods (used in daily life), or industrial goods (used to produce other products). Consumer goods are discussed here. Consumer goods can be further sub-classified depending on the purchasing habits. There are three types of classification:

Convenience Goods: those goods which do not require much thought as they are bought frequently (such as toilet paper and newspapers).

Shopping Goods: those goods which consumers spend more time thinking about, and may involve comparisons on price, brand image and quality (such as clothing and furniture).

Speciality Goods: those products with unique characteristics that the consumers will make special efforts to buy them even if they are more expensive (such as stereo components and high fashion).

(Arens and Bovée 1994: 156)

Within my corpora, the goods advertised are either shopping or speciality goods, there are no convenience goods. One of the reasons for not including convenience goods is that they tend to be necessities, such as basic foodstuffs. Food is extremely culture bound (with the exception, perhaps, of McDonalds,

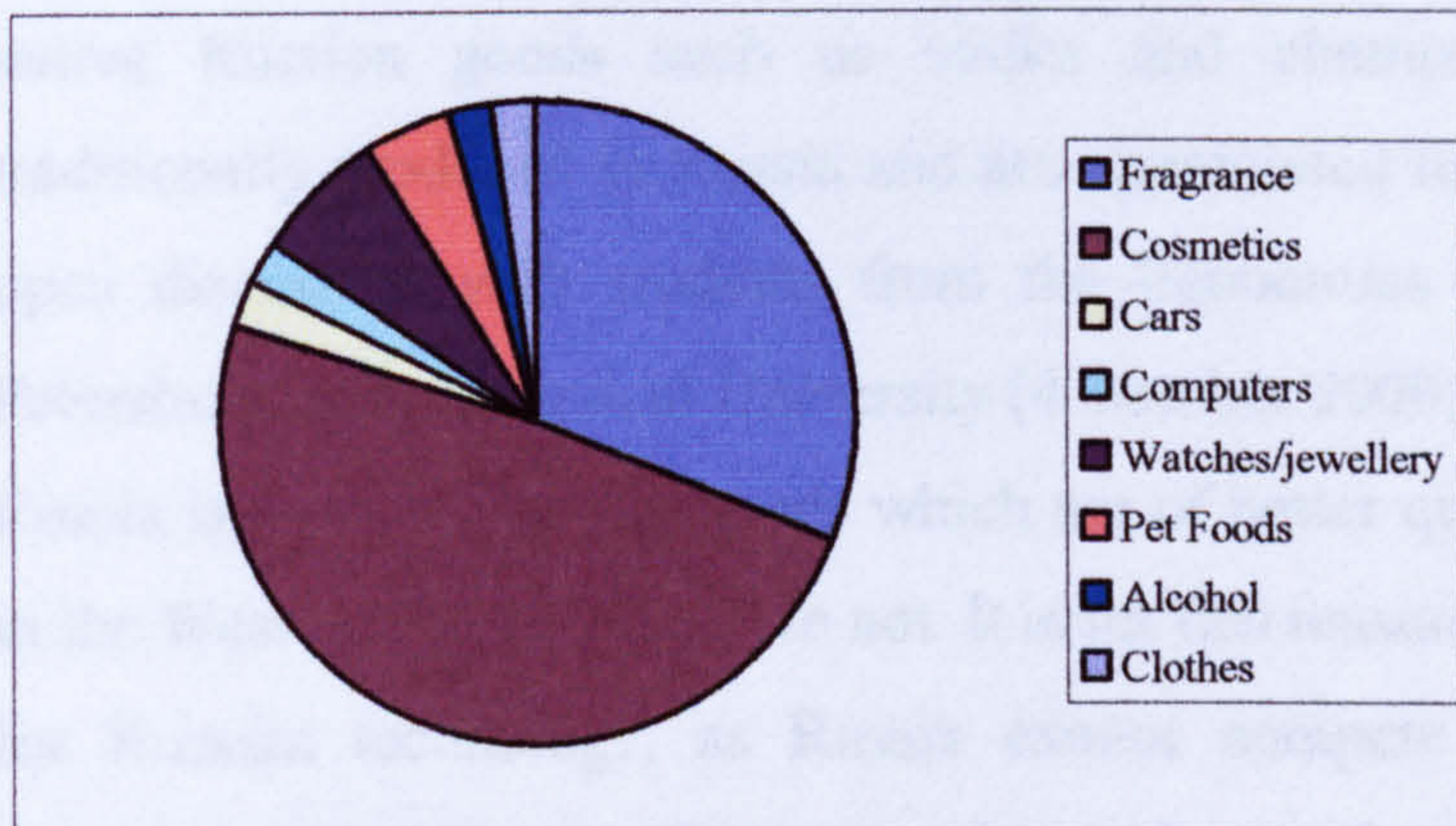
³¹ The prices of the magazines and newspapers are from January 2002 and the currency conversion between Russian roubles and Sterling was conducted on 25 January 2002.

Coca-Cola and Pizza Hut) and the adverts tend to be localized, rather than standardized and are not translated.

4.7.1 Types of Good in the Corpora

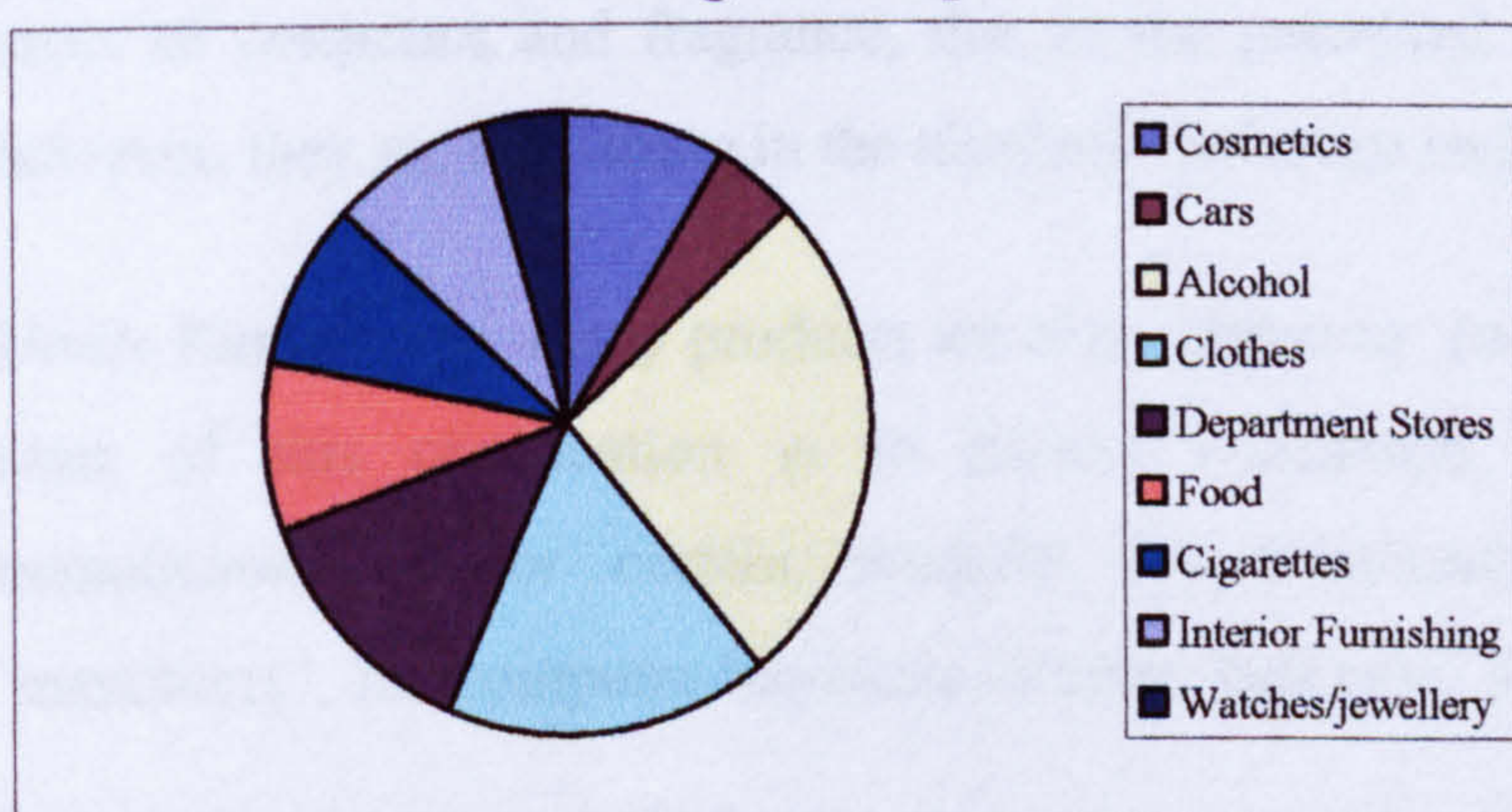
The pie-chart shows the types of good present in the parallel corpus.

The Goods in the Parallel Corpus



What is striking about this chart is the dominance of beauty products. The largest category, totalling almost half of the products advertised, is that of cosmetics including lipsticks, nail varnish, hair colorants and skin cream and the second largest category is fragrance. The goods are aiming to improve the potential consumer's image through the use of cosmetics, new clothes, cars and jewellery and all are luxury rather than necessities (with the pet foods being advertised as premium products).

The Goods in the Monolingual Corpus



The second chart shows the distribution of goods in the monolingual Russian corpus. What is immediately evident is that the distribution of products is more

even than in the parallel corpus. Cosmetics play a less important role, and fragrance does not feature at all. The Russian market is particularly receptive to foreign cosmetics and fragrances. In 1998, it was believed that Russian cosmetics were disadvantaged because of their unattractive packaging and limited range of product lines in comparison to those produced abroad (Kamayeva 1998). The largest category is that of alcoholic beverages, due perhaps to the success of native Russian goods such as vodka and champagne, which have been traditionally produced in Russia and are appreciated for their quality. During an open discussion with students from the Economics Department at the Saint Petersburg State Technical University (4 October 2000), the point was raised that Russia is aware of having goods which are of better quality than those produced in the West and some which are not. It is for this reason that there are few adverts for Russian technology, as Russia cannot compete with Western or Asian manufacturers; however there are adverts for goods of which the Russians are proud, such as beer, dairy products and chocolate. This observation seems to be substantiated through analysis of the types of good in the monolingual and parallel corpora. The monolingual Russian corpus has product categories for department stores (this is more specifically a service, however, the department stores are advertising ranges of exclusive, designer clothing), interior furnishing and cigarettes which are not found in the parallel corpus. Some of the native adverts feature goods which are of Western origin, for example the Western clothes available in the department stores, or the French lingerie available at a lingerie retailer. It appears that Western goods have cornered the market in the areas of cosmetics and fragrance, due to the perceived quality of the makes; however, they are less strong in the alcoholic beverage and food markets.

Under Russian law, many products are also subject to 'certification'. One of the aims of this certification is to protect consumers against unscrupulous manufacturers.³² For certain products this certification is *objazatel'naja* 'mandatory', for computer hardware, leather footwear, furniture and ships, for

³² Chapter I – *Obščie položenija*, Article One – *Ponjatie sertifikacii* of the Russian Federation Certification Law. State Duma, 1995. *Rossijskaja federacija zakon o sertifikacii produkty i uslug* [online]. Available at:
<URL:http://www.tl.ru/%7Epsp/sert_law/sertifik.htm> [Accessed 7 May 2002]

example.³³ When certification is mandatory, it is prohibited to advertise without the necessary certificate.³⁴ For other products, certification is *dobrovol'naja* 'voluntary'. The certification is carried out by an organization independent from the manufacturer and a certificate is issued if the product meets the necessary requirements. The benefit of the certification system is that consumers are reassured that products with a certificate have undergone a certain level of testing. Consumers are likely to buy a certified product over one that does not have a certificate, meaning that most Russian adverts carry the phrase *tovar sertificirovan* 'certified product' to mark them as products which have been granted the certificate, be it mandatory or voluntary.

The next stage is to produce the advert itself.

4.8 The Advert

A printed advert is typically made up of a number of standard components. These are detailed by Leech (1966: 59) as the following:

Headline

[Illustration(s)]

Body Copy: The main part of the advertising message, often divided into various sections under subheads.

Signature line: A mention of the brand-name, often accompanied by a price-tag, slogan, trade-mark, or picture of the brand pack.

Standing details: Cut-out coupons, and strictly totalitarian information in small print, usually appearing unchanged on a series of different advertisements – the address of the firm, how to obtain further information; legal footnotes; etc.

Of these parts the headline and signature are the least dispensable,³⁵ the other components can be, and often are, omitted. The Russian adverts in the corpora are more likely to give details about where the product can be purchased.³⁶ The

³³ A categorized list of product types requiring mandatory certification can be found online. Available at:

<URL:<http://www.bisnis.doc.gov/bisnis/COUNTRY/9807CRT2.htm>> [Accessed 9 April 2002]

³⁴ Chapter II – *Objazatel'naja sertifikacija*, Article Seven – *Objazatel'naja sertifikacija* of the Russian Federation Certification Law. State Duma, 1995. *Rossijskaja federacija zakon o sertifikacii produkty i uslug* [online]. Available at:

<URL:http://www.tl.ru/%7Epsp/sert_law/sertifik.htm> [Accessed 7 May 2002]

³⁵ They can, of course, be removed (Silk Cut's cigarette adverts, for example), although they are those elements least likely to be eliminated.

³⁶ The respondents to my questionnaire expressed the view that these elements were necessary in a good advert, see appendix five.

way in which these elements are presented also varies. The component parts used to create the structure can be loosely classed as visual and verbal devices.

4.8.1 Visual Devices

The most important visual device in a printed advert is the image. Potential customers look at the picture before paying attention to any other part of the advert, therefore it must be attention-grabbing.

Adverts can use realistic images to persuade people to buy through the portrayal of perfect people in a perfect world. As Berger (1972: 134) says 'the spectator-buyer is meant to envy herself as she will become if she buys the product.' Advertisers can twist reality to make the advert more memorable, as in a recent advert for Sony PlayStation, where a woman's face was manipulated by computer graphics, so that it looked almost real, but not quite. Messaris (1997: 21–33) notes some of the pictorial devices used by advertisers to attract attention: shooting adverts with actors' backs to the camera thus emphasizing the importance of the scenery; showing back views of naked bodies, above the waist, making it possible to show nudity without causing offence; positioning the camera close to attract more attention, or to create the feeling of action; including direct gaze, giving the impression that the actor is speaking directly to the receivers. Williamson says these direct gaze shots, which she terms 'the absent man', often have sexual undertones. Analysing one such advert, Williamson (1978: 80) writes: 'The woman is looking at a man (who may coincide with the reader)'. The man is able to fantasize that he is part of the advert. Direct view shots have been traditionally aimed at men, although in recent years there has been an increase in adverts encouraging interaction with male models. The sexually appetizing appearance of models is also an important means of evoking emotion; for example full lips, large hips and small waists all of which are sexual attractors.

Although verbal devices are good at making expressions explicit, images are better at expressing indirect meanings. By placing signs together, advertisers can reinforce what is written in the text, or implicitly suggest things that could not be expressed in words. Goddard (1998: 116) notes how useful symbols are in advertising: 'they produce a useful fluidity. Loose associations are much more

effective than water-tight definitions.’ Dyer (1988: 130) also uses ‘liquid’ metaphors to describe how she understands images: ‘All images are made up of a number of “floating” signs and subject to a variety of interpretations.’ Messaris (1997: 182–203) offers his own typology of how meaning is transferred through images:

Proposition	How Meaning is Transferred
Causal Connections	A product is shown with the people, lifestyle and/or images that advertisers want the receiver to connect with the product.
Contrasts	A product is judged against something else. Contrasts are very powerful at giving ‘proof’ of factual claims.
Analogies	A product is compared to something else, for example a car and a lion. These analogies act like similes.
Generalizations	Using a number of images to offer a general message. These messages have the capacity to communicate to more people.

Since images have the capacity to carry many meanings, advertisers often use text to make messages explicit. They may, however, decide not to do this and leave some messages implied in the image. This is especially useful when reference is made to certain concepts that are not acceptable to the general public. Implicit (or covert) reference is often made to social status and sexual attraction. Through images, advertisers imply things that they would not be allowed to write in the text; and cannot be held responsible when consumers’ lifestyles are not improved as they anticipated.

In addition to the image, adverts contain a number of other visual devices, such as layout, typography, advert framing and the use of colour. Williamson (1978: 20) suggests that colour is used to tell stories; connect objects with other objects, people or the world; and co-ordinate the whole advert. The connections made by colours are not made in the verbal part of the advert and are often irrelevant to it.

The visual elements are of great importance in contemporary advertising texts, and although I will be focusing primarily on the verbal elements, visuals have a significant role to play and are worthy of the same rigorous research as the written word.

4.8.2 Verbal Devices

In his introduction to the seminal *English in Advertising – A Linguistic Study of Advertising in Great Britain* (1966), Leech highlights the huge repertoire of

linguistic choices available to copywriters when creating advertising material. Copywriters have the whole language system at their disposal, and to persuade potential customers to purchase, they manipulate language in many interesting and varied ways. The vast number of linguistic devices open to copywriters means that adverts contain ripe material for academic analysis and research into this field has been wide-ranging. Leech's own work, describing late 1960s British advertising, draws a number of interesting conclusions about the linguistic categories he analysed (clauses, verbal groups, nominal groups, words and compounds, cohesion and vocabulary), for example the high frequency of imperative clauses, the use of complicated pre-modification, and the predominance of the adjective *new*. Leech offers what he believes to be both typical and conventional in British adverts, but concedes that the genre is prone to change, hence part three 'Change and Creativity' discussing the novel and unconventional in British advertising, that which deviates from the norms set out in the previous part. Leech also briefly touches on the history of advertising and the use of rhyme and rhetorical devices. Although much has changed since Leech wrote this book, many of the structures remain the same and what Leech offers is a comprehensive way of noting them and an understanding of why certain linguistic structures have been chosen over others. Leech has produced a clear and extremely influential work in this field providing a basis for many subsequent studies.

Myers (1994) acknowledges the extensive analysis carried out by Leech in his own book *Words in Ads*. He focuses on adverts because of 'their complexity, their ubiquity and their importance in any model of how we communicate' (1994: vii). He starts at the bottom and works up, beginning with letters and sounds (for example, alliteration, assonance and rhyme), then the words used and the associations they carry (such as homophones, puns and foreign words). He moves onto the structure and types of sentence used, the different modes of address found in the advertising texts and the varieties of language styles employed. He then investigates the ways in which adverts are read in context – through the interpretation of implied meanings, non-literal meanings and the relationship between words and pictures. The analyses are then applied to three issues of social concern: the environment, AIDS and smoking. The role of the

book is to investigate the importance of language in communication and, in this respect, moves away from the dryer, purely linguistic approach adopted by Leech.

Cook (2001) extends the canvas further in his book *The Discourse of Advertising*, by examining the social function of advertising in contemporary society. Like Myers, Cook offers a bottom-up approach to the analysis of adverts. The first part deals with how the effectiveness of an advert can be altered by the substance (the form of the advert: billboard, flyer, magazine advert) and the surrounding (where the advert is situated: on a bus ticket, the position in a magazine). The interaction of words with music and picture, and the extensive use of paralanguage, phonology and graphology are discussed. The second part deals more specifically with the words in advertising texts where he examines the denotational and connotational meanings of words and phrases, the uses of prosody, parallelism and poetry and the linguistic devices (with particular reference to pronouns) which create coherence in advertising texts. The final part deals with the people involved in advertising communication, for example the sender's stance towards the addressees and the way that addressees hear adverts (their observations and judgements). From his analysis he draws a list of what he calls 'prototypical rather than definitive' features of adverts (2001: 219). These features are rated according to their level of controversy. His features include such observations as 'ads are presented in short bursts', 'ads contain and foreground extensive and innovative use of paralanguage', moving towards the more contentious 'ads use heteroglossic narrative'. These observations are valid and form the basis of further, more specific studies. The book ends with a speculative list of prototypical features which go some way towards defining the discourse of advertising. Cook believes that advertising can redefine ideas about language, discourse, art and society. The sheer volume of advertising material in our lives, the complexity of the discourse, combined with the impression that advertising has on us (be it good or bad) makes it an area which deserves study.

Other authors have been less comprehensive, concentrating on specific aspects of advertising language; so we find articles published on the noun phrase in advertising English (Rush 1998); the use of ellipsis (Garnham and Oakhill 1992);

the poetics of advertising (Moeran 1985); the use of puns (Görlach 1994; Redfern 1982; Tanaka 1992 and 1994); the use of foreign languages in adverts (Tanaka 1994, Takashi 1990) and language play in product names (Nilsen 1979); to name but a few. In a Russian context, Koxtev's 1997 *Reklama: iskusstvo slova* 'Advertising: the art of words' deals specifically with language. Written primarily as a guide for those creating advertising texts for the Russian market, it argues that writing advertising texts requires an understanding of the richness and possibilities of the language in which you are writing. The book covers the following topics: the use of correct grammar and appropriate style in advertising, the role of associations (for example logical, figurative and humorous), the composition of advertising, the use of dynamic syntax (including the use of rhetorical figures), functional style and its role in advertising and finally ten devices for a successful advert (such as using expressive language, direct speech and creating mystery). The book is written as a reaction to the low-standard of advertising texts and as a result tends to be prescriptive; despite this criticism, Koxtev does offer a detailed account of advertisements and his book is rich in examples. Other studies into the linguistic elements of Russian adverts include a discussion of slogans (Litvinova 1996); the expression of values (Pesonen 1997); and elements of persuasion (Ryazanova-Clarke 1996).

Even this brief overview of some of the verbal devices analysed in advertising texts highlights how much research material an average advert contains. It would be impossible to cover the complete range of verbal devices that are used in contemporary adverts within the remit of a PhD thesis: therefore I have limited myself to three broad categories.

4.9 The Verbal Devices Analysed in this Thesis

The postcolonial approach proposed in the previous chapter suggests that current Russian advertising falls into the post-colonial state of evolution. Within the post-colonial state the colonizer is less dominant, and the former colonized is forming a new identity in light of the colonial experience, which often results in hybrid forms displaying elements of both colonizer and colonized. The data for this study are translated adverts, comparison between the translated Russian adverts and their English-language originals highlights examples of

transculturation. Transculturation is used to describe how the subordinated groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them from the dominant culture (Pratt 1992: 6). So, an investigation of the translated Russian adverts analyses what is taken from the original English-language source advert, what is omitted, what is adapted and what is absorbed and appropriated. The fusion of the colonizer and the colonized in the translated adverts, often called syncretism (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 229), is the focus of the remainder of this thesis. The analysis concentrates on the continuing influence of Western advertising traditions on Russian adverts, explores how certain traditions are appropriated to suit the Russian experiences and investigates where other Western models are abandoned for those more typically Russian. The results are a mixture of styles and techniques which both mark the beginnings of a new Russian advertising genre and epitomize the post-colonial state.

Transculturation will be investigated in three different areas introduced below. A more detailed discussion of the rationale behind my choice of topic and the methodology employed to carry out the research can be found in the chapters which follow, as I believe this is its most logical home.

4.9.1 Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Headlines

The headline is the verbal element of an advert used to attract the reader's attention, impacting on potential customers and encouraging them to read on. One of the ways of increasing the potential impact of advertising headlines is through the use of figures of rhetoric, which deviate from what is usually expected in language, for example by employing excessive regularity through the use of repetition, or by twisting the meaning of words, as in a metaphor. By classifying all these devices together in a rhetorical figure taxonomy (with some reference to semantics), I show the range of strategies open to copywriters and how language is manipulated as a means of persuasion. Having devised a clear and logical taxonomy for this range of strategies, I set about analysing the rhetorical figures in my corpora. Having collated all the information, I look at the frequencies of usage of different figures across the corpora, before concentrating on how the figures in the original English-language adverts have been translated into Russian. These results give indications of those figures of rhetoric which are

difficult to translate, highlight preferences for the Russian and English corpora and emphasize the relative power of Western and native Russian rhetorical tradition.

4.9.2 The Visibility of the Linguistic Other

One of the major criticisms of contemporary Russian advertising is the sense of ‘foreignness’ that it conveys; here the emphasis is on the use of linguistic Otherness within the analysed texts, through non-Cyrillic text and borrowings from English. The linguistic Other is visible in transferred English words, those that have been transcribed and through a range of borrowings from English. Having identified the borrowings, I attempt to explain why they have been employed. Brand names are an interesting example where the Otherness of the Western corporations is particularly perceptible. The brand name is the feature that differentiates one product from another on the market and advertisers go to great lengths to ensure that their brand names are memorable, using a wide range of linguistic devices to create meaningful names (Nilsen 1979). In a case study I investigate the ways in which these meaningful names are transferred into Russian. Another case study looks at the treatment of colours within the corpora, as these highlight cultural differences.

4.9.3 Relationship Building

In order to encourage potential customers to purchase, advertisers often affect a relationship between themselves and the text receiver. The strategies employed in building these relationships give indications of the level of power that the corporations and the dominant culture (in this case Western) have over the target culture. When establishing relationships, advertisers can speak to the consumer through the use of direct address, jussive and interrogative clauses; personalize their companies by employing either inclusive or exclusive *we*, or speaking with a company voice; or choose to speak through an intermediary, for example product personification, celebrities and specialists. Each of these methods of establishing a relationship is discussed and comparisons made as to whether the relationships sought in the source advert are maintained when the advert is translated into Russian and if the changes in the relationships reflect a more general pattern in Russian, or a trend specific to the genre of advertising.

4.10 Concluding Remarks

As has been shown above, the themes on which I have chosen to focus in this thesis are just three of many possible avenues of study open to me as a researcher. These themes, however, have not been chosen altogether arbitrarily, as they all offer ripe material for discussing the influence of the colonizer and the colonized in the translated adverts.

In discussing in detail the media in which the adverts in the corpora appeared, and the range of products that have been represented, I have clearly defined the corpora that will be used in the rest of the thesis.³⁷ For reference, a tabulated overview of the corpora can be found in appendix six, p. 339.

In offering a top-down description of advertising, I have shown that the verbal devices to be discussed in the rest of this thesis are only a small part in the whole of the advertising genre and have demonstrated how all the elements of advertising fit together. Although I investigate only three types of device in particular, I do so with the full understanding that they are not isolated, abstract linguistic units; but part of a wider, living, genre. Detailing the way that advertising is created, both for domestic and overseas markets, highlights the interaction of those involved in the advertising process, from the advert producer (the advertising agency), to the sender (the corporation), to the addressee (the chosen target market) and finally the receiver (anyone who reads the advert).

³⁷ I feel that many of the authors who have written about the translation of advertising have not provided enough information about their corpora, something I have attempted to remedy with my own description.

5. Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Headlines

5.1 Headlines

5.1.1 What are Headlines?

Headlines are the words placed in the leading position of adverts which are designed and located to be the first things that receivers read. They are therefore expected to fulfil certain aims: headlines should attract attention, engage the audience, be quickly understood, lead into the body copy and present the selling message (Arens and Bovée 1994: 249) – a tall order for what is usually a relatively short piece of text. Longer and less important sub-headlines follow, reinforcing the main headline’s message.

5.1.2 The Function of Headlines

Due to their prominence on the page and the function they are expected to fulfil, headlines are an extremely important element of a print advertisement. Rossiter and Percy (1997: 296) argue that they are the second most important part of a magazine advert after the picture; of the forty-nine percent of magazine readers who look at the advertising image, thirty percent will go on to read the headline. Bhatia (2000: 202) however, argues that although pictures can arouse curiosity, they can miss crucial links with a product in the absence of attention-catching phrases referring to the product; headlines, therefore, are extremely valuable assets for adverts, the importance of which should not be underestimated.

5.1.3 Headline Types

The type of headline employed changes according to the advertised product and the perception of the target market. There are many ways of classifying headline types, one simplified classification, suggested by Arens and Bovée (1994: 252–53), is tabulated below. The authors explain, however, that many headlines combine more than one of these types:

Headline Type	Characteristics
Benefit	Promises that using the product or service will be rewarding.
News/information	Announces news or information.
Provocative	Provokes curiosity, stimulates questions and thoughts.
Question	Encourages the reader to search for an answer.
Command	Orders the reader to do something.

Although advertising experts say there are no rules for writing good headlines, some are happy to offer recommendations; Ogilvy, for example, suggests that brand names should always be present, grammatically negative headlines should be avoided and headlines should end with a lure to read further (1964: 106–07). Rossiter and Percy (1997: 301) believe that, for low-involvement products, headlines should be one to eight words, whereas for high-involvement products they should be shorter, at one to five words;¹ headlines should include personal reference words and nouns. Ogilvy listed these recommendations from years of experience, whereas Rossiter and Percy used quantitative research for their compilation.

Given that the average time spent looking at a magazine advert is only 1.65 seconds, seventy percent of which is at the picture (Rossiter and Percy 1997: 295), headlines have to work quickly and effectively to fulfil their aim of encouraging receivers to read further. In order to attract the readers' attention, advertisers have to choose the words most likely to have a persuasive impact. Linguists writing about advertising have demonstrated some of the persuasive devices open to advertisers: Cook (2001) identifies parallelism, metaphor, metonymy, homophones, puns, parody and rhyme; Myers (1994) includes alliteration, assonance, rhyme, homophones, question forms, ellipsis, parallelism and puns. In a general survey of the field, Brierley (1995) lists language games, repetition, similes, parallelism, paradox, omission and ambiguity; while Tanaka (1994: 68) concentrates on the use of puns which, she suggests, 'attract attention because they frustrate initial expectations of relevance and create a sense of surprise'. Puns are more memorable since 'a pun takes longer to process, it sustains the addressee's attention over a period of time, and once comprehended it is often remembered' (Tanaka 1994: 69). These authors appear to be referring to language which departs from convention. Although, as Cook points out, the notion of deviation in linguistics is particularly problematic as it assumes a language norm, I agree with him when he says:

¹ High-involvement adverts are for high-risk purchases, the adverts are usually aimed at a new audience (for example, a DVD player). Low-involvement adverts are for low-risk purchases and here the audience is familiar with the product (such as milk) (Rossiter and Percy 1997: 213).

despite the absence of any rigorous definition of norm or deviation, or any indisputable method for identifying instances of them, it remains true that there is substantial agreement among speakers of a language about instances of both. (2001: 142–43)

This makes the idea of deviation valid, albeit subjective. In referring to examples of deviation, these authors are alluding to the use of rhetorical figures which are defined, according to Quintilian's use of the word *figura* as, 'a form of speech artfully varied from common usage' (quoted in Corbett 1990: 425).² Rhetorical figures occur when an 'expression deviates from expectation, [but] the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty' (McQuarrie and Mick 1996: 425), and, in this sense, they are 'mock violations of a norm', violating 'the "normal" use of language or the norms of logic, morality, social rules and physical reality' (Dyer 1988: 160).

5.2 Rhetorical Figures

As far back as Aristotle's seminal *The Art of Rhetoric* (*Tehnē Rētorikis*) written c. 350 BC, people have appreciated the power of rhetoric as a means of persuasion.³ In Classical Greek society, there was demand for great orators and rhetoricians who were greatly respected.⁴ In reply to his own question 'What, then, can oratorical imagery effect?', Longinus says:

Well, it is able in many ways to infuse vehemence and passion into spoken words, while more particularly when it is combined with the argumentative passages it not only persuades the hearer but actually makes him its slave (quoted in Corbett 1990: 424).⁵

Rhetoric, however, has also been attacked, with the most vicious assault coming from Plato in his dialogue the *Georgias*. Plato classifies rhetoric as a spurious art, like cookery or cosmetics, not a genuine art such as medicine or justice (Vickers

² Quintillian was the author of the most comprehensive treaty on the teaching of oratory, *Institutio Oratoria*.

³ Aristotle's work is a manual in the art of persuasion which focuses on a deep understanding of human nature (Aristotle 1991).

⁴ In Classical Greece, criminal cases were brought against citizens who appeared in person to argue their case, so the ability to speak well was important for Athenians. It was also an important skill for politicians who wanted to speak at the Assembly or Council (Vickers 1988: 6–7).

⁵ Longinus wrote in the late first century and according to Vickers (1988: 51) was the author of the most sensitive application of rhetoric to literary criticism, *On Sublimity*, either in antiquity or since.

1988: 98) and identifies it with both corruption and flattery.⁶ Plato's criticisms marked the beginnings of a long battle between philosophy and rhetoric that has continued throughout history and has given rhetoric negative connotations of insincerity, mere display, artifice or ornament without substance; yet rhetorical figures are still regularly found in all areas of persuasive discourse, such as political speeches and propaganda, and its use is flourishing in advertising texts, enriching advertising copy.⁷

Rhetorical figures are frequently employed in advertising since they both impress and persuade. When persuasion is the main objective, the method in which the message is expressed 'may be more important than its propositional content' (McQuarrie and Mick. 1996: 424). In advertising, strict regulations stipulate that any information imparted is legally binding and, therefore, verifiably correct. As a result, a car may be advertised as 'reassuring' rather than with the empirical claim that it is 'reliable'. The car is being personified, given human qualities. The emphasis shifts from the concrete to a more abstract, emotional level. Rhetorical figures can 'add strength and impact to persuasive oratory'(Dyer 1988: 158), and 'credibility to our arguments' (Corbett 1990: 424). Advertisers deliberately set out to attract and retain attention, and the use of rhetorical figures is calculated to have a specific effect on the potential consumer. Rhetorical figures require more processing effort than non-rhetorical language and appear more interesting and exciting than conventional language. Advertisers deploy them in an attempt to keep the attention of the receiver, who they assume has a low attention span. Barthes (quoted in McQuarrie and Mick 1996: 427) also claims that rhetoric yields a 'pleasure of the text', which is the rewarding feeling of having processed a complicated set of symbols; interpreting the rhetorical figures makes readers feel intelligent, it gives them pleasure and they are more likely to react positively towards the product. If rhetorical figures have such an impact on receivers, it is understandable that they are so frequently used in advertising and empirical analysis has shown that they are an effective means of persuasion.

⁶ Vickers (1988: 147) suggests that Plato's attack on rhetoric was due, in part, to its power to win conviction in political life. Rhetoric was a tool of Athenian democracy, towards which Plato was hostile, and was therefore as corrupt as its users.

⁷ Vickers (1988) sets out to defend the longstanding prejudices against rhetoric charting its beginnings in the classical world, to its use in modern novels.

5.3 The Importance of Rhetorical Figures in Adverts

McQuarrie and Mick (1999) carried out experiments to test the impact of rhetorical figures on readers and discovered that visual rhetoric was a subtle yet powerful device capable of creating a more positive attitude towards the product. They noted, however, that visual rhetoric was more difficult to understand for people from different cultural backgrounds.

Tom and Eves (1999) carried out research to report on the effectiveness of advertisements that use rhetorical devices, compared to those that do not. Their data came from the sixth, seventh and eighth editions of the book *Which Ad Pulled Best*. In each edition, Gallup and Robinson provide the performance scores for fifty pairs of adverts within the same product categories, however for this study only the forty consumer adverts were considered. The performance scores cover both recall and persuasion levels.

Performance Measurements	use rhetorical figures	not use rhetorical figures
recall	48	21
persuasion	40	24

Source: Tom and Eves (1999: 42)

From the three editions there were 120 advert pairs, forty-five percent of which had rhetorical figures. They found that the adverts displaying rhetorical figures perform better in terms of recall and persuasion than those that do not, as the table above shows. The results do not indicate whether rhetorical figures are more effective for any particular product category, or that rhetorical devices differ by product.

5.4 Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Texts

The persuasive impact of rhetorical figures has led authors to investigate their usage in modern advertising and offer detailed taxonomies of the figures most frequently employed.

5.4.1 Visual Figures

The first person to categorize systematically the range of rhetorical figures in advertising texts was Durand in his 1983 study 'Rhetoric and the Advertising Image' where he demonstrates how advertising images display a comprehensive

typology of rhetorical devices. Having investigated a corpus of over a thousand adverts, Durand (1983: 29) notes:

All the classical figures of rhetoric can be found in advertising images, and most of the “creative ideas” behind the better advertisements can be interpreted as conscious or unconscious transpositions of the classical figures of rhetoric.

Thirty-one classical figures were noted as being relevant to advertising images. Durand (1983: 34) classified these as rhetorical operations of adjunction, deletion, substitution and rearrangement and according to relations between elements in the advertising image, that is relations of identity, similarity, difference, opposition and false homology.⁸ This classification system has been important in the field of advertising and its influence can be seen in the work of such authors as McQuarrie and Mick, and Leigh, who will be discussed in more detail below.

Scott (1994) also argues for a theory of visual rhetoric. The underlying assumption that pictures are reflections of reality, she suggests, is now outdated. Scott proposes that many adverts, which might easily be dismissed as being devoid of information, are actually complex figurative arguments. Scott’s system of visual rhetoric operates on three levels: invention, the concept or message that the advertisers are trying to convey about their product; arrangement, the ordering of the visual argument; and argument delivery, the manner in which the object or proposition is delivered (1994: 26–29). Scott believes that a formalized rhetorical theory of advertising images would allow people to study their function more thoroughly, benefiting the fields of consumer research, persuasion, imagery and would be useful to marketers and consumers.

5.4.2 Linguistic Figures

Two major studies into the use of linguistic rhetorical figures were both carried out by American scholars.

In 1994, Leigh compiled a comprehensive taxonomy of rhetorical features based on classical rhetoric and previous studies into rhetorical figures used in advertising. He offers forty-one figures which are divided into tropes and

⁸ Homology – a figure which constitutes a correspondence between the ideas and the way these ideas are expressed (Durand 1983: 60).

grammar structures. The tropes are sub-divided into puns, associations, contradictory associations, 'visual' associations through words, verbal substitutions, exaggerations and understatements and rhetorical questions. The grammar structures comprise word order, deliberate word order, omissions and insertions, repetitions and rhyme (Leigh 1994: 19–22). He then applied his taxonomy to a corpus of over 2400 adverts where he found that in seventy-four percent of cases there was at least one rhetorical figure in the headline, with repetition and pun being used most frequently.

In their 1996 study, McQuarrie and Mick created their own taxonomy of rhetorical features comprising twenty-two figures grouped as being those of repetition, reversal, substitution or destabilisation. Their aim was to provide a framework which integrated a wider range of figures, and contribute to a systematic, conceptual understanding of the rhetorical structure of advertising language (1996: 424). Further study, through the use of consumer response questionnaires, showed that adverts with figures are more memorable than those without.

5.5 Rhetorical Figures in Russian Advertising Texts

Although much of the previous work into rhetorical figures has been carried out by American scholars this does not mean that their use is limited to English-language texts. The Greek rhetorical tradition was well-known in Russia and, in 1748, after a trip abroad, Lomonosov wrote a short guide to rhetoric, *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k'' ritorikě*. Lomonosov saw rhetorical figures as a sign of high style (Kvjatkovskij 1966: 246), and his book on rhetoric was the first printed guide written in Russian on the theory of literature and oratory. It was written to answer the needs of Russian national development and was based on existing Russian oratorical traditions, Western European theory and ancient rhetoric manuals (Morozov 1952: 444–45). Many of the figures highlighted were used and have continued to be used in Russian poetry, folk stories and narratives.

In 1970, Rozental' and Telenkova highlighted the use of *tropy* 'tropes' and *stilističeskie figury* 'stylistic figures' as a feature of publicist style ('journalistic'), the main function of which is persuasion and includes, for example, propaganda, political addresses and newspaper writing (41). They identify twenty-two

izobrazitel'no-vyrazitel'nye sredstva jazyka 'figurative and expressive language means'; eleven tropes and eleven stylistic features. As early as 1978, Koxtev and Rozental' discussed the use of rhetorical figures with particular reference to Soviet advertising, and devoted a chapter of their book *Slovo v reklame* 'Words in adverts' to the *vyrazitel'nye sredstva jazyka* 'expressive language means' (28–38). They begin by quoting the orator Sergeič, who wrote in his 1960 book *Iskusstvo reči na sude* 'The art of speech in the court' that:

Čudesnaja sila krasnorečija zaključaetsja ne tol'ko v tom, čtoby dokazyvat', no i ubeždat', ne tol'ko otvečat' na voprosy rassudka, no i uvlekat' serdca. (quoted in Koxtev and Rozental' 1978: 28).

'The wonderful power of oratory lies not only in its ability to prove, but to convince, not only to reply but to capture the heart.'

The authors suggest that it is the same in adverts where the aim is to carefully select words that will have an effect on readers. They are, however, quick to point out, in accordance with Communist ideology, that:

Takoe upotreblenie vyrazitel'nyx sredst ne možit služit' samocel'ju: ono dolžno ne otvlekat' ot informacii, a privlekat' k nej.

'Such usage of expressive means cannot serve as an end in itself: it must not distract from the information, but draw attention to it.'

The authors offer a number of devices, such as simile, hyperbole, homophones, parallelism, repetition and antithesis; all of which are provided with examples from adverts. In 1997, Koxtev contemporizes the study in *Reklama – iskusstvo slova* 'Advertising – the art of words'. As in Rozental' and Telenkova (1970), Koxtev makes the distinction between tropes and expressive figures. Amongst tropes he identifies epithets, metaphor, personification and references to proverbs, poems and mythology; and the expressive figures include rhetorical questions, gradation and rhetorical appeal. The range of rhetorical figures in the Russian works is similar to that covered in the taxonomies offered by the American scholars; the difference lies in the frequency with which individual figures are used. Koxtev admits that in his book (1997: 31) he does not refer to all the tropes that can be found in advertising, but only those which are most widespread. It therefore seems necessary to construct a taxonomy which can cater for a much broader range of rhetorical figures and one that treats them in a systematic and organized manner.

5.6 Rhetorical Figure Taxonomy

To carry out the analysis of the headlines in my corpora, I have compiled my own taxonomy of rhetorical figures. The literature reviewed above shows that rhetorical figures are often used in advertising texts, although as Crompton and McAlea suggest: ‘their classification in rhetorical terms is probably less familiar than it would be to a medieval or classical author’ (2000: 32); and that ‘those who use language and images to persuade may indeed be ignorant of a classical precedent’ (2000: 33). My aim, then, is to provide a taxonomy of figures which will be a powerful analytical tool, yet accessible to those who do not have a rhetorical studies background. This taxonomy is based, in part, on those produced by Leigh (1994) and McQuarrie and Mick (1996) dealing with advertising texts. I felt, however, that their research did not completely encapsulate my experiences of translated Russian advertising texts. I have, therefore, extended the taxonomy, drawing on the works of other rhetoricians, in particular Anderson (2000), Corbett (1990), Durand (1983), Kvjatkovskij (1966) Nash (1989) and Vickers (1988). I also consulted Burton’s (2001) excellent Internet resource *Silva Rhetoricae*. In addition, I have used work on semantics, Ullman (1983), Wales (1989) and Saaed (1997), to fill the gaps left by rhetoric. The definitions for the rhetorical figures in my taxonomy are based on the work of all the authors noted above and from Smith’s (1992: 1645–57) book on Scripture, or my own definitions after reading these works. There is no universal agreement on definitions for certain figures; and at times I have had to choose one definition over another, or adapt a definition so that it is applicable to my work. An alphabetical list of figures, their definitions and examples from contemporary advertising can be found in appendix seven (pp. 342–48).

When classifying rhetorical figures, the first distinction is between schemes and tropes. A scheme is a deviation from the ordinary pattern or arrangement of words through, for example, excessive regularity. A trope is a deviation from the ordinary and principal significance of a word, producing semantic or lexical deviation. Schemes can be seen as syntactic or discourse-level devices; whilst tropes focus on words. The schemes and tropes undergo further binary division, offering choices at each level.

Diagrams showing the taxonomy of rhetorical figures with the choice between schemes and tropes already made can be found in the appendix seven (pp. 340–41). What follows is a description of these diagrams highlighting the decisions made in its compilation and any problems faced.

The first decision within schemes is whether or not the effect is dependent on word order. Those schemes which are not word order dependent then divide between those which involve omission or insertion of linguistic units. Those schemes which use omission have been further divided into those where the linguistic element is recoverable, *ellipsis*; or where the omitted element is a conjunction, *asyndeton*. *Ellipsis* is a problem figure; linguistic descriptions of *ellipsis*, such as the following ‘the omission from a sentence of material which is logically required to complete its structure’ (Trask 2000: 47), are extremely broad, incorporating a whole range of examples which I do not believe have been introduced for rhetorical effect. The definition offered in Burton’s (2001) *Silva Rhetoricae* is also vague, ‘omission of a word or words readily implied by the context’. A definition of *ellipsis* is needed which can differentiate between ‘Seems we have a problem’ and the *Independent* newspaper’s provocative headline ‘It is. Are you?’. I have, therefore, suggested the following definition ‘the deliberate omission of a word or words which the reader is invited to supply, often by referring to the context’. The schemes which are not word order dependent and use insertion are further divided into those which use repetition and those where the flow is interrupted by the insertion of a non-repetitive element, *parenthesis*; as the name suggests the verbal unit is usually inserted in brackets. The range of schemes of repetition is much wider. The first choice, however, is between the repetition of the same word or part of word and synonyms. When words with similar meaning are repeated this is an example of *synonymia*. If the repetition is not based on the use of synonyms, then there is a choice between the repetition of part of a word and the repetition of a word. In part-of-word repetition, this can occur at the end of the word, word final position or in another non-final position. If the repetition is at the end of the word, it can occur within a clause giving *internal rhyme*, or between words at the ends of clauses giving *end rhyme*. If the repetition occurs with words which look as though they should rhyme (such as *heard* and *beard*), but do not; then it is an

example of *visual internal rhyme* (rhyme within a clause) or *visual end rhyme* (rhyme at the end of clauses). For those figures which work on part of a word in a non-final position, the choice is between those which repeat the root of the word, *polyptoton* and those which do not. For those which do not repeat the root, there is the repetition of consonants or the repetition of stressed vowels (*assonance*). When the consonants in the initial or medial position are repeated (*alliteration*), I have suggested that the repetition has to be present in two or more adjacent words within a clause to qualify as a rhetorical figure. When the same letter is repeated, but the letters do not have the same sounds (such as the <c> in *club*, *circus* and *church*), then this is an example of *visual alliteration*. Many of the figures which work on the repetition of parts of words are more usually associated with spoken, rather than the written language which is the focus of this thesis. Newmark (1998), however, suggests that poetry undergoes 'phonic' reading where the sounds of what is read remain in the mind; as opposed to normal, 'efficient', rapid reading, where the sense 'eliminates' the sound. I believe that advertising texts are read in the same way, and referring to figures which use sound is both justified and necessary. When the repetition involves the whole word, the first choice depends on whether the word is a conjunction or not. The repetition of conjunctions is *polysyndeton*. For the repetition of those words which are not conjunctions, the repetition can either occur within or across clauses. When the whole word is repeated within a clause, the words can be positioned adjacently which is an example of *epizeuxis*, or intermittently, demonstrating *ploche*. When the repetition occurs across clauses, it can be fulfilled by the switching of participants across the clauses, *antimetabole*; or by the repetition of words at the ends of clauses. The repetition can occur at adjacent ends of clauses, *anadiplosis*, where the last word of one clause is repeated at the beginning of another. The repetition can also occur at corresponding ends of clauses. If the repeated word appears at the ends of successive clauses, this is an example of *epistrophe*. When the repeated word is at the beginnings of successive clauses this is *anaphora*. The rhetorical definition of *anaphora* differs from that used in linguistics, where *anaphora* is defined as a form of coreference where features cannot be semantically interpreted without referring to some other feature in the text. With anaphoric relations it is necessary to look backwards in the text for interpretation; in contrast to

cataphoric relations which look forward (Crystal 1997: 119). The schemes of repetition, then, are an important element in this taxonomy and account for sixteen different figures.

For the schemes which are based on the word order, the first decision is between those where the word order is balanced within or across clauses; or where the words are ordered, that is those clauses which have been put together with a specific effect in mind. For the schemes of balanced word order, the choice is between the exact balancing of word order across clauses, *isocolon*, or word order which is nearly balanced and demonstrates marked parallelism, *parison*. Where the words have been ordered, the decision is between those which are inverted, *anastrophe*, and those which are not. If the ideas in the clause are contrasting, it is an example of *antithesis*. When the ideas are not contrasting, the choice is between those clauses where ideas are ordered in increasing importance, *climax*; or where two coordinate elements are placed side by side and the latter explains the former, *apposition*.

Turning to tropes, the first decision is whether the figure relies on dual meanings for its effect. If the trope involves dual meaning, the choice is between tropes of word play and associations. Word play is a particularly difficult category to define. The definitions for the individual figures in this category do not come exclusively from classical rhetoric, as the figures used were not specific enough to define the range of devices possible; instead I used literature relating to semantics or more specifically humour, although word play is not necessarily humorous. The first decision is between word play based on reminiscent forms or those which use homonymous or polysemous expressions. When the forms are reminiscent, the choice is between the substitution of one sound, syllable, or letter to create a double meaning, *antisthecon*; and the use of shared elements but in a different order, *metathesis*. An example of *metathesis* would be 'go help me sod' rather than 'so help me God'; this is often referred to as a *Spoonerism*, however the difference is that whilst a *Spoonerism* is unintentional, *metathesis* is

deliberate.⁹ Unlike the other categories, the homonymous and polysemous expressions use AND (represented by a brace) rather than OR decisions. The dual meaning in the word play is based on both similarity of form and of meaning. As far as meanings are concerned, they can be either unrelated (*homonymous*) as in the Russian word(s) *pol* meaning ‘sex’ and ‘floor’; or related (*polysemous*), as in Russian *žertva* ‘sacrifice’ and ‘victim’. This distinction appears quite clear, however it is often very difficult to decide whether to treat multiple meanings as polysemous or homonymous. Polysemy is more frequent than homonymy and can occur when meanings are changed according to application (*petlja* which means ‘loop’, ‘noose’, ‘buttonhole’ or ‘stitch’ depending on the situation), genre (*mysš* ‘mouse’ which, as in English, can be a small rodent or, in the technical genre, ‘a device that is used with a computer’) or foreign influence (as in *nominacija* which was used solely as the linguistic term for ‘reference’, but under the influence of European languages now has the more general meaning ‘nomination’). Homonyms, according to Ullman (1983: 180), ‘have no positive advantages except for the punster’ (and one imagines, the advertiser) and are less common. They result from phonetic convergence (the pronunciation of words for ‘bow’ and ‘onion’ converged as /luk/, with the former being the reflex of the back nasal vowel and in the latter case the reflex of a diphthong /au/)¹⁰, semantic divergence (as in the Russian word *slog* the meaning of which has widened to such an extent that the meanings, ‘syllable’ and ‘style’, are no longer perceived to be related) and when a loanword becomes so established in a language that it will adopt the phonetic system (the German word *der Klub* ‘club’ entered Russian as *klub* ‘club’ to join the already existing Russian word *klub* ‘puff’ from the verb *klubit* ‘to blow up, puff out’).¹¹ The conflict between homonymy and polysemy is a conflict of historical criteria and present-day intuition (Crystal 1997: 106). Words may be historically traced to the same source, etymologists, for example, suggest that *múka* ‘flour’ and *muká* ‘torment’ are historically linked as they are both the result of being ground down,

⁹ Spoonerisms are so called after the Reverend W. A. Spooner, a Warden of New College Oxford, who was notorious for transposing the initial sounds in words which resulted in some amusing combinations. The following are attributed to him: ‘We all know what it is to have a half-warmed fish within us’, and ‘the Lord is a shoving leopard’ (Room 2000 : 646).

¹⁰ Thank you to Dr Neil Bermel for the phonological description in this example.

¹¹ For more on the relationship between *der Klub*, *klub* and *club* see footnote 17, chapter six.

even though they are now stressed differently and people intuitively view them as different words;¹² conversely, two words may have meanings which differ only slightly, leading people to believe them to be one word with two meanings (psychological polysemy) when historically they are homonyms as they originate from distinct sources. In this study I will be guided ultimately by *OED* and *TS*, with homonyms being classed as words given different dictionary entries opposed to those where differences in meanings are distinguished under the same headword. With similarity of form there are still more choices. The similarity can be complete, as in the Russian *brak* meaning ‘matrimony’ or ‘defective goods’, where all the forms look and sound the same; or partial. If the similarity is partial it can be medium related, or share some other similarity. If the similarity is medium related, and the medium is spoken then the words have the same pronunciation, but have different spelling and meaning as in Russian *tuš* ‘flourish’ and *tuš’* ‘Indian ink’. If the forms are homonymous, then they are *homophones*; there is no special term for polysemous spoken expressions. When the medium is written, the words have the same spelling but different pronunciation and meaning, as with English *lead* meaning ‘to guide or show’ or ‘a soft bluish-grey metal’ depending on pronunciation. Again if the words are homonymous there is a special term, *homographs*, as opposed to polysemous written expressions. If the partial similarity is not medium limited, the choice is between there being some shared forms, whilst others vary as in *koleno*, where the plural forms vary to differentiate meanings. The AND means that there are eight possible effects in the word play category.

Those dual meanings which do not use word play are categorized as being associations. As with word play, the range of figures in this category is wide. The first choice for association is between those of opposition and those of similarity. Associations of opposition can be divided into those figures where reinterpretation is needed and those which initially do not make sense. If reinterpretation is required and it results in an interpretation opposite to that which is written, the figure is *irony*. If the reinterpretation is encouraged by an unexpected meaning arrived at due to the juxtaposition of the image, then the

¹² Thanks to Dr Mary MacRobert for this example.

figure is *re-direction* (or *resonance*, the term used by McQuarrie and Mick (1996)). If no reinterpretation is required, but the clause is contradictory and does not initially make sense then the result is *paradox*, if no modifier is involved; and an *oxymoron*, such as *living death*, when a modifier is used. In cases where the association is based on similarity, the choice is between those which are sensory and those which are not. Sensory similarities can be sound-based, as in the case of *onomatopoeia*; or appeal to the eyes, *hypotyposis*, which paints a picture with words. If the similarity is non-sensory, then the decision is whether it is implicit or explicit. If the similarity is explicit, it is an example of a *simile*. When the similarity is implicit, there is a choice between figures showing underlying resemblance, where two fields of reference are compared and have something in common, and those which use cross reference. If the underlying resemblance uses a modifier which does not objectively describe the referent, then the figure is an *epithet*, such as *unfettered joy*. When there is no modifier involved, there is the choice between ascribing human qualities and abilities to inanimate objects or animate non-humans, that is *personification*; or the more general *metaphor* which sees one thing described as another. Regarding cross-reference, this can be to either encyclopaedic knowledge (of people, history, folk culture etc.), an *allusion*; or a reference to another style which results in *parody*. The category of associations accounts for twelve figures.

If the trope is not based on dual meanings, then the next decision is to whether it is based on extent. A trope of extent can be either one of exaggeration, *hyperbole*; or one of understatement. The tropes of understatement can be further classified between those which use a mild expression rather than one which is harsh, unpleasant or taboo, *euphemism*; or the deliberate downplaying of what is being said to increase the impressiveness, *litotes*. When the figure is not based on extent, the choice is between a trope of substitution or a question. Tropes of substitution are further divided into those where one part of speech is substituted for another, *anthymeria*; as opposed to those where the referent is changed, *metonymy*. In *metonymy* the referent is replaced by the name of the attribute, or an entity which is related in some semantic way to that referent, for example cause and effect. If the trope is based on a question then the decision depends on

whether an answer is given.¹³ If no answer is given, but the question invites an obvious answer, then a *rhetorical question* is being employed; if however, the question has been asked to encourage the reader to think about their current behaviour, the effect is what I have termed a *reflection question*. When an answer is given the choice is between *anthypophora*, which is asking a question and immediately answering it; or *epanathosis* where an assertion is immediately queried.

The main advantage of the taxonomy is that it reduces the complicated system containing fifty-five figures to a series of OR / AND decisions, ensuring comprehensibility and accuracy. In addition, the process of classifying figures is simplified; an individual figure mentioned later in this chapter can, at a glance, be situated within the hierarchy of rhetorical figures, and the classification guarantees that the function of that figure will be understood. The taxonomy shows that *epistrophe*, for example, is a scheme of repetition where a word or words are repeated across clauses, and that the repetition occurs across corresponding ends of those clauses. This information is gleaned before turning to the definition in the glossary: ‘repetition of the same word or group of words at the ends of successive clauses’. Presenting the material in this way helps to reduce the opacity of the often unfamiliar Greek terms. The diagrammatical representation of the taxonomy also highlights the relationships between different figures, such as anaphora, epistrophe and anadiplosis, thus emphasizing the often subtle differences between them.

This taxonomy offers a comprehensive and detailed assessment of the range of linguistic figures to be found in advertising texts. It will become apparent later in this chapter that the taxonomy includes a range of figures larger than those present in my corpora; however retaining these categories means that provision has been made for figures which may well be unearthed in further research. Even though the taxonomy is detailed, I do not claim to have covered the whole range of devices available to copywriters; Burton’s (2001) *Silva Rhetoricae* houses over three hundred and fifty figures, so I have obviously not included them all. I

¹³ Questions can be classed as rhetorical figures when their main function is not to gain information in the form of an answer, but to fulfil some other aim.

do, however, believe my taxonomy is a step forward, as it is wider in scope than those which currently exist and is presented in a systematic and logical manner.

5.7 Methodology

The analysis in this chapter is based on the headline and its sub-headline. Given the importance of rhetorical figures in contemporary advertising and the positive effect they have in terms of advert recall and persuasion, it is important that these elements be translated in such a way as to ensure a positive effect on the target consumer. My first investigation is to ascertain the dominant function of each of the headlines in the corpora, following Arens and Bovée's (1994: 252–53) classification of headline types; this classification system suggests advertising preferences in Russian and British culture. Using my taxonomy of rhetorical figures described above, the headlines are further investigated to identify the range of rhetorical figures being used. Having noted the rhetorical figures, it is possible to pick up on trends which I record in my findings. All the data used in this analysis, which proves a useful starting point for investigation, can be found in appendix seven (pp. 349–62). The major problem with counting rhetorical figures in a scientific fashion is that the classification of figures is itself unscientific. Even the counting of, for example, the use of a well-defined category such as the instrumental case in Russian is open to debate when an indeclinable noun is involved, so the classification of rhetorical figures, many of which are highly subjective, cannot be seen as totally accurate. Some may feel that I have missed certain figures present in the headlines in my corpora, or that I have read more into the data than is actually there; however, in an attempt to minimize these inaccuracies I have checked my findings with native speakers of Russian and English. Even with this margin of error, I feel confident that the basic patterns highlighted by the data would not be significantly affected if further figures were unearthed. I offer an overview of rhetorical figure usage across the corpora, before concentrating more specifically on the parallel corpus and the translation strategies used for translating the original headlines and their figures into Russian. Carrying out this analysis on both the parallel and monolingual corpora means that I can observe differences between English and Russian source language adverts and translated adverts, before focusing specifically on the ways that the figures in the parallel corpus have been translated. On

occasions, I have grouped the figures according to their position within the taxonomy. So where I make reference to a trend and feel it necessary to be more specific than the distinction between schemes and tropes, yet less specific than individual figures, I focus on the eight categories which arise at the third level of decision making. These categories include the schemes of omission, insertion, balanced word order and ordered word order; and the tropes of word play, associations, extent and non-extent figures. This classification has been made in order to help comparison, and not to suggest that figures translated by figures from the same rhetorical category will be more successful than those which appear in a different part of the taxonomy. The aim is to describe what happens when the figures in advertising headlines are translated, not to pass judgements on them; the grouping together of related figures makes analysis easier. When discussing the translation strategies within the parallel corpus, I look in particular at the use of transference, broadly source-language-orientated strategies and those which are broadly target-language-orientated. Addressing the treatment of rhetorical figures in translation helps to investigate the influence that the colonizer has in the target market and shows how translation strategies can impact on the effectiveness of headlines. I also highlight instances where Russian copywriters are creating headlines which are particularly suited to the Russian market.

5.8 Findings

5.8.1 Types of Headlines Used

Before looking in detail at the rhetorical figures used in the headlines in these corpora, I will briefly describe the types of headline employed.

The analysis is based on Arens and Bovée's five-fold taxonomy of headline (see section 5.1.3): benefit, news/information, provocative, question and command focused headlines. In each case the predominant function of the headline is counted, even though headlines may actually display more than one function.

In the Russian parallel corpus, nine percent of the headlines appeared in English, and were not translated at all. For the purposes of this chapter, I assume that the headline type and rhetorical figures used in the headline will lose their power

over the target audience if written in a foreign language. The specific effects of using a foreign language in adverts will be discussed in chapter six.

The data shows that there is a definite preference for provocative headlines in the English parallel corpus which is less marked in the Russian parallel corpus, suggesting that elements which make headlines provocative are often not maintained when the adverts are translated into Russian. Provocative headlines are used less frequently in the Russian monolingual corpus, although they are still the most frequently used type. Russian-language adverts in the monolingual corpus use headlines which define the product being advertised and promote its benefits more often than those in the parallel corpus; with the use of benefit headlines being markedly higher.

The advertisers in the English parallel corpus are all relatively well-known and operate world-wide. Due to the levels of competition in the British market, advertisers have to ensure their adverts stand out from those of their competitors. One means of doing this is to use provocative headlines to arouse curiosity and instigate questions and thoughts on the part of potential consumers. By thus engaging the readers, advertisers hope that theirs will be the product remembered and bought rather than that of a competitor. The level of competition means that advertisers are always striving to produce new and improved products, which may account for the use of news or information-type headlines frequently employed by advertisers. What is surprising is that the benefit-style headline is not used as frequently in the parallel corpus, whereas in the Russian monolingual corpus it is the most popular headline type.

The end of the centrally-planned economy in the Soviet Union brought an increase in the number of consumer goods on the market. Many of these were products that were previously not available in Russia, while others were competing products, similar to those already available there. The benefit headline is an important device for differentiating one product from another and giving a brief summary of the rewards that using a particular product will bring, both

features are greatly appreciated in contemporary Russia.¹⁴ Kelly (1998: 227) notes Russians' preference for information: 'informativeness is much more highly valued than free flights of creative fantasy'. The reasons could be as follows: many Russians cannot afford to buy luxury goods as their money is needed for daily necessities; in order to justify the purchase of an expensive, non-essential product, the benefits will have to be made explicitly clear in the opening headline. Provocative headlines, which aim to create an image of a product and place the potential consumer within a specific lifestyle, may be unpopular for similar reasons.

The adverts in the Russian parallel corpus are situated in the middle ground. They translate the original English headline, yet also have to suit the Russian market. Both the news/informative and provocative headlines share the most popular type of headline in this corpus, but are less frequent than in the English parallel corpus from which the Russian headlines are translated. This is because benefit headlines are used more often in the Russian parallel corpus than in the English one. This strongly suggests that the advert headlines are being adapted in a way that reflects the preferences of the colonized. I will show some of these differences more specifically in the next section when I deal with the use of figures of rhetoric in the headlines.

5.8.2 The Use of Rhetorical Figures in the Corpora

5.8.2.1 General Patterns

In the parallel corpus ninety-three percent of the adverts have a clearly defined headline. In the three adverts which do not have a headline, the only written text is the name of the product and the advertiser. In the Russian monolingual corpus, ninety-one percent of adverts have a headline. The headlines in the English parallel corpus are more likely to use rhetorical figures, with ninety-one percent having one or more figures; the corresponding figures in the Russian parallel and the Russian monolingual corpus are seventy-four and sixty-nine percent respectively. These results suggest that English language advertising texts are more likely to use rhetorical figures in their headlines than texts that have been

¹⁴ My own questionnaire showed how much importance Russian consumers attached to the need to fully understand the benefits of one product over another, see appendix five.

written in Russian and that Russian adverts are more likely to use headlines which do not have rhetorical figures.

The use of schemes and tropes is balanced across the parallel English corpus, whereas in the parallel Russian corpus there is a preference for tropes and in the monolingual Russian corpus, schemes. This convergence at the first decision-level suggests that the translators are not choosing the most appropriate figures for the target audience, which, as the monolingual Russian corpus indicates, appear to be schemes rather than the tropes used more frequently in the Russian parallel corpus.

The types of rhetorical figures used in the parallel and monolingual corpora are very similar with no particular figures being used exclusively in one and not the others. There is, for example, little use of inverted word order, omissions, substitutions and no examples of non-repetitive insertion. Leigh also discovered a similar phenomenon in his 1996 study, where he notes that some figures are used frequently and others seldom (26). This is due, he suggests, to the fact that certain figures are more suited to headline copy. Schemes of insertion, primarily those of repetition, are frequently used in the parallel English and the monolingual Russian corpus; the percentage in the parallel Russian corpus, however, is much lower thus indicating the difficulty of translating the repetitive effects present in the English adverts into Russian. The trend is different in the use of tropes of association, where they are used frequently in the English and Russian parallel corpus, but less so in the monolingual one, despite the fact that allusion, an example of association, is one of the most frequently used individual figures. The most striking example of a difference across the corpora comes in the use of word play. Although the frequency is not high, seven percent and five percent in the English parallel and Russian parallel corpus respectively; there is no incidence of word play in the Russian monolingual corpus. These results suggest that word play is not as an effective a device in Russian language printed advertising, and this certainly seems to be the case in the adverts analysed in these corpora. These findings tie in with Koxtev's 1997 taxonomy, where he does not explicitly refer to the use of word play in Russian advertising. They also support the tendency, noted above, for Russian language advertising to promote

the benefits of the product being advertised, in particular through the use of exaggeration (hyperbole is a significant figure in the Russian monolingual corpus) rather than provocative, often playful, headlines.

I now turn my attention to the parallel corpus and investigate what happens to the rhetorical figures in the headlines when adverts are translated into Russian.

5.8.2.2 The Translation of Rhetorical Figures in the Parallel Corpus

I define the headlines as displaying either transference, source-language emphasis or target-language emphasis according to the following definitions:¹⁵

TRANSFERENCE – the headline remains in the source language in the target language version.

BROADLY SOURCE-LANGUAGE ORIENTATION – various degrees of change to the source language headline which result in a target language headline which maintains the meaning of the source text.

BROADLY TARGET-LANGUAGE ORIENTATION – the headline has been changed to produce a new one in the target language, which does not contain the same matter as the source text.

Within these sections I will discuss what happens when the headlines are translated into Russian. The nature of advertising means that any translation should aim to create a target-language advert which will have a positive impact on the target audience. It is thus not of primary importance whether a particular rhetorical figure is translated by the exact same figure in the Russian (the original source language figure may not be as persuasive in the target culture, for example); what is important is that the target text headline should have the same attention-grabbing function as the original. If this is not happening, it may well

¹⁵ These definitions are based on those offered by Newmark (1988: 45–47, 81), where source-language-orientated strategies include: word-for-word, literal, faithful and semantic translation, and target-language-orientated strategies are communicative, idiomatic, free translation and adaptation. As Newmark's flattened V diagram shows the cross-over between source- and target-orientated strategies occurs between semantic and communicative translation. For the purposes of this chapter, I have classified communicative translation as being broadly source-language-orientated, reserving target-language-orientated strategies to those which depart further from the source text, such as idiomatic and free translation or adaptation. Unlike Newmark, I do not view these strategies negatively, but as necessary and often desirable ways to ensure that the resulting headline has its intended impact.

be the result of power inequalities. Each of the three broad categories will be discussed in detail below.

5.8.2.2.1 Transferred Headlines

There are four adverts in the Russian corpus which have an English headline, the headlines of three show rhetorical figures in the English version. The non-translation of these headlines means that the impact of the rhetorical figures is lost. The following headline is from Kenzo's perfume Peace:

TIME FOR PEACE (EP/RP:16)

In this headline *peace* is polysemous, it has the same spoken and written form, but a number of related, yet different meanings, for example 'a time with no war' or 'a time of quietness'. In addition *peace* also refers to the product name and this reading of the headline suggests that now is the time to use Kenzo's perfume Peace. By not translating the headline into Russian, these meanings have been lost for the target audience.¹⁶

Here one can do little more than speculate, but if advertisers go to the lengths of creating adverts, incorporating rhetorical figures, intended to have an impact on the reader, why do they not ensure that the headline is translated when the campaign is launched in a foreign country? It could be that the advertiser hopes the target text receiver will know enough English to understand this play on words, or is relying on the chic effect of English to compensate for incomplete comprehension. This strategy is a prime example of the colonizer exercising its dominance over the colonized by enforcing its own native tongue. Whatever the reason, if the headline is not translated it cannot be expected to have the same effect on the reader and even risks being totally incomprehensible to most of the target audience.

¹⁶ This headline, however, may cause problems specific to Russian. The translation of the word 'peace' *mir* carries Communist connotations, as in the phrase *miru mir* 'peace to the world'. If *peace* was transcribed, the common practice in many foreign names (see 6.5), it would be rendered *pis* 'piss' in Russian, perhaps not the most flattering name for a luxury fragrance. Thanks to Dr Neil Bermel for this observation.

5.8.2.2.2. Broadly Source-Language-Orientated Strategies

A broadly source-language-orientated translated headline is one where the English-language source headline has been changed to produce a grammatical and idiomatic Russian headline, while maintaining the overall meaning of the original.

The parallel corpus contains thirty-two adverts (seventy-one percent) which I classify as having been translated using broadly source-language-orientated strategies, making it by far the most popular means, in my corpus, of rendering an English headline into Russian. I have noted six types of translation strategy used to translate the English language headlines into Russian:

- Figure(s) not translated – figureless headline
- Figure(s) not translated – fewer figured headline
- Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from same category
- Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from different category
- Same figure(s) in source and target headline
- Figure(s) added to target headline

I will discuss these categories individually.

Figure(s) not translated – figureless headline

There are five adverts in the corpus where the figures of rhetoric in the original are not maintained in the translated Russian headline, resulting in a figureless Russian headline. Three of these are schemes of repetition (two of alliteration and one internal rhyme). Here is an example of alliteration which is not maintained:

3-Step Skin Care System (EP:4)

3-x Stupenčataja programma uxoda za kožeju (RP:4)

‘3 Stepped programme for maintenance of skin’

Clearly, maintaining the repetition of single letters, whilst keeping the same meaning is a particularly difficult task for the translator, and by not introducing another compensatory figure into the headline, the translated headline is perhaps not as effective as the original.¹⁷

¹⁷ This is unsurprising, for as Newmark (1998: 142–43) writes ‘if there is any alliteration in the SL text, I suspect that in most cases, it is the first thing that has to be lost in the translation’; however in adverts alliteration often plays a role akin to that of its use in poetry and attempts should be made to compensate the effect to some extent.

The other two examples of non-translated figures are both hyperbole and come about due to the use of articles in English. In this example from Tommy Hilfiger, *the* is being used to suggest that this is a unique fragrance, rather than just one of a larger, less exclusive, class.

the real american [*sic* KS] fragrance (EP:40)

nastojaščij amerikanskij aromat (RP:40)
'genuine American fragrance'

Russian does not have articles, so the translation of this headline will be interpreted as one of many American fragrances. In order to achieve the emphasis in the original, a word such as *samyj* 'the most' would need to be added, thus changing the meaning to suggest that Tommy is 'the most genuine American fragrance'; unfortunately this is disallowed according to Russian advertising law.¹⁸ This shows that translators may sometimes be unable to make the most effective translation due to legal restrictions.

Figure(s) not translated – fewer figured headline

This category refers to headlines which display more than one figure in the original. In the target headline, one or more of these figures will have been maintained, although certain figures will have been sacrificed. As in the above category, the overwhelming majority of figures sacrificed are schemes.

In the advert for Estée Lauder's Pure Color lipstick, the scheme of climax is maintained as the attributes of the product are presented in ascending order of importance, saving the best until last. The English and Russian versions place different emphasis on the elements, in the English advert the fact that the lipstick is long-wearing is most important; whereas in Russia its shininess. The scheme of isocolon, however, is not maintained in the translation.

Intense colour, ultra shine, long wear (EP:10)

¹⁸ Article Seven of the Russian Advertising Law stipulates that superlative forms, such as *samij* 'most', *tol'ko* 'only', *lučšij* 'best', *absoljutnyj* 'absolute', *edinstvennyj* 'unique' and similar, should not be made. Chapter II – *Obščie i special'nye trebovanija k reklame*, Article Seven – *Nedostovernaja reklama* of the Russian Federation Advertising Law. State Duma, 1995. *Rossijskaja federacija federal'nyj zakon o reklame* [online]. Available at:

<URL:http://www.tl.ru/%7Epsp/rekl_law/reklama.htm#g2> [Accessed 7 May 2002]

Ustojčivaja pomada, nasyščennyj cvet i ul'trablešk. (RP:10)
'Steadfast lipstick, rich colour and ultra-shine'

Isocolon calls for the exact balance of syntax within, or across, clauses. This is achieved in the English original through the use of an adjective, followed by a noun. In Russian this effect is not present as there is an adjective followed by a noun, a perfective passive participle followed by a noun, a conjunction and finally a compound noun. The use of *ul'trablešk* 'ultra-shine' breaks the pattern. Another balance is, however, conserved in the original and its translation: the weighting of syllables. In the English and Russian versions, the three noun phrases have a decreasing number of syllables: four, three, two in the English, and eight, five, three in the Russian.

Most of the figures not translated are schemes, there is another scheme of balanced word order, two of repetition and two of omission. There are, however, a few examples of tropes. The following example for Calvin Klein's perfume, Truth, shows how the use of personification, giving senses the ability to lie in both the English and the Russian versions. In English, the phrase is also an allusion to a popular saying. The saying, in Russian, is not unheard of, but does not have the same common currency as in English.¹⁹

the senses don't lie (EP:2)

Čuvstva ne obmanyvajut (RP:2)
'Senses do not deceive'

The failure to translate some of the figures of rhetoric means that headlines lose some of their memorability. However, the fact that the headlines still use one or more other figures ensures that they are likely to have an impact on Russian readers.

Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from same category

This category includes headlines where figures in the originals are not maintained in the translated version, but there is compensation with a figure from the same rhetorical category, though it is not present in the source headline. This means that the target headline maintains the persuasive power provided by the

¹⁹ A native Russian speaker felt that this was an unusual collocation which did not immediately make sense even within the context of advertising.

rhetorical figure in the original, albeit with a slight modification in the way it is achieved.

Once again the figures which have not been translated tend to be schemes. L'Oréal's advert for Color Riche lipstick is a good example of the quite subtle changes that mean one rhetorical figure is used over another.

Rich in colour, rich in moisture, rich in shine (EP:19)

The English original displays both anaphora with the repetition of *rich* at the beginning of each clause. The second rhetorical figure present is isocolon, or the exact repetition of the structural pattern (here, adjective + preposition + noun).

Roskoš' cveta. Roskoš' bleska. Roskošnyj uxod. (RP:19)
'Luxury of colour. Luxury of shine. Luxurious care.'

In the Russian translation the anaphora is not maintained in the three clauses, the last showing instead an example of polyptoton through the repetition of the root *roskoš* in both the noun and the adjective. The isocolon is not maintained either, yet this is an example of parison as the parallelism, although not exact, is marked within the three clauses.

The second example refers to headlines which use polysemy to achieve a persuasive effect. Waltham's adverts for its cat and dog foods, Advance, both contain a variation of the same headline:

ADD LIFE TO THE LIFE OF YOUR CAT. (EP:43)
ADD LIFE TO THE LIFE OF YOUR DOG. (EP:44)

DAJTE VAŠEJ KOŠKE BOL'ŠE ŽIZNI! (RP:43)
'GIVE YOUR CAT MORE LIFE!'

DAJTE VAŠEJ SOBAKE BOL'ŠE ŽIZNI! (RP:44)
'GIVE YOUR DOG MORE LIFE!'

The English version plays on the two of the meanings of *life*. The first *life* refers to 'continuance or prolongation of animate existence; opposed to death' (*OED* 1989: 00132964, *n.* 1c), whereas the second *life* is 'energy in action, thought or expression; liveliness in feeling, manner or aspect; animation, vivacity, spirit'

(4a). This polysemy is marked by the repetition of the keyword *life*, thus exhibiting an example of ploche (the repetition of words intermittently within a clause). The Russian headline maintains the use of polysemy as the word *žizn'* 'life' can also be understood in two senses. Firstly as '*vremja takogo suščestvovanija ot ego vznikovanija do konca*' 'the time of an existence from its beginning until its end' and '*oživlenie, pojavlenie, dejatel'nosti, ènergii*' 'animation, manifestation of activity, energy' (TS 1995: 190). In the Russian version, however, the ploche is not kept as the word *žizn'* 'life' is not repeated. Another scheme of insertion is employed which more than compensates for the lack the ploche – alliteration. The cat food advert repeats the <š> consonant on three occasions and the dog food advert twice. In addition, both adverts employ the another similar sounding husher consonant <ž> which adds to the alliterative effect. The original rhetorical device has been compensated in this slogan by the introduction of another rhetorical device.

If it seems impossible to maintain a certain device when translating a headline into Russian, one possible means of compensating is to introduce a figure which comes from the same rhetorical category. This is a means of ensuring that the nearest possible equivalent effect is achieved.

Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from different category

This category is similar to that above, however here the lost rhetorical figure is replaced by a figure from a different rhetorical category. The pattern continues where schemes tend not to be maintained, while tropes are more frequently translated. Again, we see the problems of translating schemes of insertion, particularly those which use repetition. This is demonstrated in the Hugo Boss advert for its male fragrance Boss.

BOSS, BOTTLED (EP:14)

The English language version demonstrates alliteration, with the repetition of . It also carries an example of metonymy, where the referent (the fragrance) is replaced by the source of the fragrance (Boss). The headline is also a

humorous link to the image which shows a male model shrunk to fit inside the fragrance bottle.²⁰

Stil' {BOSS} ...
teper' vo flakone. (RP:14)
'BOSS style
now in a bottle'

The Russian translation does not maintain either the scheme or the trope present in the original, but employs a trope in the form of a paradox. The headline is paradoxical as it is not possible, unfortunately, to buy style in a bottle; although it is possible to understand what is being sold. The headline maintains the humorous reference, as the same image of a man in a bottle is used. Even though the figure is compensated, I would argue that the Russian headline, without the alliterative element, is less memorable. It is worth noting that the use of paradox is not a particularly popular device in the corpora, in fact it does not appear in the monolingual Russian corpus at all.

In this second example for Shiseido's The Skincare, the scheme of alliteration has been lost, whilst the trope personification is maintained since the product addresses the reader itself:

I am your
skin's strength
Rely on me (EP:39)

Ja – sila tvoej koži
Smotri v buduščee
s optimizmom (RP:39)
'I am the strength of your skin.
Look into the future
with optimism'

The loss of the alliterative element is compensated by a parody of Soviet rhetoric through the clause '*Smotri v buduščee s optimizmom*' 'Look into the future with optimism', reminiscent of the slogans used in the former Soviet Union, many of

²⁰ This is a technique frequently used in advertising and what Williamson (1978: 138–51) refers to as magic. Magic includes, for example, the portrayal of the use of special potions and the shrinking or enlarging of component parts of adverts giving a sense of disproportion.

which used the informal imperative to incite the Soviet people, as in these examples:

Idi, tovarišč, k nam v kolhoz!
'Come, comrade, and join us in the collective farm!'

Pogljadi: poët i pljašet vsja Sovetskaja Strana...
'Take a look: the whole Soviet Nation is singing and dancing...'

Trudis' s uporstvom, čtob stal kolhoz peredovym!²¹
'Labour with martial perseverance so your collective farm becomes part of the vanguard.'

This is a potentially more effective headline for the Russian people as the familiarity of form make it easier to remember and the fact that the Communist style is beginning used to promote skin cream makes it amusing.

In Paco Rabane's advert for its fragrance XS, although one trope is translated, another is not:

XS
there is no life without excess (EP:35)

The headline carries examples of hyperbole (the headline is an exaggeration as life continues without excess) and a homophone (as *excess* and *XS* are pronounced the same, giving the headline the double meaning that it is impossible to live without excesses or the XS fragrance). This headline is transferred into the Russian advert, but for those non-English speakers the hyperbole is maintained in the Russian version, while the homophone is not:

{XS}
{there is no life without excess}
* net žizni bez ... (RP:35)
'{XS}
{there is no life without excess}
* no life without ...'

The target advert invites readers to complete the ellipsis with whatever they need to complete their lives, the cynical may suggest oxygen, though a suitably

²¹ For more examples of Soviet slogans see Bonnell (1999), White (1988) and Lincoln (1976).

persuaded reader may offer the product name XS. The scheme of word play is compensated by one of omission.²²

Here the lost figures have been compensated for by figures from a different rhetorical category. I would have expected this to be a very successful means of rendering headlines that contain difficult to translate figures of rhetoric, although, as the examples have shown, the results can often be substantially weaker.

Same figure(s) in source and target headline

There are a number of adverts in the corpus which use the same figures in both the English and Russian language versions. Many of these are tropes, such as allusions, personification and hypotyposis. Ensuring that the same rhetorical figures are employed demonstrates a desire to stay close to the colonizer's model advert, which works successfully elsewhere. The following example for Hewlett Packard's Vectra computer shows how the tropes of metaphor, hypotyposis, personification and the scheme of synonymy are present in both versions.

Protector. Defender. Sentinel. (EP:13)

Zaščitnik. Straž. Teloxranitel'. (RP: 13)
'Defender. Custodian. Bodyguard'

The metaphor is best demonstrated through the advertising image, combined with the headline. The image shows a Samurai warrior, so a comparison is implied between the defensive capabilities (highlighted by the headline) of the warrior and the computer. Personification is represented as the computer is given the ability to defend data in the same way as the people mentioned in the headline. The headline also paints a picture with words, hypotyposis, of the kind of person to which the computer is being compared (irrespective of the advertising image). And finally there is an example of synonymy through the repetition of the three words with very similar meanings. It should be noted, however, that there is a significant prosodic difference between the English and

²² If Russian receivers understands Latin script, there is a further figure in this headline. Internal rhyme occurs between *XS* and *bez*, pronounced /b'es/. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is not assumed that receivers read English, see pp.147–48.

its Russian translation: while the three English words all have three syllables, the Russian have three, one and five respectively.

There are few examples of shared schemes, however one exception is L'Oréal's Color Riche. In the English and the Russian versions, there is a scheme of ellipsis and tropes of personification and re-direction.

RICH, CARING AND NEVER LETS ME DOWN.
MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE! (EP:20)

DARIT MNE ROSKOŠ' ... EŠČE I BLESK ...
MOI GUBY VLJUBILIS' S PЕРVOGO VZGLJADA! (RP:20)
'GIVES ME LUXURY... AND MOREOVER SHINE
MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT.'

Ellipsis of a referent in both the headlines means that it is not immediately evident who is 'rich, caring and never lets me down' or '*darit mne roskoš'*' 'gives me luxury'. The headlines suggest some kind of animate entity (most likely a man), however the image shows the object of Milla's affection to be a lipstick and thus demonstrates re-direction. The English version maintains the ambiguity into the second clause, whereas the illusion is somewhat shattered in the Russian when readers are told that whatever provides the luxury, also gives *blesk* 'shine'.²³ The Russian readers are less likely to believe this is a reference to man, although it is still unclear what is providing the shine. In the second clause, both versions show personification by suggesting that lips have the human capacity to fall in love.

It is possible to translate headlines so that they contain the same types of figure in the target advert as they do in the source. It appears that the task is made simpler if the headline is based on the use of tropes. If schemes are involved, ones that require a balancing of words within a clause or use synonyms can also be rendered particularly successfully.

²³ This is the second example which draws attention to *blesk* 'shine' as a important attribute for makeup (see p. 155) and suggests there is a cultural difference between English and Russian women and their makeup preferences. Cultural trends are also apparent in the use of colour (see 6.4.5).

Figure(s) added to target headline

The final category contains one advert which includes a greater number of figures of rhetoric in the target headline than are present in the original. It could be argued that the headline has been improved. What is interesting is that, in contrast with the other categories, the figures which have been added are all schemes. This is more in keeping with the monolingual Russian corpus which shows a preference for schemes over tropes. The example is for Calvin Klein's fragrance Contradiction.

she is always
and never the same (EP:1)

vsegda raznaja
neizmenno prežnjaja (RP:1)
'always different.
invariably as before'

The English and Russian versions both display paradox as the clause is contradictory (hence the name). The Russian version, however, also exhibits schemes of isocolon, internal rhyme and ellipsis. Isocolon is present as we see repetition of an adverb followed by an adjective and internal rhyme, due to the repetition of the adjectival ending <aja>. The referent is also left ambiguous as the pronoun has been ellipped. Although Russian can omit pronouns (see 7.2.3.2.2), in this instance it is ambiguous to whom or what the feminine adjectival endings are referring. They could be a reference to the model pictured in the advertising image, a female reader or an object of feminine gender. It is up to the reader to fill in this gap. If translators can introduce figures of rhetoric into a headline, either consciously or inadvertently, their introduction can only help to increase the effect of the headline. This addition will be all the more effective if they are figures that are frequently used in the target language, as is the case in the headline in this category.

Discussion

This section has demonstrated the range of strategies employed in translating figures of rhetoric in headlines (from non-translation, through two levels of compensation to the maintenance of the same figures in the source and target texts).

In general it seems that schemes are more difficult to translate than tropes. Schemes are foregrounded by their patterns of regularity of form (syntactic or phonetic); whereas tropes twist words away from their usual meanings and collocations to produce semantic and lexical deviation (Wales 1989: 176–77). The maintenance of the regularity of form, necessary in the communicative translation of a scheme, is a challenge for translators. I suggest that the difficulty also varies depending on the part of the phrase where the regularity is present. Regularity across clauses should be less difficult to maintain than the regularity of individual words, which in turn is easier than maintaining phonetic regularity. This is shown through the data; there are similar frequencies of regularity at phrase level (such as parison and isocolon) in the English and Russian parallel corpus; at word level there are examples where the figures have not been maintained; and at the phonetic level, the instances of non-translation are higher. Within schemes, the most difficult category of rhetorical features to translate are those of repetition. This is perhaps more marked due to its popularity in the English parallel corpus, which houses the source headlines to be translated into Russian. Alliteration is the most frequently used figure within the category of repetitive insertion in the English parallel corpus, yet it barely figures in the Russian parallel corpus at all. It could be argued that the translators see alliteration as a figure to avoid. Alliteration is not as deeply rooted in Russian poetic culture as it is in English, which uses alliteration to compensate for the paucity of rhyme opportunities. Alliteration does not feature in Rozental' and Koxtev's taxonomy, which suggests that, although English-speakers are attuned to alliteration, it does not mean as much to Russians.²⁴ Translators may discard alliteration in favour of another figure, however as shown above this does not seem to be the case and alliteration is often not compensated, merely ignored (perhaps indicating that translators themselves do not perceive it when translating from what is not their native tongue). In the monolingual Russian corpus alliteration is used with a similar frequency to the English parallel corpus. It is, however, conceivable that although alliteration is used in Russian it does not have the same impact as in English advertising texts. I found that for a Russian

reader to respond to alliteration it had to be quite marked (for example more than two occurrences); though in the heavily marked examples in this corpus (Waltham's Russian dog and cat food adverts), the alliteration was well received. Alliteration is particularly difficult to translate, as translators are expected to find words that carry both the same meaning in Russian as they do in English and begin with a particular letter. This is a near impossible task and is reminiscent of Nabokov's (2000) comments about the impossibility of translating poetry.²⁵ Advertising which incorporates phonetic repetition is close in that respect to poetry and all the problems that are attached to its translation.

It does not seem surprising, then, that the figures present in both the Russian and English versions are tropes. The translator has more leeway if the aim is to deviate from the ordinary and principal meaning of the word in order to translate the trope communicatively. It is understandably easier to translate a phrase so that it becomes a question which is subsequently answered (anthypophora), or to ensure that a product is capable of speaking (personification). This does not, however, mean that all of the tropes are translated, indeed this is not the case, but they are still more likely to be translated than schemes. The result is that, whereas in the English parallel corpus the use of tropes and figures is almost equal, the Russian parallel corpus uses more tropes than schemes which in turn is in stark contrast with the monolingual corpus where schemes are used far more frequently than tropes, suggesting that translators are sticking too closely to the colonizer's model. It remains to be seen whether schemes are used over tropes when translators decide to move away from the original meaning of the advert and use broadly target-language orientated translation strategies.

5.8.2.2.3 Broadly Target-Language-Orientated Strategies

In the Russian parallel corpus there are six examples of adverts which have been translated according to broadly target-language-orientated strategies: where the

²⁴ Unbegaun (1977: 118) notes that: 'the great poets of the nineteenth century scarcely used it [alliteration] at all. With good modern poets, alliteration remains an unusual poetic device employed with restraint'.

²⁵ Nabokov (2000: 83) argues that it is impossible to translate poetry without footnotes: 'I want translations with copious footnotes, footnotes reaching up like skyscrapers to the top of this or that page so as to leave only the gleam of one textual line between the commentary and eternity.'

source language headline has been changed in the Russian version so that it will have a greater impact on the target market.

Three of the headlines are based on popular sayings in English that are linked to the image, creating an example of re-direction. If these headlines had been translated with a more faithful or semantic strategy, then there would not have been the required picture-headline link-up and the headline would have been less effective. I will focus on one of these popular phrase headlines as an example.

The English-language Ford KA advert carries the headline:

hi ho silver (EP:12)

The headline is an example of a popular saying (an implicit allusion to encyclopaedic knowledge) which originates from the radio and television series *The Lone Ranger*. The Lone Ranger was an honest, upright and well-spoken cowboy with a trusty steed named Silver, he would urge his horse off with the cry ‘Hi-ho Silver awaaaay!’ (Room 2000: 408). The headline encourages the reader to think of this horse, while the image shows a silver Ford KA. The advert uses a metaphor to compare the horse Silver, with this silver KA; the advertisers want readers to equate the positive attributes of Silver the horse – fast, trustworthy and handsome – with those of the KA. The car should be seen as the modern version of the Lone Ranger’s horse.

The Russian-language version approaches the headline differently. This time a popular phrase is not used, however it is a parody of the language often found in children’s fairy tales.²⁶

blesni-ka
jarče vsex (RP:12)
‘How about shining
brightest of all’

²⁶ These three examples all come from a traditional *žil-byl* ‘once upon a time’ starting tale: ‘“*Daj-ka, - dumaet, - razrežu granat, poprobuju na vkys*” ’ (18) ‘I think I’ll cut the pomegranate, (she) thinks, and taste it’, ‘*Pojdu-ka ja k xozjainu i poprošu ego, čtob on našel sebe drugogo rabotnika*’ (20) ‘I’ll go to the landlord and ask him to find himself another workman’, ‘*A skaži-ka, žena, posle togo, kak ja uexal, car’ ne spravljalsja o tebe, ne interesovalasja, kak ty živěš’?*’ (20) ‘Tell me, wife, after I left did the tsar ask about you, take an interest in how you were?’. The story *Gambar*, an Armenian tale, can be found in Filippov (1992) 13–21.

Viewing the headline without the image suggests that you, the reader, should shine brighter than all other people. *Blesni-ka* 'shine' also carries a modifying particle *ka* which makes commands more forceful or adds a nuance of familiarity (Wade 1994: 303). In addition this particle is also written in exactly the same way as the name of the car, KA – which is itself a very clever addition. This headline suggests that if you buy a Ford KA, you, the reader, will stand out from the crowd. However, when placed with the advertising image, you realize that the headline does not refer only to the person reading the copy, but also to the car itself. The car has the capacity to shine brighter than all other cars on the road. In addressing the car by means of an informal command, the advertisers are also personifying it. Figuratively, BLESNUT' coupled with the instrumental case means 'to make a brilliant display of';²⁷ this car is something to be flashed around or boasted about. Although the copy in the Russian and English versions of the KA advert is very different and the figures used are not equivalent, the adapted headline may be regarded as successful, as a more literal translation of the original would have resulted in a rather meaningless and culturally irrelevant headline.

The final three adverts are free translations of headlines using figures which feature both an element of sound repetition and a tie in with the product name. Since product names are not usually translated (see 6.5.3) maintaining this kind of device is difficult. The advertisers have used other rhetorical devices to ensure that the headline remains memorable. This can be seen in Maybelline's advert for its Moisture Whip lipstick:

Whip up your lips! (EP:31)

The headline uses the corresponding <ip> in both *whip* and *lips* thus exhibiting internal rhyme. *Whip* is also being used as an example of homonymy. *Whip up* carries connotations of both rejuvenation and stimulation, but more significantly, *whip* is also part of the product name. It would have been impossible to translate the English headline literally and maintain the reference to the product name. The Russian transcription of the product name *vip*, bears no relation to the

²⁷ *On ljubit blesnut' svoim umom* 'he likes to make a show of his wit, he likes to show off his cleverness'. Yandex Russian dictionary [online]. Available at:

Russian for 'to whip up' – *VZBIVAT'* / *VZBIT'*. Instead the Russian translator chooses to use a popular Russian phrase:

Vdoxni žizn' v guby! (RP:31)
'Breathe life into your lips!'

The phrase '*VDYXAT'* / *VDOXNUT'* ŽIZN' V + KOGO-L' means 'to breathe new life into somebody or to animate somebody'.²⁸ The process of breathing makes you think of your lips, which is effective as the advertised product is lipstick. The phrase also has the implication that the lips will be improved or made better in some way by using this lipstick. The headline displays personification, as the second meaning of the phrase is to animate the lips. The translator's adaptation seems to be particularly successful, offering a provocative headline which also emphasizes the benefits of the advertised product.

In general, the adverts translated by broadly target-orientated strategies use figures employed frequently in the Russian parallel corpus, though not necessarily in the monolingual one. The use of hyperbole is an exception, as it is an important figure in all the corpora. These headlines employ more tropes than schemes; this is actually the opposite of the monolingual corpus which shows a preference to the use of schemes.

The rather free translation of the headlines seems to have been necessary for certain adverts in the parallel corpus due to the fact that they were based on either popular English phrases which were linked to the advertising image, or a sound-figure which incorporated the name of the product being advertised. The free translation ensures that they still function as a persuasive device in the target market, although it means a change of rhetorical device is necessary, if not inevitable.

5.9 Concluding Remarks

The headline is an extremely important component of print adverts as it is the linguistic element that encourages the potential consumer to read on, absorb the advertising message and, hopefully, buy the product. The percentage of adverts

<URL:<http://www.lingvo.yandex.ru>>

²⁸ Yandex Russian dictionary [online]. Available at: <URL:<http://www.lingvo.yandex.ru>>

in the English and Russian corpora which have headlines is evidence of their importance. There is a tendency for headlines written in Russian to promote the benefits of the product, whereas English-language headlines are more likely to use provocation in order to attract readers' attention.

The use of figures of rhetoric in advertising headlines appears to be one of the most significant means of attracting attention. The corpora have shown that figures of rhetoric are used in Russian- and English-language advertising, although the frequency is higher in English-language advertising. There is a wide range of rhetorical types used in the corpora, with the English parallel and the Russian monolingual showing a preference for schemes, and the Russian parallel corpus, tropes. The categories of figures used is varied, with repetitive devices being important in all corpora.

Looking specifically at the headlines in the parallel corpus, there are examples of a number of different translation strategies ranging from transference to free translation. Transferred headlines are the most prominent display of the colonizer's power, being an assumption that Russians are capable of understanding the foreign language, and the subtle use of language found in headlines; or that they will be so attracted to the Other that the use of foreign words and characters is the persuasive aspect of the headline, irrespective of what the headline actually communicates. Even when other translation strategies are employed, the colonizer's power is still apparent. Within those headlines translated by broadly source-language-orientated strategies, there are a number of sub-strategies including loss, compensation and addition. Since figures of rhetoric feature so prominently in headlines it is surprising how many are not translated from English into Russian.

Whenever a figure is neither translated nor compensated, the headline loses some potential effectiveness. As my own taxonomy shows, the range of rhetorical figures is extremely wide, so it is possible translators are not aware of the types of figure that could be present in headlines, do not realize their power or simply cannot recognize them. External influences can also exert enormous pressure on translators; many companies, for example, insist on the use of back-translation as a form of verification. Natal'ja Rumjanceva, a translator and copywriter at Leo

Burnett and Moradpour in Moscow, commented on Procter & Gamble's desire to maintain their company image across borders:

P&G [Procter and Gamble] is very strict when you adapt their 'successful' model. They want to be as close to the original as possible even if in Russian it doesn't sound the best way.²⁹

This comment was reinforced in a conversation with the Technical Manager at Procter & Gamble, Zbyszek Kalenik, who informed me that translation is carried out at local branches, the aim being to remain as close as possible to the source text. Translators then have to perform back-translation which is evaluated by the European head office. If there are differences, the translation will either be sent back to the regional office to be re-worked or changes made to the original; such is the desire to have a uniform European campaign.³⁰ Translators, then, are unable to move away from the exact meaning of the text to maintain the figures of rhetoric or find more culturally acceptable figures; so even if translators recognize the existence of the figures they are powerless to maintain them. This indicates the dominance of the advert sender, the colonizers, who have the last say in which form the advert takes. It is the advert sender who is unaware of the persuasive impact of rhetorical figures and in exerting power over the colonized translators, they are also diminishing the power of the original advert producer who created headlines containing figures.

Alliteration, one of the most frequently used devices in the English parallel corpus, is a useful example here. It is often used in the Russian monolingual corpus; however, in the Russian parallel corpus it is hardly used at all, thus showing that it is a difficult figure to translate successfully. Alliteration works on the smallest unit of translation, an individual letter which carries not only the repetitive element; but the meaning contained in the original. In order to maintain the device, translators will, almost certainly, have to depart from the original meaning of the text, a strategy which would be rejected by a translation commissioner, such as Procter & Gamble. The figure, therefore, is lost and the resulting headline is less effective than it could be. The adverts in the Russian monolingual corpus use rhetorical features less often than the English adverts in

²⁹ Email correspondence with Natal'ja Rumjanceva, translator at Leo Burnett and Moradpour, 19 July 2000.

³⁰ Telephone interview with Zbyszek Kalenik at Procter & Gamble. 18 April 2000.

the parallel corpus, perhaps demonstrating the influence of bad translation practices on Russian-language advertising. The bland translated headlines, stripped of their figures of rhetoric, serve as the colonizing model for those producing advertising texts for the Russian market, leading Russian copywriters to produce similarly bland advertising headlines. However, the headlines for these native Russian products do reflect the needs of the Russian consumers, who prefer to receive information about the benefits of the product being advertised rather than enjoy the artful playfulness that figures can bring.

The Russian parallel corpus contains examples of advert headlines which have been altered for the Russian market. The figures used in these adverts, such as allusions to popular sayings, are also employed in the Russian monolingual corpus although with less frequency than in the English parallel one. The infrequency of these figures, however, seems to be a characteristic of the products advertised in the Russian monolingual corpus rather than a general Russian trend. In October 2000 billboards in St. Petersburg, showed adverts for *Bočkarev* beer, the headline for which is based on a well-known Russian proverb:

Lučše sinica v rukax, čem žuravl' v nebe
'faithful: Better a blue tit in the hands, than a crane in the sky'
'idiomatic: A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'

The advert headline is accompanied by a close-up of a hand raising a bottle of beer, with a bikini-clad lady in the background, it reads:

Lučše **PIVO** v **RUKE**
ČEM devica **VDALEKE**
'Better A **BEER** in **THE HAND**
THAN a girl **IN THE DISTANCE**'

This is an amusing twist of a proverb and gives a rather joke-like feel to the advert. Beer is an inexpensive product in Russia and is not seen as a luxury item, and for this reason can be advertised less seriously. The adverts in my corpus, however, advertise luxury goods in expensive women's magazines. The adverts in the monolingual corpus are more formal than the billboard adverts, and the figures used create refined rather than amusing headlines. The model for this kind of advert comes from the West, as there is a tendency for advertisements for very expensive perfumes and cosmetics to be aloof and austere; although it is

possible to advertise luxury goods humorously in English, for example cars and expensive ice cream, this does not seem to be the case in native Russian advertising.

The Russian adverts in the parallel corpus, which have been translated from English, seem to be in an intermediate state: no longer English adverts, but still not quite Russian either. The pressure of the colonizer corporations gives translators an incentive not to move away from the source text and create something using the rhetorical figures which are effective in Russian, yet they often cannot maintain the devices that make the adverts effective in English either. Even when headlines are altered or the lost figures compensated, they tend to incorporate figures which are not the most frequently used in Russian and may not be completely appropriate. There appears to be an identity crisis, with the colonized not yet certain which are the most appropriate figures to employ. Rhetoric has been used throughout Russian advertising history, however the Soviet system in which they were most recently employed no longer exists, and that point of reference has been removed. Russian advertisers and translators are having to redefine themselves in relation to their corporate colonizers. The dominance of these colonizers and the effect they have on translation practices make the process of acculturation that much harder; and although there are headlines which have been very well translated, the overriding result seems to be one of flux where neither the colonizer nor the colonized are truly represented.³¹

³¹ ACCULTURALIZATION – a set of social processes by which we learn how to ‘go on’ in a culture, including the acquisition of language, values and norms. (Barker 2000: 381)

6. The Visibility of the Other in Translated Russian Advertisements

6.1 Stereotypes

Advertisers often create images of an Other in their adverts, either visually or linguistically. According to De Mooij (1994: 154), consumers hold stereotyped images both of foreign countries and of their own country, which is certainly true although a person's opinion of their own nation is likely to differ from that of a foreigner. The stereotypical images are used as information cues when judging products originating from different countries. France, for example, is associated with style and elegance, Germany with reliability and Japan with new technology. Fuentes Luque and Kelly (2000: 236) attach a psychological meaning to stereotypes, suggesting that stereotypes are the brain's way of coping with the many messages it receives each day as they offer a short-cut for interpretation.¹ Using stereotypes is 'necessary when the content of the message, the right context, must be perceived and understood at a glance' (De Mooij 1994: 495–97).

The stereotypes can be primarily visual as Barthes demonstrates in his seminal article 'Rhetoric of the Image'. Barthes (1977: 32–51) comments on the 'Italianicity' (Italian-ness) of a Panzini advert. The advert shows packets of pasta, a tin, a sachet, tomatoes, onions, peppers and mushrooms emerging from a string bag. According to Barthes, Italy and 'Italianicity' are signified by the name Panzini, which, due to its assonance, sounds Italian. In addition the tri-coloured tomatoes and peppers (in yellow, green and red) act as signifiers for Italy. These signifiers would not be perceived by Italians who would not recognize the connotations of the name, nor the typical Italian-ness of peppers and tomatoes. Barthes believes these are based on French knowledge, due to a familiarity with certain stereotypes. I would argue that the same stereotypes exist in Britain: we see the Italians as being great lovers of pasta and pizza and associate the colours

¹ This is in contrast with the linguistic meaning: 'a sentence that does not permit the usual range of grammatical variation' (Crystal 1997: 452) or the more everyday notion of 'a preconceived and oversimplified idea of the characteristics which typify a person, situation etc.' (OED 1989: 002237240, *n.* and *a.* 3b).

and vegetables with Italy.² Stereotypes can also be linguistic, as Cook (2001: 110) suggests in his analysis of the denotations and connotations of the perfume, *Ma Griffe*, which maintains its French name in the English advert. The same product name has different connotations in a French speaking country than in an English one, as shown below.

Ma Griffe / ma griffe			
FRENCH	<i>Meaning 1</i>	<i>Meaning 2</i>	<i>Meaning 3</i>
<i>Denotation:</i>	my designer label	my claw mark	the perfume
<i>Possible Connotations:</i>	good taste, wealth	passion, wildness	(gained from 1 and 2)

Ma Griffe / ma griffe		
ENGLISH	<i>Meaning 1</i>	<i>Meaning 2</i>
<i>Denotation:</i>	(unknown)	the perfume
<i>Indexical of:</i>	Frenchness	
<i>Connotations:</i>	romance, sophistication, etc.	romance, etc. (gained from 1)

Depicting the Other in adverts is an effective persuasive device, although it is important that the Other be seen positively in the target culture. Fuentes Luque and Kelly (2000) note how British stereotypes of the Spanish are not as positive as the Spanish Ministry for Trade and Tourism believes Spain deserves. The British see Spain as corrupt and technologically underdeveloped; the Spanish as lazy and inefficient; and the British tend not to know which products originate in Spain. These stereotypes mean that Spanish private companies are less likely to use Spanish-ness to sell their products; if any mention is made at all of Spain, the reference will be marginal. The reverse is true, however, for state advertisers; the adverts issued by the Spanish government play on both positive and negative stereotypes (for example Spain's beautiful countryside, and Spanish tardiness), thus exploiting perceptions of Spain. The Spanish tourist board produces adverts which use photographs or play on the use of Spanish words, such as *olé* and *bravo*.

² In a similar exercise, very much influenced by Barthes, Zholkovsky (1983) analyses a Soviet cookie wrapper. The wrappers for *Krasnyj Oktjabr* 'Red October' biscuits are yellow with green oak leaves, red maple leaves and unspecified white (birch) leaves. The maple leaves play a central role in the wrapper as they carry the Latvian and Russian words for cookie and direct connection with 'October' (maple leaves fall in autumn). They are marked by their intense colour. The red maple leaves have a double meaning, of 'falling leaves' and 'red flags'. The first meaning is the most explicit and represents a downplaying of the official 'Red October' theme. Zholkovsky argues that this is a position held by 'decent' people who see collaboration with the regime as inevitable, but want to avoid personal involvement. They offer 'October' and 'red', but will not spell out the October Revolution.

De Pedro (1995: 36) highlights how the stereotypes we have of our own nation may lead to the altering of adverts in the translation process. She cites an example where Procter & Gamble use an actress of a different physical type to advertise its Head and Shoulders shampoo in Spain, from the one used in the UK. The Spanish advert uses dark-haired, dark-skinned Arantxa Sol, who replaces the blonde-haired, blue-eyed Ulrika Jonsson in the British version of the advert. De Pedro argues that the choice of personality is arrived at 'in the conviction that the general female public will relate more easily to each of them in Britain and Spain.' The UK representative is actually of Scandinavian origin, although she is a well-known British celebrity. Here we have an example of Procter & Gamble selling Head and Shoulders to the stereotypical Spaniard or Britain, without trying to add any foreign connotations to the product.

Whether advertisers choose to use stereotypes positively or negatively, they are an important device in advertising. Translators must, therefore, be aware of them and understand what motivates the use of the Other in an advert and why it has been employed.

6.1.1 Perceptions of the Anglo-American Other

English is undoubtedly the language of international communication; as Chew (1999: 43) notes, never before in history has a single language spread over so much of the world as English has done. English is associated with business, popular culture, democracy, technology and finance, and is the driving force in globalization.³

Using English-language elements and Western imagery in non-English-language advertising material can add positive connotations to the advertised product. Tommy Hilfiger's advert for its fragrance Tommy emphasizes the selling potential of Western imagery. Both the Russian (RP:40) and English (EP:40) versions of the advert show a multiracial group sitting together on green grass. The young people look relaxed and happy. The advert shows the Stars and

³ The growth of English as a global language coincides with a decline in the number of native English speakers which will result in English being used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second-language and for communication between non-native speakers (Graddol 1999: 57– 68).

Stripes, and the models are all wearing garments in red, white or blue. This is a portrayal of the all-American lifestyle inhabited by affluent, racially-tolerant people. This kind of imagery can only be used where it will be read positively. There would be little sense in designing an advert based on American values destined to be shown in a country which does not have a positive image of the USA.

In Japanese advertising, English is used to 'give a modern ring to the product/service' and 'to intrigue the audience.' (Takashi 1990: 46). In Russian advertising, 'the use of new words of foreign origin has been a way to flag the more liberal, westernised mentality' (Ryazanova-Clarke 1999: 220) and English in particular carries the connotations of 'the glamour and excitement of consumption' (222). Kostomarov notes that in Russia, as in many other countries, the USA is seen as the hub of many spheres, for example new technology, models of social order, economic prosperity and better standards of living, ways of behaving and relating to others (1999: 110); hence the increased levels of borrowing from English. The prestige value of foreign words plays an important role in the process of incorporation of English words into Russian. Brodsky (1992: 72) suggests that since 'Soviet society was cut off from the West for so long it has always been drawn to the forbidden fruits of Western civilisation'.

As with the use of Western images, the use of the English language in non-English adverts will only be effective if it maintains its positive connotations. If English is overused, the target culture may feel dominated by it, believing that its own language is under threat. This has occurred in Russia, where people have reacted strongly to the overuse of words which are unknown to them and they protest against '*zasil'ja inostranščiny*' 'the dominance of foreignness' (Krysin 2000a: 158).⁴ To this end many countries, including Russia, have proposed or

⁴ Krysin (2000a: 158) points out that this kind of reaction has been voiced through every period of significant transformation starting with the reforms of Peter the Great (see footnote 7 in this chapter) and continuing to the present day. A famous user of loanwords was Pushkin. Although he hesitated before using foreign words and criticized himself when he did, he realized 'both the necessity of loan-words and the "distortion" of the native idiom which they entail' (Ward 1981a: 7).

adopted laws to regulate the amount of English that can appear in the media (see section 3.7.2).

6.2 Methodology

In the post-colonial state, the colonizer will be less visible than during the colonial state. The translated adverts will be a mixture of Western and Russian practices. One of the most visible signs of the Other in translated Russian advertising texts is the use of a language other than Russian. This chapter concentrates on the influence of English in translated advertisements.

My first means of assessing whether a word had been borrowed from English was to use the Russian spellchecker within the WORD 2000 program. This proved a quick and effective way of judging the use of a word within Russian, with the assumption that words not recognized by the spellchecker are not used often. These assumptions were double-checked through searches of the *TS*, *ORD*, the online *Yandex* dictionary,⁵ and the *Yandex* search engine.⁶ In order to find more established borrowings, further assimilated into Russian than those picked out by the spellchecker, and words already present in Russian but being used in ways borrowed from English, it was necessary to carry out a close reading of the adverts in the corpora and carry out similar dictionary searches on highlighted words. These investigations were carried out on both the parallel Russian and the monolingual Russian corpora to offer a means of comparison.

The first part of this chapter deals with the use of English lexis in the translated Russian adverts. The remainder of the chapter comprises two case studies. The first investigates the treatment of colour terms within the translated Russian advertisements and the second concentrates on the employment of product and company names.

6.3 The Other as a Linguistic Unit

Russian has borrowed words throughout history. The earliest most visible outside influence came from Iran beginning in *c.* 500 BC, including *nebo* 'heaven' and *slovo* 'word' which are still used today (Vlasto 1986: 253). This was the start of

⁵ Yandex Russian Dictionary [online]. Available at: <URL:<http://www.lingvo.yandex.ru>>

⁶ Yandex Russian Search Engine [online]. Available at: <URL:<http://www.yandex.ru>>. See appendix eight, p. 361)

borrowing, which saw Russian accept loanwords from Gothic, Baltic, Finnic, Scandinavian, Greek and Polish. From the reign of Peter the Great (1689–1725), the Petrine epoch, the words borrowed were predominantly of European origin.⁷ The flow of loanwords, which has continued until the present day, reflects the adoption of Western culture in the broadest sense (Ward 1981a: 8). The borrowings of words from German, French, English and Dutch at different times in history reflect the military and economic reforms of Peter, and developments in the culture and civilization of Russia over the past two and half centuries (Ward 1981b: 7). Nautical words, for example, were borrowed from Dutch, while French and German provided military words. Until the 1730s, German was the main contributor of loanwords. However, after this date French began to assert its primacy as the international language of diplomacy and culture; French achieved an undisputed pre-eminence in literature and the intellectual field, and everything French was worthy of imitation (Vlasto 1986: 287 and 290). During the nineteenth century, French was the language of the Russian educated classes, and as a result Russian contained many Gallicisms; by the start of the twentieth century the number of French borrowings competed with those from German and English. Anti-German feeling during the First World War led to a decrease in German borrowings, and by the 1920s there had been a shift away from French to English borrowing. By the middle of the 1930s, however, the tightening of Stalin's regime and alienation from the West meant that the overall number of borrowings decreased and the attitude to things foreign became increasingly negative (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky 1996: 205). Many sports terms, borrowed from English, were replaced by Russian equivalents: *vratar* 'goal keeper' rather than *golkiper* (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 33). Stalin's death in 1953 did not have an immediate impact on vocabulary, but by the 1960s there was a marked increase in borrowing, especially of concepts which depicted the

⁷ Peter the Great (Peter I) is famous for his Westernization of Russia. Peter was extremely interested in the West and had travelled around Europe in 1695 prior to assuming full power in Russia. He returned with knowledge of Western practice and realized that in order to survive, Russia would have to adopt the Western system of power. He set about reforming the military, education, government, church and economy. He moved Russia's capital to Saint Petersburg, adopted the Western calendar and famously insisted that Russians shave off their beards. The result was a 'bewigged and clean-shaved' upper stratum which 'spoke an entirely different language, thought in different terms and pursued different ideals' and the 'mass of bearded peasantry' (Kochan and Abraham 1990: 124–25). With the new Western ideas, came new vocabulary and therefore increased borrowing.

Western way of life, such as *rok-n-roll* ‘rock ‘n’ roll’. Between 1975 and 1985, the number of borrowings decreased due to saturation in the previous decade. In the post-*perestrojka* period, the number of borrowings has increased steadily in areas including technology, clothes, mass-media, music, economics, politics, sport and leisure, and food; the vast majority of these borrowings come from English.

Krysin (2000a: 146–47) notes six types of borrowing in Russian, which I tabulate below with examples:

	Reason to Borrow	Example
1	To name a new thing or phenomenon.	<i>kino</i> ‘cinema’, <i>komp’juter</i> ‘computer’.
2	To separate two close, but different concepts.	<i>ujut</i> ‘cosiness’ and <i>komfort</i> ‘comfort, convenience’. ⁸
3	For specialist terms for certain spheres.	<i>rak</i> ‘cancer’ and <i>kancer</i> ‘cancer’. ⁹
4	To give a single word for a concept rather than a combination of words.	<i>sprinter</i> ‘sprinter’ rather than <i>begun na korotkie distancii</i> ‘short distance runner’.
5	To use the terminology of a particular field.	programmers use the term <i>juser</i> ‘user’ rather than the Russian term <i>pol’zovatel’</i> ‘user’.
6	For socio-psychological reasons as a sign of prestige.	<i>šop</i> ‘shop’ used to refer to a shop which sells luxury goods, compared to <i>magazin</i> ‘shop’ which could sell anything.

Below, I concentrate on the use of non-Russian linguistic units within the translated Russian adverts. The adverts use borrowings for reasons covered by Krysin’s categories given above. I have categorized these borrowings as the use of Latin script within Russian adverts; the use of English loanwords, meanings and calques; word formation; and the introduction of scientific terminology.

⁸ It seems that the main difference between these two nouns is that *ujut* is ‘the cosy situation in a house’, while *komfort* is ‘the conditions which go some way to create that cosiness’.

UJUT – *udobnyj porjadok, prijatnaja ustroennost’ byta, obstanovki*. ‘comfortable order, nice household, environment.’ (TS 1995: 835)

KOMFORT – *uslovija žizni, prebyvanija, obstanovka, obespečivajuščie udobstvo, spokojstvie i ujut*. ‘standard of living, residence, environment, providing comfort, calm and cosiness.’ (TS 1995: 283)

⁹ Although both terms mean ‘cancer’, *rak* is used in everyday language, whereas *kancer* is restricted to the field of medicine.

Although not precisely a reflection of Otherness, scientific terminology appears foreign to the target reader and is, therefore, worthy of investigation.¹⁰

6.3.1 English Language Aspects with No Adjustments in the Russian Adverts

Seven different uses of English language elements can be identified in the translated Russian adverts. The first is where the whole text in the Russian version is in a language other than Russian. The first example, for Elizabeth Arden's Splendor perfume, carries only the English language headline:

The enchanting new fragrance (RP:9)

In the next two examples there is a mixture of both French and English text in the Russian advert. The Swiss company Longines uses a French slogan to emphasize its Swiss roots, whilst using an English headline to demonstrate its global appeal:

L'ELEGANCE DU TEMPS DEPUIS 1832 (RP:18)
Elegance is an attitude.

Paul Smith uses a hybrid of French and English for its British perfume. The use of French in perfume manufacturing is an attempt to attach the connotations of French perfumery prowess to a non-French product:

PARFUMS Men + Women (RP:36)

French is often used in English-language adverts for perfume. As Tanaka (1994: 55–56) points out there is an abundance of French in adverts for perfume and the French language communicates assumptions of 'Frenchness'. She argues 'French is used as France has historically dominated perfume production, but really it is more to do with snobbery', this claim, however, is difficult to prove. A consumer is likely to list qualities such as smell, packaging, point-of-sale presentations and advertising campaigns as reasons why a particular perfume has been purchased, rather than admitting to snobbish tendencies. French, in English-language adverts, adds a degree of sophistication and prestige. The connotations of sophistication and prestige attached to France go some way to explain why

¹⁰ Many technological words contain Greek and Latin elements, so are therefore loanwords in that respect. But they tend not to be seen as loanwords, however, but as 'international' elements (Ward 1981b: 6).

L'Oréal continues to emphasize its French heritage, even though less than one fifth of its turnover comes from the French market:

L'Oréal Paris still offers to the consumers of the World a vision of beauty 'à la française'. This is because Paris is regarded as the capital of fashion and 'Les Parisiennes' have the reputation of being well-groomed and chic, with an understated elegance. Our French heritage manifests itself through the style of our advertising and some of the product names, such as Elvive, Plénitude and Elnett. (L'Oréal Publicity material: 11)

Such is the desire to appear French, and possess all the positive connotations attached to this, that even when celebrating its French-ness in English, L'Oréal uses French words such as *à la française*, *les Parisiennes* and *chic*. It is assumed that Russians have the same perceptions of the French as do the British.

Using whole stretches of foreign text within a Russian advert emphasizes the foreignness of the product being advertised. Advertisers are relying on a positive stereotypical view of the country which the language represents. Rather than using the linguistic units to persuade, the use of the foreign language is itself a signifier, used with the intention of signifying certain connotations with which the product wants to be associated (for example prestige, sophistication or technological innovation).

The second use of English language elements is as a slogan within adverts containing Russian text. These English-language slogans are found in the otherwise translated Russian adverts:

THE SPIRIT OF ORANGE INSIDE (RP:7)
TIME FOR PEACE (RP:16)
there is no life without excess (RP:35)

Natal'ja Rumjanceva, a translator of advertising texts at Leo Burnett & Modrapour in Moscow, suggests why elements of adverts are sometimes not translated into Russian: 'when the line [slogan] in English is much more "charming" than in Russian and already is the sign of brand. (Marlboro. Come to where the flavour is.)'¹¹ This certainly appears to be a viable explanation for these examples.

¹¹ Email correspondence with Natal'ja Rumjanceva, translator at Leo Burnett and Moradpour, 17 July 2000.

The third use is where the English text serves as an explanation of the use of the product:

Long Lasting Lipstick (RP:10)
a fragrance for women (RP:1)

These English-language explanations come within adverts where some of the text has been translated. English is being used exactly where a clear and understandable explanation would be expected. To be certain of the function of the product being advertised, it would make sense for the explanation to be given in Russian, however it is not. Presumably again, the advertisers are relying on the positive connotations of the foreign language and perhaps the assumption that since the explanations are given in relatively clear and simple English Russian readers will be able to understand them. There is pressure on Russians to be proficient in English in order to be assimilated into the new market economy.

The fourth use is for technical terms. The first example comes from Waltham's Advance. The acronym FBMI refers to the Feline Body Mass Index; the English letters are used in the Russian text, although the explanation is translated.

FBMI (Feline Body Mass Index) (EP:43)

[...] osnovannyx na {FBMI} (Indekse Telosloženiya Koški) (RP:43)
'[...] based on the {FBMI} (Index of Cat's Body Composition)'

The second example is in Hewlett Packard's Vectra computer specifications for. Within the Russian text you find the following:

Intel Pentium; Ultra ATA; Matrox MGA G200 AGP 2X; Windows 95; Windows NT Workstation 4.0; Windows 2000; HP Tools; Intel, the Intel Inside logo and Pentium are registered trademarks of Intel Corporation (RP:13)

Technical terms are used in the adverts to impress the potential reader and to emphasize that the product being advertised is state-of-the-art or based on sound, scientific research. The fact that these terms appear in English gives further indication of the newness as similar appliances, programs and indexes are not already available in Russia. English suggests that the product is the genuine article, though obviously does not prove it. If the terms are used for a long time,

or by a large number of people, they might be assimilated into Russian (see 6.3.2); conversely they might simply disappear as quickly as they appeared.

The fifth use is for the names of celebrity endorsers. Max Factor uses quotes from makeup artists who worked on recent blockbuster films. In a similar example, where Cindy Crawford is endorsing Omega watches, there is a handwritten comment on the watches, assumedly written by Cindy which remains in Latin script and is not translated into Russian. (For more on celebrity endorsement see 7.2.3.2). The fact that the names remain in Latin script emphasizes their foreignness, thus adding another dimension to their appeal and perhaps compensating for the fact that they are less well-known in Russian society. One of the advantages of leaving the names in Latin script is that the problems of multiple transcriptions are reduced.¹²

English is also used in some of the adverts to describe the different colours in the makeup ranges advertised. This will be further discussed later in this chapter in the case study ‘The Curious Case of Colours’ (see 6.4).

By far the most frequently used application of English language elements in the translated Russian adverts is in the product and company names. Every advert in the parallel Russian corpus displays a product and/or company name in Latin script. These will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, in the case study ‘The Name Game’ (see 6.5).

6.3.2 Loanwords

The corpora contains words borrowed from English, connected with health and beauty. Firstly, Clinique’s Anti Gravity eye cream employs the Russian adjective *liftingovyy* ‘lifting’.

Novyj ukrepljajuščij liftingovyj krem dlja glaz (RP:3)
‘New strengthening lifting cream for eyes’

This Russian phrase is used to explain the function of the product and is not used in the English text as the product name, Anti Gravity Firming Eye Lift Cream,

¹² Heather Locklear, for example, has been transcribed into Cyrillic as Хизер Локлир, transcribing this back into the Latin alphabet gives either (depending on the system used) Xizer or Khizer Loklir, which bear only a slight resemblance to the original.

gives enough information. The meaning of the Russian word *lifting* is much narrower than the English from which it is borrowed. In English, *lifting* from the verb TO LIFT has fourteen related meanings (*OED* 1989: 00132964, *n.*). In Russian there seems to be only one meaning of *lifting*, that is the tightening of saggy skin either through surgical or non-surgical means, as in English *face lift*.¹³

Searching the Russian search engine, *Yandex* (<URL:http://www.yandex.ru>), gives the same narrow meaning for Russian *lifting*, as these examples show:

Maski obladajut nemedlennym omolazhivajuščim dejstviem i liftingovym èffektom.¹⁴

'The masks possess an immediate rejuvenating action and lifting effect.'

Drožževoj kompress – èffektivnaja liftingovaja procedura.¹⁵

'A yeast compress – an effective lifting treatment'

Liftingovye operacii¹⁶

'Lifting operations'

Also significant here is the assimilation of the English word *lifting* into Russian by the addition of the adjectival ending <ovyj> and its subsequent case declension. The assimilation may culminate in the formation of a verb as with *faks* 'fax', which has led to the derivation of a noun *faks*, an adjective *faksovyj* and verbs *faksovat*/'*faksnut*' (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 151).

Another direct loan used in the corpus is *supermodel*'.

Supermodel' Kristi ispol'zuet bystrosoxnuščij lak dlja nogtej "Èkspress"
(RP:30)

'Supermodel Kristi is using fast-drying nail varnish "Èkspress"'

Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 196) note how the Russian prefix *sverx* has gradually lost out to *super*, possibly as a result of the influence of international lexis. Whereas in the 1960s English 'super' would be calqued as *sverx*, in the 1990s *super* was more common. The related adjective *supermodnyj* can also be found in the corpus, here meaning 'fashionable'.

¹³ It is probable that Russian *lifting* is not a direct loan from English but has entered Russian as a second-hand translation from French. The noun *le lifting* 'face-lift' entered French in 1956 and is based on the English *face-lifting* (*PR* 1993: 1283).

¹⁴ [online] <URL:http://pages.krasota.ru/rvb/profcosm/orange/index.html > [Accessed 18-10-01]

¹⁵ [online] <URL:http://www.ami.nnov.ru/fom/1999/149/kompress.html> [Accessed 18-10-01]

¹⁶ [online] <URL:http://okb1.mplik.ru/disk/images/1/tsld028.htm> [Accessed 18-10-01]

SUPERMODNYE CVETA V ODNO MGNOVENIE! (RP:30)
'SUPER-FASHIONABLE COLOURS IN ONE MOMENT!'

The final two examples of health and beauty loanwords are taken from the monolingual Russian corpus. They both appear in the *Zolotaja Linija* (RM:22) advert for gel to maintain the elasticity of your bust. The first is *fitness-klub* 'fitness club' and the second *celljulit* 'cellulite'. These words have become common currency in Russian and are used in native advertising;¹⁷ a search of *Yandex* which found 25935 pages containing the combination *fitness* and *klub*; and 25702 pages featuring *celljulit*.¹⁸ The advert also uses the same metaphorical description of cellulite as in English, describing the skin texture as *apel'sinovaja korka* 'orange peel'.

Another area of borrowing is the field of technology. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 144) note that the borrowing of the word *komp'juter* 'computer' led the way for a deluge of computer terms entering Russian. Two are present in this corpus, the most significant being *Internet*. According to Krysin (2000b: 38) the word *Internet* did not appear in Russian until the mid-1980s and was not widely used until the beginning of the 1990s. In his article *Sklonjaetsja li slovo Internet?* 'Does the word Internet decline?', Krysin argues that it definitely does. He notes that fairly recently the word was written in Latin script, but soon was written in Cyrillic and not declined, and now declines as a masculine noun. However, in my corpus there are two examples where *Internet* is used, but not declined:

Adres v Internet (RP:43)
'Address on the Internet'

According to Krysin it is now commoner to decline *Internet*, and the corpus also has an example of this:

Otkrojte dlja sebja liniju {The Skincare} v Internete (RP:39)
'Discover for yourselves the line {The Skincare} on the Internet'

This is an example of what Ryazanova-Clarke (1999a: 221) calls 'English language elements in the initial stage of borrowing, with unsettled use'. The

¹⁷ The English word 'club' appeared in Russian as early as 1784 in the form *klob*, but was superseded by the form *klub*, from German, first recorded in 1804 (Ward 1981a: 9).

¹⁸ Search carried out in the Russian search engine *Yandex* [online]. Available at: <URL:<http://www.yandex.ru>> on 18-10-01

dates of the publications may be an indication of how quickly an English language element can be assimilated into Russian. It may be that within the five months between the two adverts it became the norm to decline the word *Internet*.¹⁹

The Internet seems to be a popular way of extending advertising campaigns with eighteen of the English parallel adverts providing website addresses, twenty-one of the Russian parallel and three in the Russian monolingual corpus (see appendix eight, p. 362). The higher incidence of adverts in the Russian parallel corpus giving a website than in the English originals is perhaps a response to the Russian's need to gain more concrete information before purchasing. However, unless the Russian reader understands English they will be none the wiser after viewing these sites. Of the twenty-one websites only two are in Russian (RP:12/13). Thirteen of the websites offer a choice of languages, for example Korean, German, Italian, Norwegian etc., but not Russian. The six remaining websites are completely in English (RP:33-34). They direct viewers to a Russian Federation subsection, however this does not differ from the original homepage. This is another example of the colonizing tendencies where the need to understand English is once again highlighted. It also demonstrates assumptions that Russian consumers are less likely to have access to the Internet, than more technologically advanced nations such as Japan.²⁰

The second example of a technical borrowing is the name of a computer case described in the Hewlett Packard Vectra advert (RP:13) as a *minitauèr* 'minitower' – an upright computer case, as compared to a *kompaktnyj, nastol'nyj korpus* 'compact, table-standing case' – a desk-top computer case. These borrowings have entered Russian to describe previously non-existent concepts which have their origins in the West and therefore have Western names.

¹⁹ I am aware of the lead time for adverts and their publication, meaning that adverts are conceived and written well before the publication date and I am not suggesting that in April 2000 everyone began to decline the word *Internet*. However, I believe that it is an indication of how quickly changes are being made to Russian.

²⁰ This is despite the fact that the growth rate of Russian Internet use is surpassing that of many nations. In 1996, there were only a few thousand Russian users, but by 2000 the estimated usage was between 2.5 and 6 million. Although still considered a luxury, Russians are beginning to use Internet stores and see it as an effective tool for comparing product prices (Gornyj 2000).

6.3.3 Loan Meanings

Certain words in the corpus have acquired loan meanings, different from their original Russian meaning and closer to their usage in English. The most obvious example is the use of *kondicioner*, used in the corpus in the following way, meaning ‘conditioner’:

UP TO 66% MOISTURISERS
AND CONDITIONERS (EP:31)

66% UVLAŽNJAJUŠČIX KOMPONENTOV
i kondicionerov (RP:31)
‘66% MOISTURISING COMPONENTS
and conditioners’

The dictionary definition of *KONDICIONER* is ‘*apparat dlja kondicionirovanija vozduxa*’ ‘appliance for air-conditioning’ (TS 1995: 283). This is the use in RP:12, where *kondicioner* is an option found in the Ford Ka. There seems, however, to have been a broadening in meaning for the noun, bringing it in line with English where *CONDITIONER* is ‘an agent that brings into good condition’ (OED 1989: 00046670, 2a).²¹

The second example, *èkskljuzivnoj*, cannot be found on either TS (1995) or ORD (1995) although it is present in Yandex’s online Russian-English dictionary.²² In this dictionary the phrase *èkskljuzivnoe pravo* is translated as ‘exclusive right, sole right’. This is not the use in the corpus, as the examples below show:

blagodarija èkskljuzivnoj sisteme APPLIKOLOR (RP:21)
‘thanks to the exclusive APPLICOLOR system’

žemčuzina èkskljuzivnoj serii {Ka Collection} (RP:12)
‘the pearl of an exclusive series {Ka Collection}’

Here *èkskljuzivnyj* is being used in the English sense: ‘strictly limited to the object or objects designated’ (OED 1989: 00079656, *a.* and *n.* 7). Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 139) note that it is used in Russian, as in English, to mean ‘élitist, high class, expensive’. They suggest that although the native Russian word *iskljucitelnyj* ‘exceptional’ is a close synonym it does not have the additional semantic components of elitism attached to *èkskljuzivnoj*.

²¹ ORD (1995: 622) defines AIR-CONDITIONING as ‘*kondicionirovanie vozduxa*’ ‘conditioning of air’.

²² Yandex Russian Dictionary [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.lingvo.yandex.ru>

The final example comes from the Ford Ka advert and uses the phrase *èto top-model'* 'it's a top-model' which is a direct borrowing from English. In Russian the word *top* comes from the verb *TOPAT' / TOPNUT'* meaning 'to stamp' (*ORD* 1995: 536) and is therefore '*o zvuke šagov*' 'about the sound of steps' (*TS* 1995: 791). Here, however, the meaning has been borrowed from English TOP 'the highest, chief, or leading position, place or rank' (*OED* 1989: 0025447, n.¹ 14a).

6.3.4 Calques

There are a few examples of the Russian elements calquing the English original. The first mimics the *N-in-1* formula frequently used in English. For example, a combined shampoo and conditioner is described as being *2-in-1*. In the corpus there is one example of this form being used:

Sarah is wearing Express Makeup 3 in 1 (EP:29)

Sara ispol'zuet tonal'nyj karandaš Èkspress Mèjkap 3 v 1(RP:29)
'Sara is using foundation pencil Èkspress Mèjkap 3 in 1'

This emphasizes the three separate actions completed by the foundation stick (or pencil in Russian): that it applies like a liquid foundation, can conceal imperfections and has a powder-like finish.

The second example is a calque of the English central locking found in the Ford Ka advert (EP:12). The Russian combines the word *central'nyj* 'central' and *zamok* 'lock' (RP:12).

The calque of *exclusive distributor* is used extensively in the parallel Russian corpus, appearing in ten adverts. There seems to be some ambiguity in the spelling, however, with the following variants being present: *èkskljuzivnyj distrib'jutor* and *èkskljuzivnyj distributor*. Neither spelling of 'distributor' is present in the *TS* or *ORD*, and *ROD* suggests *raspredelitel'* as the translation of DISTRIBUTOR (*ORD* 1995: 776). The Yandex online dictionary glosses *DISTRIB'JUTOR* as 'distributor' whilst the version which is a closer transliteration of the English, *DISTRIBUTOR*, is marked as being '*v tekstax perevodov*' 'in translated texts'. The corpus shows a preference to the first variant with eight of the ten instances being in this form. This calque must be relatively new, as a

1993 commercial and financial dictionary lists the translation of the French *DISTRIBUTEUR EXCLUSIF* and English EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTOR / SOLE DISTRIBUTOR as the rather wordier '*torgovyj agent s isključitel'nyj pravom prodaži*' 'trading agent with exclusive rights of sale' (Gavrichina, Sazonov and Gavrichina 1993: 263).

Unlike loanwords, calques are built around words which are already present in Russian but are being used to describe a concept which has been, up to then, unknown. By replacing each grammatical unit by the Russian equivalent, the calques go further towards adapting the word for Russian than a loanword which borrows the word completely; however, there is the possibility that the reader will understand the component parts without understanding the whole. By using existing Russian lexis, a calque is likely to be more understandable than a loanword and, by maintaining the Russian meaning, more understandable than a loan-meaning.

6.3.5 Word Formation

In the cosmetics adverts there are a number of words which have been specially formulated to describe the uses of the advertised products. The first example, used in L'Oréal's Jet-Set nail varnish (RP: 22, plate six) combines three elements: *sverx* 'super', *bystryj* 'fast' and *soxnušij* 'drying', thus *sverxbystrosoxnušij*. The second example attaches the prefix *ul'tra* (which originally appeared in Russian in the nineteenth century meaning 'extremist', based on the French *ultra* – Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 196) and the noun *blesk* 'shine'. This word is used to describe Estée Lauder's Pure Color Lipstick (RP:10). The use of *blesk* when referring to cosmetics is itself quite new. The ETS publishing house noted its appearance in the newspaper *Èkspress-gazeta* in 1998.²³ The compound word translates two separate words in the English original *ultra shine* (EP:10). The third example, *peresuščivanie*, comes from L'Oréal's Féria hair colour:

Zaščičajuščij bal'zam + filtr {UV}, kotoryj oberegaet volosy ot peresuščivanja
(RP:21)

'Protecting balsam + {UV} filter, which protects hair from over-drying-out'

²³ ETS. *Novoe v russkom jazyke*. [online]. Russia: ETS Publishing House. Available at: <URL:<http://www.ets.ru/livelang/r42week.htm>> [Accessed 23-10-01]

The word combines the prefix *pere* ‘trans-, re-, over-, out-’ (ORD 1995: 336) and *sušivanie* from *SUŠIT’* ‘to dry (out, up)’ (ORD 1995: 523). *Peresušivanie* is being used to translate the following English:

Rich, Nourishing, Aftercare Conditioner with UV filter protects your hair from drying out (EP:21)

These words are not unique to these adverts. They were all found during a search of *Yandex*²⁴, although the numbers were relatively small. There were 820 pages with an example *peresušivanie*; thirty-five with *sverxbystrosoxnušij* and fourteen with *ul'trablesk*. This perhaps indicates that these words have been formed to translate difficult word combinations found in the English equivalents.

6.3.6 Scientific Terminology

In addition to borrowings from English, there are also a number of scientific terms. Although these are not necessarily neologisms, they are not used in everyday Russian, and therefore appear foreign.

The following words used in the Elizabeth Arden's Ceramide Herbal (RP:8) *ginkgo* ‘ginkgo’, *èxinaceja* ‘echinacea’ and *ceramid* ‘ceramide’; and *antioksidant* ‘antioxidant’ from the Waltham Advance cat and dog food (RP:43–44) adverts do not appear in *TS* (1995). *Ginkgo* and *antioksidant* appear in the *Yandex* online dictionary.²⁵ In order to find *èxinaceja*, it was necessary to look in a Russian-English Botanical Dictionary (Macura 1981: 666). This suggests that this is quite a specialized term. *Ceramid* ‘ceramide’, however, was found on 353 pages during a *Yandex* search.²⁶ Some of the uses are given here:

Gel' uxod za kožeju vokrug glaz s ceramidami.²⁷
‘Gel to care for the skin around the eyes with ceramides’

Soderžit rastitel'nye ceramidy²⁸
‘Contains vegetal ceramides’

²⁴ Search carried out 18-10-01 on the Yandex Russian Search Engine. [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.yandex.ru>

²⁵ Yandex Russian Dictionary [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.lingvo.yandex.ru>

²⁶ Search carried out 18-10-01 on the Yandex Russian Search Engine. [online]. Available at: <URL:http://www.yandex.ru>

²⁷ [online] <URL:http://www.sitek.ru/~rif/bp.htm >

²⁸ [online] <URL:http://www.dracosha.ru/Catalog/silverline_night.htm >

Fruktovye kisloty, ceramidy, vitaminy i mnogie drugie ²⁹
'Fruit acids, ceramides, vitamins and many others'

These terms are not as specialized in English and all, with the exception of CERAMIDE, appear in *OED* (1989).³⁰ Using these technical, foreign words make the advert appear more scientifically credible and thus persuades readers to purchase. Klušina makes a similar observation when she notes that scientific terminology is one of the bases of making a successful, logical argument in advertising texts (2001: 58).

6.3.7 Discussion

The translated Russian adverts in this corpus use English-language elements with specific aims in mind. There does not seem to be the unrestricted use of English which was characteristic of early post-Communist advertising. The use of English is calculated to have a certain effect on the target audience. One use of English is to add prestige to the product being advertised; choosing an English slogan, a non-Russian endorser or even a specific English word over a Russian one emphasizes the foreignness of the product. The use of English for prestige purposes is also seen in the corpus of monolingual Russian adverts, where four advertisers highlight the availability of Western products in their shops: *Arbat prestiž* (RM:1), *Dikaja Orxideja* (RM:4), *Ljuks galereja* (RM:9) and *Sed'moj ètaž* (RM:14). Scientific terminology is being employed to add prestige to the product, emphasizing the quality of the product being advertised.

English is used when there is no existing term in Russian. The borrowings come in the form of loanwords, meanings and calques. With loanwords, the English-language equivalent is used within the Russian text. Some of the words have become assimilated into Russian and now show Russian adjectival or verbal endings. The process of assimilation may lead to a divergence of meaning between the English original and the target meaning. Words are also taken and adapted for the target culture. Loan meanings use existing Russian words, but

²⁹ [online] <URL:<http://samarapms.chat.ru/silver.htm>>

³⁰ The *Academic Dictionary of Science and Technology* [online]. San Diego: Harcourt. Available at: <URL:<http://www.harcourt.com/dictionary/def/1/8/7/5/1875800.html>> [Accessed 2-11-01] defines CERAMIDE as 'an N-acylated sphingoid commonly produced from a fatty acid with 18 to 26 atoms and found along with phosphocholine in sphingomyelin.'

apply the English meaning. This may cause confusion in the beginning, although with repeated usage the new meaning should take hold within Russian. With calques, Russian words express new concepts, but they follow an English model; here there seems to be some adaptation towards the Russian audience through the use of words that they understand, albeit in new collocations. The words introduced, in this corpus at least, come predominantly from the areas of cosmetics and technology. Neologisms are also found in the corpus of native Russian adverts (see the Zolotaja linija adverts RM:21-22), although the incidence is lower.

The lexical Other, then, is not being used without motivation. The colonizer, it appears, is aware of the impact of its language and uses it with the specific intention of emphasizing the foreignness of the advertised product and benefiting from the positive stereotypes that language has. The second motivation is when English words fill a perceived lexical gap in Russian.

6.4 Case Study One – The Curious Case of Colours

One of the interesting features of many of the cosmetics adverts in this corpus is their use of colour. Colour has the capacity to evoke strong emotional reactions and although people often see colours in the same way, the significance of individual colours may be different between cultures; whereas in Western Europe and the USA white is the colour of purity and virtue, in Japan it is the colour of mourning and humility; yellow signifies cowardice in the West but happiness and prosperity in the Middle East. Colours are emblems of national pride and nowhere is this more significant than in flags. When the Soviets ruled Estonia, for example, they not only banned the Estonian national flag, but also any combinations of blue-black-white in fear of fostering anti-Soviet feeling.

Russian has eight basic colour terms: *belyj* 'white', *černyj* 'black', *krasnyj* 'red', *sinij* 'blue', *zelėnyj* 'green', *žėltyj* 'yellow', *goluboj* 'light blue' and *seryj* 'grey'. Following these basic terms are four additional terms which are moving towards greater integration: *koričnevyyi* 'brown', *rozovyj* 'pink', *fiolėtovyj* 'purple' and

oranževyj ‘orange’ (Comrie and Corbett 1993: 879–80).³¹ Some colours in Russian carry extra semantic meaning beside description (Henry 1998). Whereas yellow is the colour of prostitutes, light blue (*goluboj*) is the term for homosexuals and grey for ignoramuses *serye ljudi* ‘grey people’. Black is the colour of menial work *černaja rabota* ‘black work’ and hard times *bereč’ na černyj den’* ‘to keep for a black day’. Green connotes unbearable boredom *zelenaja skuka* ‘green tedium’ *toska zelenaja* ‘green boredom’. Gold, on the other hand, has very positive connotations, as these examples show:

Russian	Literal translation	Idiomatic translation
<i>Zolotaja seredina</i>	Golden mean	Happy medium
<i>Zolotoj dožd’</i>	Golden rain	Windfall
<i>Zolotit’ piljulju</i>	To golden the pill	To sweeten the pill
<i>Zolotoe serce</i>	Golden heart	Heart of gold
<i>Zolotye ruki</i>	Golden hands	To be good with one’s hands

Of the forty-five adverts in the parallel corpus, twelve name colours in the original adverts. As well as colours used to describe makeup which are a reference to something of a distinct colour (for example *ivory* in EP:29), many of the colour names are inventive, using epithets (such as *madder red* in EP: 31 or *passionate plum* in EP:27) or complimenting the name of the product, albeit in a bizarre fashion (*warp speed* and *Concorde* in EP:22).

There are four strategies used in the translation of colours in the parallel corpus, which I look at individually (see appendix eight, p. 365).

6.4.1 Deletion

In one advert the colour in the English-language advert is not present in the Russian translation:

Pure Color Shade Black Wine 103 (EP:10)

This phrase is omitted in the Russian version.

³¹ There are other terms to translate English *purple*: *purpurnyj* which retains Imperial connotations; *bagrovij* which the purplish red of flushed cheeks, hands, blood and dawn (often glossed ‘crimson’; *lilovij* ‘lilac’ and *fioletovij* ‘violet’ which are associated with flowers (Comrie and Corbett 1993: 879).

6.4.2 Colour Substitution

Substituting the colour in the English original for a number in the Russian version is the most popular device in this corpus used in six adverts. In EP:20, the English reads:

Milla Jovovich is wearing Color Riche No. 123, Chocolate (EP:20)

Whilst the Russian is:

Mila Jovovič ispol'zuet uvlažnjajuščuju pomadu "Kolor Riš" No. 123 (RP:20)
'Mila Jovovič is using moisturizing lipstick "Kolor Riš" No. 123'

In the example above, the number is given in the English original, although this does not have to be the case. In EP: 30 the colour is *pearly pink*, while in RP:30 it is *cvet 200* 'colour 200', which is not pearly pink.

Using this method, many of the inventive names are not maintained in Russian, for example EP:21 *sparkling amber*, *chocolate cherry* and *starry night*; EP:22 *B52*, *Presto* and *Departure*; EP:30 *happy orange*, *soft violet* and *safari green*; and EP:31 *plum motion*, *icy beige* and *metallic mauve*, are all replaced by numbers in the Russian versions or as in RP:31 only the colour worn by the endorser is numbered while the other colours are neither named nor numbered.

6.4.3 Transference

In two adverts the colour is given in the Latin script within the Russian text, as in this example:

Mila Jovovič ispol'zuet momental'nyj tonal'nyj karandaš "Kvik Stik" No. 16 {Beige Nu} (RP:23)
'Mila Jovovič is using instant tone pencil "Kvik Stik" No16 {Beige Nu}'

The number of the colour is included, although this is not present in the English-language version.

6.4.4 Colour Couplets³²

There are three examples of colour couplets, where the English colour is given with a Russian translation. Max Factor's Midnight Passion uses this strategy:

Teni ottenka "Strastnaja Sliva" {(Passionate Plum)} (RP:27)
'Eye shadow shade "Passionate Plum" {(Passionate Plum)}'

As does Max Factor's Lip Silks:

Madonna ispol'zuet ottenok 34 – “Smelyj rubinovyj” {(Risky Ruby)}(RP:26)
'Madonna is using shade 34 – “Daring Ruby” {(Risky Ruby)}'

Again the number of the colour is given in the Russian, although it is not present in the English original.

The translations of the colours in RP:29 are less literal than in the two examples above:

{IVORY} – SVETLO-OPALOVYJ
{SOFT CAMEO} – OPALOVYJ
{NUDE} – SVETLO-BEŽOVYJ
{BUFF} – NATURAL'NYJ

'{IVORY} – LIGHT OPAL
{SOFT CAMEO} – OPAL
{NUDE} – LIGHT-BEIGE
{BUFF} – NATURAL'

Rather than giving a literal translation, which would have perhaps been nonsensical for the Russian reader, the translator has opted for a more descriptive rendering of the colour which is more culturally applicable.

6.4.5 Extralinguistic Factors

In addition to the linguistic treatment of colours in the adverts translated into Russian, there have been changes which are not of a linguistic nature. The number of colours shown has been increased in three of Russian adverts (RP:21, 22 and 31). It seems that the Russian adverts show all the colours available in the range, whereas the English adverts show only new colours, or those which are currently popular. This change may indicate different marketing strategies: in the UK, advertisers are building on an established brand; in Russia, the brand is still being established and it is therefore important that it appeals to as large a market as possible. Of the twelve adverts naming colours, only one, L'Oréal's Color Riche (EP/RP:20), has exactly the same colour in both the Russian and English adverts (that is the number of the colour coincides and the shade appears the same in both the adverts). Some of the adverts make changes to the colours of makeup used, for example darker *Angel Red* lipstick in the Russian version

³² I am using Newmark's translation couplet 'literal translation or translation label plus transcription' (1981: 32) here to mean the English colour with a literal Russian translation.

(RP:19) as opposed to *Night in Brazil* in the English (EP:19); warmer coloured *buff* foundation (RP:29), rather than *mocha blast* (EP:29); or very different nail varnish shades, from dark red in the English (EP:22) to vibrant blue in the Russian (RP:22). It appears that adaptation is being made in order to accommodate the perceived preferences of the target market.

6.4.6 Discussion

There are no actual examples of translation proper in this corpus. The closest the adverts come to this is through the use of translation couplets, where a translation is given alongside the English original. The English original is maintained in order to facilitate purchasing the product, thus implying that the English colours will be used at the point of purchase. When English is not used in the Russian adverts, the colours are replaced by a number. This is an effective way of dealing with any language difficulties which may occur if the potential customer cannot read the English name. But when the colours are replaced by numbers many of the connotations attached to these colours in the English originals are lost. For example, naming a lipstick colour *chocolate* suggests that it is good enough to eat, and calling a nail varnish colour *presto* effectively tells you that you will not have to wait long for it to dry. The overall, global marketing strategy, then, takes precedence over the potential Russian consumer.

The most effective way of ensuring the connotations of the colour are not lost, whilst ensuring the consumer is able to purchase it, is to use translation couplets, perhaps with the addition of a product number. However, this corpus has shown that the advertisers do not seem willing to go out of their way to satisfy the Russian reader, perhaps believing that the translation of the names of over twenty colours is an unnecessary expense (especially if paying translators by the word). When it comes to the use of actual colours, rather than the names, there does seem to be more attempt to adapt the colours for the Russian market. Most interesting is the preponderance of dark red lipsticks and larger palettes of colours for different products. It seems that the colonizers have realized that tastes differ and are using the visual element to attract consumers; thus highlighting the increased importance of the advertising image over the linguistic components in contemporary advertising.

6.5 Case Study Two – The Name Game

One of the most powerful devices for selling a product is its name. The brand name is the combination of name, words, symbols, or design that identifies the product and differentiates it from competitive products ensuring that both advertising and product recognition are possible. (Arens and Bovée 1994: 158).

This case study investigates how brand names in the parallel corpus have been transferred from English to Russian. Here, brand name includes both the product and company names. L'Oréal, for example, is a company name that distinguishes it from other competing cosmetics providers, while Jet-Set identifies a product within L'Oréal's range and differentiates it from nail varnish not made by L'Oréal; the brand name, then, is L'Oréal Jet-Set (see plate six).

The Western *brénd* 'brand' is a new concept in Russia. Soviet brands existed, but they referred not to products, but manufacturers. Vodka made at the *Kristall* factory in Moscow could be priced higher than vodka produced in other factories (Rozenberg 1999: 32). It takes time for brands to gain customer loyalty, and it may a while before new Russian brands are established. In the interim, Western firms are taking advantage of the freeing up of the Russian economy and bringing their own brands into the Russian market. Some companies design specific brands for Russia, such as Unilever's *Beseda* tea and Mars' *Tempo* chocolate. Others make no changes when they enter the Russian market.

Brand names in the West revolve around the image that advertisers wish to portray to their potential customers. The company may have spent many years and great sums of money forming a certain image and the name of the company or product may have been chosen to carry some of the positive characteristics the company hopes to convey, as well as identifying the product. On entering the Russian market, the company may find that, despite being a household name in Western Europe, the brand is unknown in Russia.

This study analyses the way companies transfer their company name or product name into Russian. Before concentrating on the Russian-language adverts, it is necessary to discuss the function of these names in the original source-language publicity.

6.5.1 The Name in the Source Language

One might equate the use of product names with the use of proper nouns, as they both function as identifiers and refer to single referents. This is quite justified, as many product and company names are the actual names of the founders of the company or of the people who invented or patented the product. Rowntree, the chocolate manufacturer, is named after Henry Rowntree who bought a chocolate business in 1869 (Rijkens 1992: 3). This use of a proper name as a brand involves what I refer to as the 'label' function. These names often have little other meaning outside their label function, their role being one of reference. These 'labels' can, however, have positive connotations within a language, but when the advert is transferred into another culture, the connotations may not remain, or may not remain positive. Volkswagen, for example, advertises its people carrier as the Sharon in Germany, whereas in UK it goes under the name of the Sharan. This is because in Britain the name Sharon carries connotations of 'Essex girls', as depicted by the characters Sharon and Tracey in the BBC sitcom *Birds of a Feather*. These connotations do not carry the image of the car that Volkswagen wants to portray.³³

Label names can become so widespread that they stop being equated with the brand they advertise and refer to the function of the product. Hoover, for example, refers to any vacuum cleaner and not just to those within the Hoover brand. The Hoover name has also entered the English language as a verb, TO HOOVER (spelt with a small letter) meaning 'any vacuum cleaner. Hence to clean with a Hoover (or by extension any vacuum cleaner' (OED 1989: 00107926, b).³⁴

This phenomenon does not just occur with 'proper name' brands, it can also occur with invented names. The most famous example is Coca-Cola. Coca-Cola or Coke has become synonymous with any cola-type drink. Coca-Cola has spent a lot of money reminding people that its product is the genuine article, with

³³ The original connotations of Volkswagen are probably lost on modern British consumers. Volkswagen was originally commissioned by Hitler's government between 1936 and 1938 to be the 'people's car' which would give Germans the freedom of movement that Ford cars had given Americans.

³⁴ In the Collins *Słownik Polsko-Angielski*, Polish *ELECTROLUKS* is glossed as 'vacuum cleaner / hoover ® (BRIT)' (1996: 63).

slogans such as ‘The Only Thing Like Coca-Cola is Coca-Cola Itself’ in 1942 and in 1972 with ‘It’s The Real Thing’ (Rees 1997: 65–66).

The label is not the only kind of name that can be found on the shelves. Manufacturers are well aware of the potential of choosing a name that will be a positive selling point for their product. Nilsen (1979: 137) suggests that ‘whoever goes about naming products is aware of all five levels of linguistic analysis’: phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and semantics. These devices are tabulated below and I have added an example of each:

Phonological devices	Devices such as alliteration (‘Lime Lite’ lime scale remover), assonance and rhyme (L’Oréal’s ‘Quick Stick’ foundation).
Orthographic devices	Unusual spellings of words that are already in existence in the language (‘Whiskas’ cat food).
Morphological devices	The use of compounding and affixation (‘Alldays’ sanitary protection or ‘Aquafresh’ toothpaste and the Russian company names <i>Art-finans</i> ‘Art-finance’ <i>Al’fa-bank</i> ‘Alpha-bank’). ³⁵
Syntactical devices	The use of syntax to form non-acronym names (‘Sheer Blonde’ shampoo or Rimmel’s ‘Stay Matte’ foundation).
Semantic devices	Words that have been borrowed from other languages, fake borrowings, shifts of meaning, generalizations, metaphors and allusions (‘Bounce’ tumble dryer sheets, ‘Accurist’ watches and ‘Once’ Canesten’s one tablet treatment for thrush or the Russian makes such as cosmetics and aftershave manufacturers <i>Černyj Žemčug</i> ‘Black Pearl’).

Below is an outline of the name functions in the English parallel and Russian monolingual corpora which is followed by an analysis of the names in the Russian parallel corpus.³⁶ In addition to the classification system given above, I include label names.

6.5.1.1 Names in the English Parallel Corpus

The main types of name in the English parallel corpus are those employing semantic devices. Many of these are metaphors. A metaphor is an implied comparison between two things of unlike nature which nevertheless have something in common. Metaphors are often used in product naming as a shorthand means of describing the benefits of a product. So when Ralph Lauren names its perfume *Romance*, it is implying that the perfume is in some way

³⁵ Ryazanova-Clarke suggests that these kinds of names are heavily influenced by English (1999: 223)

linked to romance; the way you look, the way you act and the way you feel. Other product names use borrowings from foreign languages: for example L'Oréal's Color Riche and also fake borrowings as in L'Oréal's Féria.³⁷ The second largest group are those displaying syntactical devices. These depend on the meaning of the words which are combined to make a product name. The combinations offer some indication to the benefit or function of the product, for example Max Factor's Lasting Colour (the lip colour is maintained for a long time), Estée Lauder's Pure Color (the colours in the range are pure) and Wonderbra's Variable Cleavage (the bra allows the regulation of how much cleavage is shown). There are examples of phonological devices, some are alliterative: Margaret Astor's Soft Sensation and Clinique's Stop Signs; others are comprised of rhyming couplets such as L'Oréal's Quick Stick and Jet-Set. Finally there are two examples of orthographic devices with the unusual spellings of Ford's *Ka* 'car' and Paco Rabane's *XS* 'excess'. There are also a number of what I call label names, for example Lancaster. It could be argued that some of the names classed as labels are actually alluding to the perceived image of the person named. There is, for example, a perfume called Naomi Campbell. The product name is both the name of the perfume and the proper name of the endorser and it is quite conceivable that people will buy the perfume in the hope that they can buy a little of Naomi's beauty, power and supermodel lifestyle. In the case of products named after celebrities, the use of their name is more than a label, although that is how they have been classified for the purposes of this study.

6.5.1.2 Names in the Russian Monolingual Corpus

In the Russian monolingual corpus the most popular devices are semantic and syntactic. Semantic names include the tights manufacturer *Gracija* which hopes readers will shift the meaning of the Russian word *gracija* 'gracefulness' to the effect of wearing its tights. The name also alludes to Latin mythology; the three Graces (known as Charites in Greek mythology) – Aglaia (splendour),

³⁶ The data for this analysis can be found in the appendix eight pp. 366–69.

³⁷ *Féria* is the French word for a fair held yearly in Spain and Southern France (*Larousse* 1993: 373), although it does not have the acute accent which can be found on L'Oréal's version. Perhaps, as in the addition of the circumflex to Lancôme's perfume *Poème* (see footnote 13, chapter two), so the acute accent on *Féria* is being used to signify the L'Oréal brand.

Euphrosine (cheerfulness) and Thaleia (blossom) – who were the personification of beauty and charm bringing pleasure to mankind (Lurker 1987: 78 and 134). Another semantic device is the use of foreign languages: the vodka producer, *Stoličnaja*, advertises its product name in Latin script: *Stolichnaya Cristall*, demonstrating the international success of the brand. There is also a borrowing from French with the company name *Bjust'e* (French *bustier* – ‘strapless closefitting bodice’), makers of lingerie, alluding to connotations of French style and romance. In addition to using semantic means, the champagne producers, *Serebrjanyj vek* ‘silver age’, also use a phonological device of assonance with the repetition of the stressed vowel in each word: *Serebrjanyj vek*. Examples of syntactic names include: the cosmetic producer *Zolotaja linija* ‘golden line’ suggesting the merits of the cosmetics (the individual products within the line, however, have no-nonsense names: *gel' protiv celljulita* ‘gel against cellulite’ and *gel' dlja podderžanija uprugosti grudi* ‘gel to maintain the elasticity of your bust’) and a cigarette manufacturer *Russkij stil* ‘Russian style’. The example of a morphological device comes through the compounding of two words to form the name of the vodka producer *Liksar*, a combination of *likër* ‘liquor’ and the place where the drink is produced *Saratov*. There are no examples of orthographic devices. There are two label names which also carry metaphorical meanings. The car manufacturer *Volga* is thus named as its factory is situated on the river Volga; however, the attributes of the mighty and magnificent Russian river Volga will also be associated with the car manufacturer.³⁸ As well as being a traditional Russian name (albeit of Persian origin, meaning ‘conqueror’), *Dar'ja* (a company which produces frozen food) is the name of the daughter of the founder and manager of the company.³⁹ This name also has additional meanings in that *Dar'ja* carries the semantic component *dar* ‘gift’, as in *dary prirody* ‘gifts of nature’ and *dary morja* ‘gifts of the sea’. These connotations cannot help but produce a favourable effect on the potential consumer.

³⁸ The names of the makes of car within the *Volga* range are meaningful, the most famous car produced by *Volga* is the *Lada*. The word *lada* has a long history in Russian. It is a small, fast sailing boat, typical of the river Volga, where the car factory is situated. The *lada* boat was a favourite amongst river pirates, who used to rob commercial ships on the river. Vikings used the first *lads* boats to colonize the Slavic lands, founding their first settlement on lake Ladoga (near where St Petersburg is now stands). Information from the Lada UK website [online]. Penrith: Lada UK. Available at: <URL:<http://lada.malinverni.com/ofinterest/ofinterest.htm>> [Accessed 8-10-01]

6.5.2 Methodology

Manufacturers go to great lengths to choose names for their products using complex linguistic devices to ensure they are remembered. Like proper nouns, these names identify a specific manufacturer, setting it apart from competitors. Below is an investigation of what happens to the product name in adverts translated into Russian, paying particular attention to the corporation colonizer's visibility in the translated texts.

The product names in the Russian parallel corpus are analysed to ascertain whether:

1. The name is transferred, but used only in the logo and not on subsequent occurrences in the body copy.
2. The name is transferred and used in both the logo and the body copy.
3. Both the transferred and transcribed name are used concurrently in the text.⁴⁰
4. The name is transcribed, except in the logo.
5. The name is translated.
6. A new name is employed.

6.5.3 Findings

The most striking point to emerge here is that all the logos are transferred with no instances where the logo has been redesigned. This 'logotype' is a special design of 'the advertiser's name (or product name) that appears in all the advertisements' (Arens and Boveé 1994: G-12). The logotype gives advertisers individuality, so that they can be quickly recognized by consumers. These logotypes are under copyright, so cannot be easily changed and adapted for different alphabets. Some advertisers, however, do adapt their logos for different

³⁹ Email correspondence with Samvel Avetisjan at Dar'ja, 03 October 2001.

⁴⁰ I am using the term *transcription* over *transliteration*. Although *transliteration* can be glossed as 'the rendering of one alphabetic writing system in another', more specifically it is seen, following Catford (1965: 70) as the one-to-one representation of graphological units in the source language by those in the target language. This means that spelling can be represented precisely. In the cases in this chapter where the Latin alphabet has been rendered into Cyrillic, the aim is not to maintain the spelling but to offer a guide to pronunciation. The term *transcription*, then, is more suitable as this is glossed 'a representation of phonological units'. However, like transliteration, transcription calls for a one-to-one correlation between the source and target languages. This condition is not being met, and the result is in reality neither transliteration nor transcription; however, with the emphasis being on pronunciation, transcription seems the most appropriate term.

countries, Cadbury is one such advertiser. Although not present in this study, Cadbury has run a series of adverts where the trade name has been transcribed into Russian, *Кадбери*, and set into the swirly typeface distinctive of the Cadbury brand; this logotype also appears on all the chocolate sold in Russia. However, in this corpus, all the adverts display an element of foreignness – with Latin text, a distinctive sign of the Otherness of the colonizer, being apparent in all the adverts in the Russian parallel corpus.

The corpus contains fourteen adverts that use only the logotype in the advert. The product or advertiser is not mentioned again in the text. These adverts rely heavily on visual images, rather than linguistic elements.

In Naomi Campbell's advert for her fragrance, the advertiser is mentioned only once. The advert shows a naked Naomi strategically positioned not to show the whole of her body, facing the camera. To her left is the logo, bearing her name. The only other text is the headline, the brand is not mentioned again.

The largest category are those adverts where the product and/or advertiser's name is transferred in both the logotype and the body of the text. This method means that within the body copy of the advert there is a mixture of Cyrillic and Latin scripts. With this method there is more pressure on readers to be able to read non-Russian text. This is more problematic in printed adverts than television. In televised adverts the voice-over artist is likely to read out the names, so consumers are not compelled to read for themselves. It is not impossible to envisage complications with names that use letters that are close to Russian letters. For example, the letters that make up the logotype of the Japanese electronics manufacturer Canon could be confused with the similar looking Cyrillic letters. There is no Russian word *sapop*, but the trade name might be misinterpreted as Cyrillic <Canon> and mispronounced, causing difficulties when trying to purchase the product. There is also potential for deliberate deception, where famous brand names are altered slightly and changes

are not perceived by potential customers, due to unfamiliarity with the alphabet, who then purchase the fakes thinking they are buying a brand name product.⁴¹

In the parallel Russian corpus it is relatively easy to identify where Latin script is being used even if containing no letters absent from the Cyrillic alphabet, as it is often in a different font or type size. This method of rendering the product name is the most popular and is employed in forty percent of the adverts. The following offer examples of the use of Latin product name in a Russian advert. Each mention of both the brand name and the product name is in Latin script and is differentiated through the use of capital letters as the examples show (although the D, V and N mark this out as Latin script regardless of the typeface):

S {ADVANCE} dlja nee net ničego nevozmožnogo! (RP:43)
'With {ADVANCE} for her nothing is impossible'

Sozdannyj veterinarnymi vračami i dietologami centra {WALTHAM}
'Created by (the) veterinarians and nutritionists of the {WALTHAM} centre'

{ADVANCE} pomagaet koške podderživat' prekrasnuju formu!
'ADVANCE' helps the cat maintain a wonderful shape'

There is no consistent strategy even within companies, the Ford advert for KA in this corpus gives the car's name in Latin script within the body copy, despite the fact that <K> and <A> are both letters in the Russian alphabet:

{Ford Ka Silver} – žemčuzina èkskljuzivnoj serii {Ka Collection} (RP:12)
'{Ford Ka Silver} – the pearl of (an) exclusive series {Ka Collection}'

In a similar study with a larger corpus (Moody 2001), I found that Ford was the only advertiser to use Cyrillic for both its company (Ford) and product name (Focus), while also obeying the rules of Russian declension (albeit partially for only the name of the car and not its make were declined):

Dizajn Fokusa universalen (*Marie Claire*, March 2000)
'The design of the Focus is universal'

⁴¹ This has been observed in India where English is becoming the language of product naming. Since literacy in English is lower than all Indian languages in rural India, English has become a powerful weapon of deception. Lifebuoy for example is spelt as Lifeboy and Boroline as Boriline (Bhatia 2000: 125).

Here *Fokus* is in the genitive case (marked by the <a>). Other uses of the brand and product name appear in the nominative case form, so no adjustment need be made to *Fokus*, for example:

Novyj Ford Fokus po-nastojaščemu krasiv
'The new Ford Focus is genuinely beautiful'

There is, however, an example where the company name has been left in the nominative citation form, when the genitive was called for:

Firmennyj servis Ford pozabotitsja o tom, čtoby Vaš avtomobil' mnogo let
prinosil Vam tol'ko udovol'stvie – i nikakix xlopot
'The Ford company service will ensure that your car brings you only pleasure
for many years – and no problems'

According to the rules of Russian grammar, *Ford* should decline: 'masculine foreign surnames ending in a consonant [...] decline like nouns of the first declension.' (Wade 1994: 77) The translator may have decided, however, not to decline 'Ford' as it is a foreign word and many words of foreign origin do not decline in Russian. *Fokus*, on the other hand, is a Russian word, so the translator subjected it to Russian grammatical rules.⁴² Perhaps, the translator did not realize that Ford was originally the surname of Henry Ford, the founder of the company, and decided to treat it as a word of foreign origin. The two Ford adverts discussed here were in press around the same time in 2000 (July and March respectively) which suggests that Ford does not have a policy for the transfer of its company and car makes into Russian, or that if it does it is not being implemented.

Some non-transcribed product names carry meanings which are lost if there is no attempt to render the name in Russian. Take, for example, L'Oréal's nail varnish Jet-Set (see plate six). In the English advert (EP:22) the name of the product has more than one meaning. The component parts of the trade name Jet-Set (that is

⁴² In this example it was lucky that 'Focus' and *Fokus* carry similar connotations in English and Russian. In English FOCUS means 'a centre of interest and activity' (OED 1989: 00087192, n. 5b) and in Russian FOKUS means *sredotočie, centr (popast' v f. vseobščego vnimanija)* 'Focus, centre (to find oneself the centre of attention) (TS 1994: 843). This will not necessarily be the case every time a name is transcribed. In Russian FOKUS can also refer to a 'conjuring trick' or more colloquially a 'whim or caprice' (ORD 1995: 571). This may be a more negative association than the advertisers wanted when they transcribed the name into Russian; they perhaps hoped that negative meaning would not occur to the reader, or they overlooked this second meaning, simply deciding to take the risk so as to maintain the name *Fokus* in Russia.

Jet ‘fast’ and *Set* ‘dry’) are combined to suggest that this is fast drying nail varnish. The meaning of *Jet* is also reinforced with the image of the plane (*Jet* = plane = fast). Since this is not translated, the Russian text has to provide more explanation than the English, so where the English can say ‘1 minute’ and be sure that readers will understand that the nail varnish will set in one minute, the Russian has to say:

VYSYXAET ZA 1 MINUTU (RP:22)
‘DRIES IN 1 MINUTE’

Jet set also refers to the lifestyle of the user. People in the *Jet set* are rich, successful and live in a luxurious way, such as the famous model photographed. These connotations of fast drying and fast living are lost for the Russian reader, unless they understand and read English well.

Twenty percent of the adverts employed some kind of transcription. Sixteen percent used transcription in combination with the Latin product name. In L’Oréal’s advert for its moisturizing lipstick, both the Latin product name and the transcribed Cyrillic version are used together. The company name, L’Oréal, remains in Latin script in the logo at the bottom of the advert.

NOVŠESTVO
{Color Riche}
UVLAŽNJAJUŠČAJA GUBNAJA POMADA “KOLOR RIŠ” (RP:20)
‘NEW
{Color Riche}
MOISTURIZING LIPSTICK “COLOR RICHE”’

In four percent of the adverts, the name is transcribed within the text of the advert, and the Latin equivalent is not used, yet it can be found in the logo. This is seen in RP: 24:

Novinka: pomada Soft Sensejšin
‘New-thing: lipstick Soft Sensation’

Tol’ko ot Margaret Astor
‘Only from Margaret Astor’

In the second example given above, the preposition *ot* requires the genitive case; however, with *Margaret Astor* being a foreign woman’s given name, the name is rendered indeclinable (Wade 1994: 72). Some of the transcriptions are used in

positions which would usually require declensions in Russian, as in the Maybelline slogan (*Vse v vostorge ot tebjja, a ty ot Mèbellin* ‘Everyone’s delighted with you, and you with Mèbellin’). In this example, the name should be in the genitive case (*Mèbellina*).

These transcriptions do not follow any particular system, but aim to offer a rough guide to pronunciation of the words in Russian. This is useful for the Russian reader, but it only offers a partial solution, as it neither marks the stress nor indicates the meaning. As mentioned above some advertisers choose names that fit the product that they are trying to advertise. Vichy, for example, produces a skin care product called Lift Activ (not present in this corpus). This name has been chosen as it describes the function of the cream – English-speaking consumers will not be confused by what the product can do for them (in addition the name has the added charm of the unusual spelling of ‘active’, and maintains the Gallicized word order). When this product name is transcribed into Cyrillic the name, *Lift Aktiv*, may not help portray the merits of the product, in fact it may even cause confusion. There is a Russian word *LIFT*, although it only refers to ‘lift, elevator’ (*ORD* 1995: 222) as a noun in the sense ‘an apparatus for raising or lowering persons or things from one floor or level to another’ (*OED* 1989: 00133091, *n.*² 10a) and not, as in English, referring to the more general LIFT ‘the action or act of lifting’ (*n.*² 1a), therefore a cream to stop your face looking saggy.⁴³ In Russian *AKTIV* means ‘assets’ and ‘an active party member’ (*ORD* 1995: 5). The name of the product may not be instantly understood by Russians. I tested this example on a class of Russian university students. They all agreed on the meaning of *lift*, but were confused by the use of *aktiv*. They rejected the two definitions given as not being appropriate, preferring to assign the meaning of the related word *aktivnyj* ‘active, energetic’. The consensus on the meaning being ‘a lift which is in-service’. This exercise was given out of context, and obviously through reading the remaining advertising text it is possible to decipher the meaning of the name. This, however, defeats the object of having a meaningful name in the first place. At best these transcriptions will result in a Russian word,

⁴³ The translator would perhaps have been better advised to use the Russian neologism *lifting* in this instance (see section 6.3.2).

more likely they will be nonsensical and in the worst-case scenario they will evoke negative connotations that may have a harmful effect on future sales.⁴⁴

The transcription of product names may not always convey the meaning of the original product names. In order to do this the names would have to be translated. This has happened on two occasions in the corpus, the translation, however, is only partial as the company names remain in Latin script in the logo.

In the first example the translation of the English product name is given in brackets (so, more precisely this is an example of a translation couplet, see footnote 32 in this chapter), the name is also given in Russian script. Omega, the company name, is known in Russian as one of the Greek letters:

{Constellation} (Sozvezdie) (RP:33)
'{Constellation} (Constellation)'

OMEGA - švejcarskie časy s 1848 goda
'OMEGA – Swiss watches since 1848'

In the second example only the product name, and not the company name is translated:

{Wonderbra}
Reguliruemoe dekol'te (RP:45)
'{Wonderbra}
Adjustable cleavage'

In the English language advert (EP:45) the bra is advertised as the Variable Cleavage Bra. By translating the product name and leaving the brand name unchanged, the advertisers ensure that their brand remains universally recognizable while the product has a meaningful name that the target consumers can ask for.

There are two adverts where a new product name has been employed. Once again the company name remains in Latin script in the logo. The first example is for a range of cosmetics from Max Factor known as Midnight Passion in English

⁴⁴ There are many examples of multinational marketing blunders, see Ricks (1993). A Russian example can be found in the television adverts for Procter & Gamble's shampoo and conditioner Wash and Go. People were put off buying the product due to the similarities in the pronunciation of *wash* and the Russian word *voš'* meaning 'louse'.

(EP:27) and *Povelitel'nica Noči* 'Mistress of the Night' in the Russian advert (RP:27). In changing the name there has been a shift in emphasis. The English refers more to the product being advertised, whilst the Russian focuses on the effect the products will have on the user. The second example is for Elizabeth Arden's product marketed as Ceramide Herbal in the UK (EP:8) and as *Zelenye Kapsuly s ceramidami* 'Green Capsules with ceramide' in the Russian advert (RP: 8). In the Russian pack shot, the product still carries the name used in the UK; this might cause confusion when trying to purchase the product in Russia. In my opinion, there seems little point in using a new name if the original name remains on the packaging. If an advertiser is going to make changes, it is prudent to cover the whole of the marketing campaign; for example product packaging, adverts and point-of-sale displays.

6.5.4 Discussion

In this study, the most noticeable feature of all the adverts is the maintenance of the company name in Latin script, despite the fact that the adverts have been produced for the Russian market. Every one of the adverts in the Russian parallel corpus shows the Latin logotype somewhere, and in thirty-one percent of cases this is its only manifestation. Another forty percent of the adverts use the Latin name in the body copy, meaning that in seventy-one percent of the adverts in this corpus, the only reference to the product is in an alphabet different to that of the target language. This is an undeniable example of the colonizer's hold on the translated adverts. With regard to the naming of its products, the colonizer is not particularly willing to make a concession to the culture of the country in which it is advertising and prefers to force its own alphabet system on it.

There are several possible reasons for this. The ever-increasing emphasis in modern advertising on imagery means that pictures and images rather than language carry the advertising message. Many contemporary adverts do not use language at all; Nike, for example, does not need to show its company name as the 'swoosh' is sufficient for recognition. The logotype (which includes the company and/or product name) is seen as an image element rather than a linguistic one. The meaning of the logotype is equated with the characteristics of the product or company concerned and not with the semantics of the linguistic

elements that compose that name. Advertisers want their products to be accessible to as much of the world's population as possible, so that a customer travelling or working abroad can recognize the brand to which they have become accustomed at home. Producing a uniform advertising campaign across boundaries leads to significant financial savings.

Whilst maintaining the multinational logotype somewhere in the advert, twenty-nine percent of the adverts in the corpus offer some help to the Russian reader, usually in the form of transcription. This use of transcription does not convey the meaning of the words, but is merely an indication of their pronunciation. On occasions the name transcribed into Russian may share the same semantic field as the name in the original language, however, at the other extreme, the name may carry in the target language connotations which could harm the product's selling potential. In most cases, however, the resulting name is simply meaningless. This may lead translators to devise other ways of making the name memorable. Take, for example, the Russian slogan for Whiskas cat food:

Vaša kiska kupila by Viskas
'Your cat would buy Whiskas'

This slogan is very rhythmic and as Alexander Rep'ev writes 'This slogan works quite well at making this strange word "Whiskas" stick in the minds of the Russians.'⁴⁵ What is interesting here is his reference to 'this strange word "Whiskas"' because in the English, Whiskas is not particularly strange. In order to assert copyright and to make the name stand out, the advertisers simply chose to re-spell *whiskers* as *Whiskas*. In English this makes perfect sense for a make of cat food.⁴⁶

Having potentially meaningful names for products or companies should make them candidates for translation, although for the reasons mentioned above, companies do not often translate the names. This is confirmed in the parallel

⁴⁵ Rep'ev, A. P. *Reklamodatelju o reklame*, as yet unpublished book by the head of the Mekka Marketing Company in Moscow. The company website can be found at:
<URL:<http://www.horses.ru/mekka>>

⁴⁶ Jacobson (1966) notes that unorthodox spelling is commonly used in advertising where it can make the name of the product or shop stand out and be remembered, or provide the basis for a legal trade mark. Jacobson categorizes the unorthodox spelling according to deviation in pronunciation and altering the number of graphemes in a word.

Russian corpus, where there are only two examples of translation and two examples of invention. When the product name is meaningful, the Russian advert gives more information in the body text explaining the use of the product.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has shown that, within the corpus of translated Russian adverts, the lexical Other is used with very specific purposes in mind. Returning to the cat food Whiskas, this is understood, in English-speaking countries at least, to be an unorthodox spelling of WHISKER ‘each of a set of projecting hairs or bristles growing on the upper lip or about the mouth of certain animals’ (*OED* 1989: 00284706, *n.*¹ 5a). The connotations attached to the word *whiskers* may also be attached to the brand *Whiskas*, for example the expression ‘the cat’s whiskers’ with its implications of something good, thus offering a positive image of the product. In Russia, this ‘strange word’ does not carry the same connotations, but it is obviously foreign. The un-glossed language of the colonizer is being used to represent, metonymically, the colonizer and it is this foreignness that is the main selling point (See Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998: 137). For a foreign language to be a successful selling device within a particular culture, the stereotypical view of the foreign country has to be positive within the target market. As soon as the country is no longer equated with prestige, quality, technology, modernity (or any other advantageous characteristic) sales will begin to fall. The types of English words used in this corpus show that Russian advertising is not totally empowered by the colonizer as it had been in the colonial stage, when adverts were often completely in English, and Russian advertisers used a high percentage of English-language elements in their native adverts in order to increase sales.⁴⁷ The fact that the Other is being used so positively suggests that the colonizer is still seen as attractive, although its visibility is less marked. Many of the English words used in the Russian corpus use Russian suffixes, acquiring meaning specific to Russia and very few appeared in Latin script; thus demonstrating that the words are being appropriated and used in a way suitable for Russia (for example filling a semantic gap or adding an element of prestige to the product). As regards the

linguistic use of colours, the colonizer seems less inclined to bend to the needs of the consumers and many of the colour terms present in the corpus have been replaced by numbers, indicating that the cost of translating these names, and ensuring that all point-of-sale literature and product packaging carry these translations is not worth the expense. This shows the power of the corporation, or perhaps more specifically the desire to increase profit margins by reducing outlay, as using numbers instead of colour terms means that the same numbers can be used irrespective of the language being spoken. Interestingly, advertisers seem keener to make small adjustments to the colours in the advertising image in order to appeal to the target audience, suggesting that advertisers believe potential customers are more likely to be persuaded by an appealing image than by a cleverly translated colour term appearing in tiny print on the edge of the advert. By far the most visible aspect of the Other is the use of non-Russian product and company names. Advertisers go to great lengths to ensure that the product/company name plays a part in the selling process in the original English advert, for example, by alluding to the benefits of the product, describing its function or even using alliteration to make it more memorable. This study has shown, however, that many of these devices are lost when the product is advertised in the Russian market where the names are relying on their foreignness in order to make sales. They are appealing to the colonial fetish with the West in order to sell the product, believing that the power of the corporation is enough to make the consumer purchase. Whereas in the past, the thirst for things Western also encouraged Russian companies to take on Western names to make more sales such as a Russian fruit juice producer Wimm-Bill-Dann, reminiscent of Wimbledon the tennis championship, held in London each July (Rozenberg, 2000: 32). This, however, is no longer the case as there seems to be a trend away from the transference of Latin names, towards some form of transcription. This transcription, although potentially more comprehensible than a straight transfer, still does not manage to maintain many of the devices present in the original adverts (such as rhyme, puns, connotative meanings, or name and body text tie-ins). In order to do this the product name and the advert have to be

⁴⁷ Dann (1998: 31) offers two interesting examples of this phenomena. The first is taken from an advert for Aeroflot, where much of the text is in English and the second is on a packet of cornflakes, produced and sold in Russia.

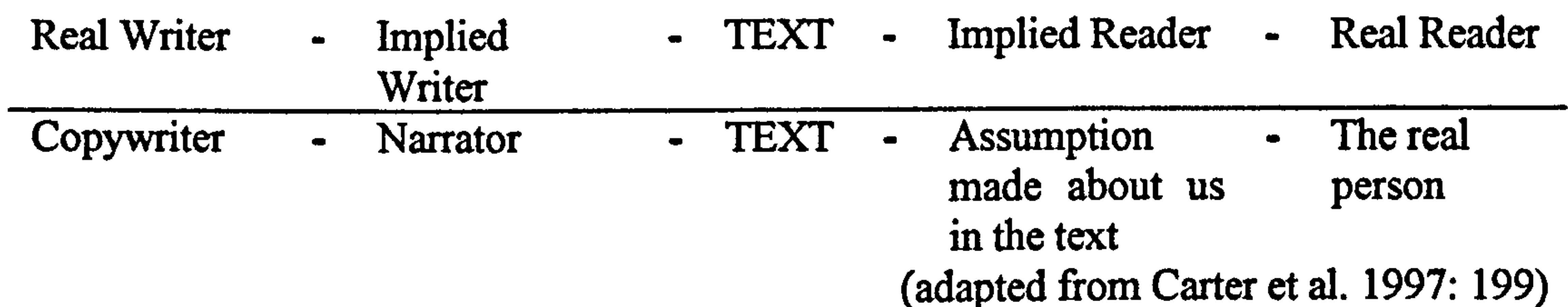
translated, altered or even re-invented for the target market. If a product has a meaningful name which describes its advantages and is memorable (perhaps due to the employment of one of Nilsen's five linguistic devices) the reader is more likely to remember the name when shopping. It is, therefore, economically viable to ensure that product names are understandable and meaningful for the target audience (it is not so important that the brand name changes, meaning the corporation maintains its universal image), however this does not seem to be happening at the moment.

The colonizer, then, is visible in the translated adverts, although the colonized appear to be appropriating those aspects of the colonial language of use to it, whilst discarding other elements. Otherness is still attractive, hence its visibility, but not overbearing as it tended to be immediately following *perestrojka*.

7. Relationship Building

Advertising is designed for mass audiences; advertisers, however, cannot hope to know exactly who makes up these audiences, for they are indeterminable. Through market research, advertisers construct an image of their ideal subject giving an indication of the kind of message which should be used to encourage this ideal and individual subject to purchase the advertised product. The message is addressed directly at individuals through a technique which Fairclough has termed ‘synthetic personalization’. Synthetic personalization is ‘a compensatory tendency to give the impression of treating each of the people “handled” *en masse* as an individual’ (1989: 62). It sees the personalization of the indeterminable audience and the complex producer; and the affectation of relationships between them. According to Fairclough (1989: 195), as media workers lose touch with individuals or particular groupings within their audiences, the more likely they are to relate to those audiences as individuals who share large areas of common ground.

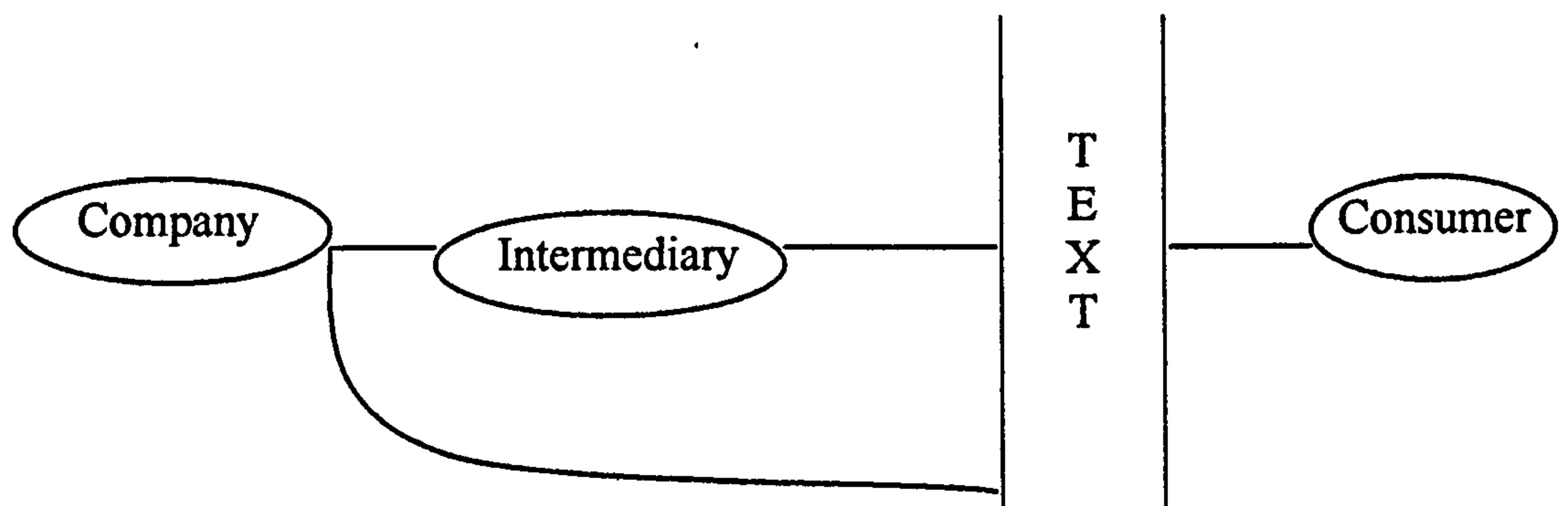
Advertisers, then, aim to effect and affect relationships with the individuals who comprise their audience. These relationships are more complicated than they appear at first glance. Advertisers are, in fact, addressing an ‘implied’ readership based on what advertisers believe consumers are like or, more importantly, would like to be. This can be described diagrammatically:



The real writer is the copywriter, although in adverts narrators often masquerade as text producers. The advert is addressed to an implied reader whose characteristics may be expressed in the advert. These characteristics may or may not coincide with those of the real reader. Advertisers address, through the narrator, the actual reader whilst directing their text at the implied reader. There are also, in effect, two kinds of real reader: receivers and the addressees.

Receivers are anyone who sees the advert, whereas addressees are members of specific target groups at which the advert is aimed.

Advertising communication is a form of ‘pseudocommunication’ (Fairclough 1989: 203), as communication is based on one-way discourse. In genuine communication the roles of speakers and listeners alternate and there is dialogue; in advertisements there is no reciprocal communication between senders and addressees. It would be fair to say that the relationships aimed at by advertisers are also pseudo-relationships. In genuine relationships the participants would, for example, address each other with proper names. In mass-media marketing it is impossible to know the names of all the text receivers, therefore it is impossible for advertisers to address them personally.¹ Instead they use a number of devices which hint at a potential or already established relationship between the reader and themselves. It is these devices which are of interest in this chapter. I envisage the communication process between companies and potential consumers in the following way:



To communicate with consumers, companies can speak through intermediaries such as specialists, celebrities or even products themselves. Companies have the option to by-pass the intermediary and speak to consumers directly; however, their only contact with consumers is through the text.² I will investigate each of these components and assess the role they play in establishing relationships. In a colonial situation, the colonizers are more powerful than the colonized, as they

¹ In direct marketing, however, advertisers address readers individually – hence letters beginning: ‘Dear Mrs Smith.’. The same technique is also used in ‘spam’ emails.

² Text is a general term for any connected piece of speech or writing (Trask 2000: 135). The term text can be understood broadly to mean the whole of an advert (that is the image, verbal elements, music, paralinguistic features). However, in this study it means the use of linguistic elements.

have financial control over them; so this chapter investigates the ways in which the colonizers exercise their power. In the post-colonial state, the colonizer will be less visible than in the paternalist and authoritarian colonial state. There will be examples of relationships being established which are based on the norms of Russian society. In general, there will be a mixture of colonized and colonizer.

7.1 Methodology

7.1.1 Consumer

Since all adverts are aimed at potential or existing consumers, the way in which they are addressed is an important part of the advertising message. Through synthetic personalization, companies attempt to individualize the people in their target audience. By far the most popular means of achieving this aim is to directly address readers with second person pronouns and determiners; differences between the English and Russian pronominal systems make this a fascinating area for discussion regarding translation. Companies address their potential consumers less directly, through the use of jussive³ and interrogative clauses, which engage readers with the advert, the former by giving a course of action, the latter by asking questions.

7.1.1.1 Address through the Use of You

In advertising texts where the aim is to individualize consumers, the direct use of *you* is widespread. This direct form of address helps to reduce the impersonality of mass-media discourse. It is particularly popular as it suggests a one-to-one relationship between advertisers and addressees. Advertisers use pronouns which are seen as a replacement for the proper noun; yet are ‘less marked’, conveying less specific information than the nouns they substitute (Friedrich 1966: 217).⁴ These pronouns imply that the sender knows the proper noun which has been replaced, and thus knows the individual addressee; however in advertising texts, especially where the pronoun *you* is concerned, the person or thing referred to is unknowable. Cook (2001: 158–59) suggests that *you* used in adverts has *double exophora* as it involves ‘reference to someone in the picture (salient because

³ I am using jussive in the broad sense highlighted by Trask (2000: 75) as ‘a traditional label for a verb-form or a sentence which expresses some kind of command. The jussive includes the ordinary imperative [...]. But it also includes other structures such as *Everybody pay attention* and *Let's go*.’

⁴ ‘Less marked’ comes from the terminology of the Prague School.

pictures dominate words) and to the receiver's own self (salient because everyone is interested in themselves)'. *You* has the capacity to 'invoke a very general and empty *you* into which the readers may slot themselves, or define a very specific *you* in the text' (Myers 1994: 80). The use of *you* to address the consumer is not restricted to English-language advertising, as Ryazanova-Clarke notes the tendency in Russian adverts is for second person pronouns to represent the consumer (1999b: 112). The English *you* can express concurrently both informal and formal relationships between the sender and the addressee, allowing the voice of the advert to 'simultaneously be one of friendship, authority and respect' (Cook 2001: 183). This, however, is not possible in all languages.

In English there is only one second person pronoun, 'you' which is used for singular, plural, formal or informal situations.⁵ Russian, however, like many other European languages employs a *T / V* distinction;⁶ meaning that the system of address entails a choice of pronouns (including the subsequent declension of other parts of speech) which is also dependent on social factors. The Russian singular pronouns differ from the familiar plural and formal pronouns of address, as in French.⁷ Since Russian makes a distinction when addressing a single individual, translators working from English into Russian have to choose between *T* or *V*, or avoid using the second person form altogether. The range of choices in Russian has been given below; it is, however, limited when compared with other languages such as Spanish, for example, which is included for comparison.

⁵ Elizabethan English made a distinction between *thou* (second person singular) and *you* (second person plural). The singular form was used to express familiarity and the plural to express respect or distance. (Baker 1992: 118). The distinction is still maintained in Scots, the traditional rural and urban dialects of Scotland. The second person pronoun retains a singular-plural distinction using *thou/du* vs. *yelyou* or *yilyou* vs. *yiz/youse*. In Shetland there is also a distinction between the polite *you* and the more intimate *du* (Gramley and Pätzoid 1992: 317).

⁶ I am using Brown and Gilman's convention of employing the symbols *T* and *V* (from Latin *tu* and *vos*) 'as generic designators for a familiar and polite pronoun in any language'. (Brown and Gilman 1960: 254). I also employ *T* and *V* to show the form of the verb, for example *znaeš* 'know' and *znala* 'knew' are *T*, and *znaete* 'know' and *znali* 'knew' are *V*.

⁷ The similarity between the French and Russian pronominal systems can be traced to the influence of French social culture and language on Russia during the eighteenth century. Prior to this Russian had employed a second-person purely singular (not informal) pronoun, *ty* and a second-person purely plural (not honorific or formal) pronoun, *vy*; the French usage was mapped onto the existent Russian pronouns (Friedrich 1966: 223).

Language	Familiar or Formal	Singular	Plural
English	either	you	you
Russian	familiar	ty	vy
	formal	vy	vy
Spanish	familiar	tú	vosotros (masculine) vosotras (feminine)
	formal	usted	ustedes

In Russian *ty* means ‘singular and familiar’, whereas *vy* means ‘not both singular and familiar’. *Vy* usually requires that any verbs or adjectives are in the plural form, irrespective of whether one person or a group of people are being referred to. Therefore, further information about the addressees has to be gleaned from elsewhere, which (on rare occasions) might be a long-form adjective;⁸ for example *Vy takaja fem.sing. krasivaja fem.sing.* ‘You are such a beautiful one’. In most cases, however, it is impossible to tell from the form of the wording whether the second person plural is being used to a single individual formally, or to several individuals. The table above leaves aside, of course, the social situations when the *V* form should be used in preference to the *T* form and vice versa.

Friedrich (1966: 219) suggests that the use of the Russian *T* and *V* offers:

an intrinsic view of how the individual expresses himself within and through a given status system and leads one to an ego-orientated perspective of the social culture that compliments conclusions about group behaviour and group norms.

Friedrich compiles a tenfold scheme giving ground rules for the use of *T* or *V* in addressing a single individual in Russian, based on analysis of nineteenth century literature (Friedrich 1966: 229–31). These ground rules are based on such considerations as the topic of conversation (*V* serious, *T* non-serious or intimate); social context (*V* formal, *T* informal); age; generation (one or more generational difference requires *V/T* asymmetry);⁹ sex (*T* same sex, *V* different sex); group membership (symmetrical as authority is weakened); dialect (unmarked *T* amongst peasants); and emotional expression (where *T* expresses respect, love and anger).

⁸ There are also short form adjectives which are used in the nominative case. They relate to temporary states and tend to be predicates. This means that long form adjectives can be informally glossed ‘ordinary, fully-fledged’.

⁹ Asymmetrical use is when one of the speakers uses *vy* and the other *ty* and vice versa. Symmetrical use is when both speakers use either *vy* or *ty*.

Writing in 1996, Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky observe changes in *T* and *V* usage (1996: 254–55), suggesting that asymmetric usage within a family became rare during the Soviet period, and its use as an instrument of power relations gave way to symmetrical address. The use of *T* to subordinates was seen as offending the spirit of Soviet society. Young people, however, were likely to address each other using *T*, and young males may even use *T* right from the first meeting. *T* was also used when talking to God, animals or objects.

Russian also uses *T* to convey general information or instruction: *Ty nabiraeš' polnuju grud' vozduxa, a potom malo-pomalu vypuskaeš' ego izo rta.* 'You fill your lungs with air and then expel it completely little by little through your mouth' (Wade 1994: 121). *T* is used with an impersonal meaning (the equivalent of English 'you' or 'one'), for example *Ko vseму privykaeš'* 'you/one can get used to anything' (Wade 1994: 322); and is the form of many Russian proverbs: *Tiše edeš' dal'she budeš'* 'the more quietly you go, the further you will get, i.e. 'more haste, less speed.'

The differences between the meaning and uses of Russian and English second-person pronominal forms mean that the transfer from English into Russian is not easy. Translators have to take many factors into account to ensure that they have made the socially appropriate choice for the situation in question. Although the *T* / *V* distinction seems complicated to English-speakers, its advantage is that it allows for higher levels of linguistic subtlety in social situations which are lost in English, and are entirely lost in English pronominal usage.

7.1.1.2 Address through Jussive Clauses

Jussive clauses are those which instruct someone to do something and include commands, invitations, requests, warnings and instructions. In English and Russian jussive clauses are generally expressed by the imperative; Russian has specialized imperative forms, English uses 'base forms', normally without a pronoun.

The first type of jussive clause sees the emphasis on the receiver. In English, the imperative is formed with the base form of the verb, which is invariable irrespective of number:

Sit down.
Turn left at the lights.
Be good.

In Russian, the imperative is either familiar or formal:

Daj <i>familiar</i> mne knigy.	Give me the books. (spoken to one person, who is familiar to the speaker)
Dajte <i>formal</i> mne knigy.	Give me the books. (spoken to one person who is not known well by the speaker; or to a group of people who are either familiar or not)

The Russian imperative is also either imperfective or perfective.¹⁰ The table below shows the main differences between using an imperative of an imperfective verb or of a perfective verb:

Imperfective Verb	Perfective Verb
General injunctions, exhortations and invitations.	Instruction to do something once.
Commands relating to repeated actions.	An urgent request or command
Requests to begin to do something, to carry on with something, to change the manner in which something has been done and to continue to do something after an interruption.	
Instruction to perform an action that is the expected norm in a particular situation.	

In English and Russia, the imperative can be softened by the insertion of *please* in English, *požalujsta* 'please', *bud'te dobry* 'be so kind as to' or the particle *-ka* in Russian. In English, *do* is added to make the imperative emphatic, and this is common in requests, complaints and apologies, such as *Do shut up!*

Negative imperatives suggest prohibition or warning. In English a negative imperative uses *do not* or *don't*. In Russian *ne* 'not' is added before the verb.

¹⁰ Russian displays imperfective and perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect can be described as viewing a situation as having internal temporal structure, whilst the perfective presents it as an unanalysed whole, with no internal temporal structure (Trask 2000: 68 and 100).

Don't sing.
 Ne poj.
 'Not sing.'

The *T / V* distinction remains in Russian, as do the different meanings of the imperative and perfective verbs.

Imperfective Verb	Perfective Verb
Prohibition.	Warning against a forbidden action, which might occur inadvertently. Often combined with <i>smotri(te)</i> 'mind'

The second jussive clause expresses an invitation to perform an action jointly with the speaker. In English this is expressed by *let's* or *let us*:

Let's go to the cinema.
 Let's sit down.

In Russian, the first-person plural non-past form of an imperfective or a perfective verb is used to make a suggestion:

Poidëm v kino.
 '(we) will go to the cinema.' [addressing one person, familiar to the speaker]
 Sjademte
 '(we) will sit down.' [addressing one person formally, or a number of people – add ending *-te*]

In colloquial speech *davaj* or *davajte* 'let us' can be added to the first-person plural form of the verb to add emphasis:

Davaj poidëm v kino.
 'Let us go to the cinema.'
 Davajte sjadem.
 'Let us sit down.'

If the jussive is in the third person, then Russian contains the particle *pust'* 'let' or the more colloquial *puskaj*:

Pust' ona poët.
 'Let her sing.'

Imperatives are seen as the generic sentence type for adverts since all adverts are urging readers to action (Myers 1994: 47). They are used to create a personal style as, in English and Russian, they involve implicit first and second person reference. In the 1966 television sample analysed by Leech, one in five

independent clauses were imperative, making them a conventional feature of advertising (1966: 82, 110). Such an explicit form of persuasion has decreased in popularity in recent years, with advertisers preferring more subtle persuasive techniques. Vestergaard and Schröder (1989: 68), for example, suggest that when calling to action, advertisers prefer negated interrogatives, the modal ‘should’ and declarative clauses in the form of advice. However, in less subtle advertising texts, imperatives are omnipresent and in Russian television imperative clauses occur widely (Ryazanova-Clarke 1999b: 115). So, although jussives may not have the currency they enjoyed in the 1960s, they remain a useful and effective technique of relationship building; telling the reader what to do in a colloquial, everyday manner without using formality or politeness devices.¹¹

7.1.1.3 Address through Interrogative Clauses

Advertisers try to build relationships with potential consumers by engaging them in a pseudo-dialogue through questioning.

In English and Russian there are a number of interrogative words, such as the following, which can be used to form an interrogative clause:

English	Russian
Who	Kto ‘who’
What	Čto ‘what’
Why	Kakoj ‘what (kind of)’
Where	Čej ‘whose’
How	Kotoryj ‘which’
Which	Skol’ko ‘how many/much’
When	Gde ‘where’
Whose	Kuda ‘where to’
	Otkuda ‘from where’
	Kogda ‘when’
	Počemu ‘why’
	Začem ‘what for’

Interrogatives usually come at the beginning of the sentence:

What are you doing?
 Čto ty delaješ’?
 ‘What are you doing?’

¹¹ Myers (1994: 48) suggests that imperatives are effective precisely because the politeness devices are removed. The form reminds us of daily conversation, where the imperative is used to ask people to do things which will ultimately benefit them and not the speaker.

Chapter Seven: Relationship Building

Russian has a number of interrogative particles used to denote questions: *li*, *razve* and *neuželi*.

Priedeš' li ty sevodnja večerom?
'Are you coming this evening?'
Razve èto ne pljažnyj volejbol?
'Isn't it beach volleyball?'
Neuželi nevozmožno sozdat' takie ustanovki?
'Isn't it impossible to create such installations?'

As well as signalling a question *razve* and *neuželi* express doubt, disbelief or surprise.

English also changes the word order of sentences to indicate questions. The auxiliary verb is placed before the subject, if there is no auxiliary verb *do* is added. This kind of question is often called a yes-no question.

Have you seen *The Fellowship of the Ring*?
Do you like red wine?

In English and Russian, interrogative clauses can be expressed through intonation where the word being questioned receives the most emphasis.

Interrogative clauses are like jussives in that they require an active response from the addressee, thus implying direct address, and often have the effect of 'stirring the consumer from her wonted state of passive receptivity' (Leech 1966: 111). Questions are a way of singling out the target audience from other text receivers. Waltham's adverts for its Advance pet foods (EP/RP:43-44), for example, question readers about their pets. If these readers do not have pets there is little use in them reading further as they will not be purchasing the pet food. Questions, usually beginning with interrogative words, raise curiosity. Revlon's query: 'Who adds colour to your life?' (Revlon's Colorizing, *Marie Claire*, September 2000) makes readers want to discover the answer. This technique of exposition by question and answer is used in discourse where the aim is to communicate complicated subject-matter in a relatively simple way; for example, two sentences can be used to express the information usually expressed in a more complex sentence (Leech 1966: 112–13). This technique is known as anthyphora, that is asking a question and then answering it. Myers (1994: 49) suggests that many of the questions used in adverts are rhetorical as they assume

only one possible answer. Ryazanova-Clarke (1999b: 114–15) notes that rhetorical questions appear at the beginning of adverts and produce an illusion of reciprocity and positive participation of the addressee and thus increase interest in the subject-matter. Leech (1966: 113), however, argues that rhetorical questions do not feature as prominently in advertising copy as in other persuasive language. He argues that rhetorical questions do not require a verbal answer and that they have the force of a negative assertion, which makes them more suitable for political oratory. I would add that there is another form of question used frequently in advertising copy, a reflection question which invites reflection on the part of potential customers, asking them to consider their current behaviour and lifestyle in the light of the advertised product.

Both jussive and interrogative clauses aim to engage the customer in the advertising text. Jussives direct readers towards a certain course of action; whilst interrogative clauses, although questioning the potential consumer, demonstrate coercion by making assumptions about certain answers. Both go about achieving their aims by simulating, often colloquial, dialogue. Combined with the use of *you*, advertisers are building an image of their ideal consumer, speaking directly to him or her and hoping that the real readers will be able to fit themselves into the slot that has been created. This synthetic personalization, individualizing the mass audience, is used to personalize the corporation which manufacture the advertised products. This personalization is the second form of relationship building that can be found in adverts.

7.1.2 Company

Along with multiple receivers, adverts have multiple senders. Copywriters, creative teams, narrators, translators and companies, amongst others, all play their part in the transmission of adverts to receivers. With so many senders, it is often difficult to decipher which voice is speaking to the receiver, who the *we* is who speaks to the *you* (see Cook 2001: 181). However, in line with Cook (2001: 182), I simplify these multiple voices and standardize advertisers (that is companies and not the advertising agencies) as the ultimate senders of adverts, as the adverts produced are based on their creative briefs. Bhatia (2000: 100) resolves this debate by referring to the ‘sponsor’ and the ‘author’. The ‘sponsor’

is responsible for commissioning an advert, paying for it, approving it, and taking legal responsibility for it; whereas the 'author' is the creative source, anonymous and for hire. Here the emphasis is on how the companies (sponsors) set about building relationships with the text receivers (recipients).

7.1.2.1 Referring to the Company as We

Just as potential customers are often addressed through second person pronouns, so first person plural pronouns signal that manufacturers are talking. In English and Russian, we can be used 'inclusively' or 'exclusively'. Wales (1996: 58) defines their usage in English in the following way, but this definition can just as easily be applied to Russian:

We can refer 'inclusively' to speaker and addressee(s) (i.e. [...] [+ego(centric) + [+voc(ative)] features), so that the speaker presumes to speak on the addressee's behalf; or it can refer 'exclusively' to speaker and third party or parties, who may or may not be present in the immediate situation (i.e. [+ego] + [-voc]). The third party is thus involved in the dialogue, the we, again, functioning as a kind of spokesperson.

In addition to its function as the plural first person pronoun, *we* is used in English and Russian to refer to a single person, the so-called 'royal' or 'editorial' *we*. 'We are not amused' in English, or *My, vserossijskij imperator* 'We, Emperor of all the Russians'. Paternal *we* is used in Russian and English by people such as doctors as in this English example: 'How are we today?' or to add a touch of mockery or contempt as in the Russian example: *My ulybaemsja!* 'So, we're smiling!'. Russian also uses 'we' in an authorial fashion or to refer to 'the whole of a social or other group, or all society' (Wade 1994: 120). Ermakova writes that in the totalitarian system 'we' was always used positively as it expressed the myth of the unity of the Soviet people and party (1997: 145). The idea of universal brotherhood through the use of 'we' began to be resisted during *perestrojka* (Ermakova 1997: 147).

Within the context of advertising specifically, the inclusive *we* is used as a form of solidarity between the advert sender (either the advertiser or the narrator in the advert). Readers are invited to join a select group of like-minded people who use (or will potentially use) the advertised product. As far as the advertising genre is concerned, the term 'exclusive' *we* is a little inappropriate as it implies a negative

situation where the addressee is shut out of the discourse.¹² This is not actually the case as the major aim of using this form of *we* is as the ‘human and friendly voice of the manufacturer, retailer or public service, etc.’ (Wales 1996: 164). According to Myers (1994: 81) this exclusive use of *we* is common and has the effect of personalizing huge and impersonal corporations.

7.1.2.2 Speaking with a Company Voice

Another way advertisers aim to define their companies in the relationships they are affecting uses neither solidarity with the potential consumers nor personalization, but authority. Using this technique, advertisers speak to receivers with the company voice. Unlike some advertising voices there is no ambiguity as to who is speaking, as the company is named; this form suggests that the company name already has a certain level of authority within the market and is respected. The company voice gives an active agent to claims made by the advertiser, as in the following example:

L’Oréal invents the language of colour (EP:21)

By making the company the subject of this sentence, the invention of ‘the language of colour’ is clearly situated within the remit of L’Oréal’s company. Had the agent been removed and a passive construction used, the result would have been quite different:

The language of colour is invented

Here, it is not certain whether L’Oréal played a part in the invention of this language, and the sentence is altogether more vague.

In addition to the potential benefits of active agency, speaking with the company voice leads to the repetition of the company name which in turn increases brand recognition, ensuring that customers are aware of what the company and the product can offer.

¹² Of course this may happen with an ‘inclusive’ *we*, where the receiver does not feel part of the group.

7.1.3 Intermediary

The voice in the advert may not be that of the advert sender (the company); but of an intermediary who resides within the text. There are a number of intermediaries who feature in adverts, such as celebrities, specialists, 'real people' (who use the product, are trying the product for the first time or are miserable because they do not use the product), fictional characters, characters from the past or even the product itself. Certain intermediaries are typical of particular media. The use of 'real people' is characteristic of television advertising, where people are interviewed, for example, before and after trying the product. Typical of consumer magazine advertising is the use of celebrities and specialists and these will be the focus of this study. When building relationships with consumers, intermediaries can address them by way of direct speech using the pronoun *I*. *I* is the voice of the potential customer, the endorser or the sceptic (Myers 1994: 83). Like *we* and *you*, *I* is also vague. The text receiver may identify with the intermediary, making *I* their own, or treat the character as someone who is speaking to them. When intermediaries do not address the receiver directly, they may be referred to as *he* or *she*. This presupposes that the person is known by the reader (because of the picture in the advert) or by already being part of the reader's life (Myers 1994: 82).

7.1.3.1 Product Personification

In order to sell their products, advertisers have to ensure that they stand out amongst the numerous, similar products on the market. Brierley notes how products are often given spectacular and magical qualities over and above their simple functional use (1995: 157). As in folktales and storytelling, inanimate objects, animate non-humans or abstract qualities are given human qualities and abilities. This has the effect of adding value to the brand and including it within the sphere of everyday life (Koxtev 1997: 36).

7.1.3.2 Celebrities

Celebrity endorsement is a popular device used by advertisers. In using someone famous, advertisers aim to bestow the values associated with that celebrity on the product. Williamson comments on the added value that can be achieved by using a well-known figure (Catherine Deneuve) in an advert (for Channel No. 5):

The ad is using another already existing mythological language or sign system, and appropriating a relationship that exists in that system between signifier (Catherine Deneuve) and signified (glamour, beauty) to speak of its product in terms of the same relationship; so that the perfume can be substituted for Catherine Deneuve's face and can also be made to signify glamour and beauty (Williamson 1978: 25).

Not only is the product's value certified, but there is also the implicit promise that readers will possess some of the qualities of the celebrity if they use the product. Since celebrities are individuals, it is possible for advertisers to choose the one who is the best representative of the image of the product being promoted. In an attempt to rejuvenate their flagging sports shoe market, Nike turned to a group of athletes, who were chosen not only for their athletic ability, but according to Klein (2001: 51) because they were the embodiments of Graeco-Roman ideal of the perfect male. The most successful of these was Michael Jordan, whose basketball skills helped to promote the brand. The benefits were two-way as Jordan's appearance in the Nike adverts made him a global superstar.

In using celebrities, advertisers are appealing to the receivers' prior knowledge of the people used. Celebrities are such an integral part of contemporary life that people often believe they know everything about them. Some celebrities, then, are viewed as friends. In the same way that a friend's recommendation for a product is believed, so is that of a celebrity. Potential consumers admire the celebrities, due to their physical appearance (and therefore buy face cream in order to have clear skin like actress X) or because of what they have achieved (so buy the breakfast cereal endorsed by the footballer Y, to increase energy and therefore goal-scoring ability). Celebrities are familiar and friendly acting as go-betweens, connecting the unfamiliar and impersonal company with the consumer and in doing so offer for sale, along with the product, a bit of their own success.

7.1.3.3 Specialists

If the celebrity is the friendly intermediary, then the specialist is the voice of authority. Using a specialist helps add credence to the advertised product.

Brierley suggests that the following specialists appear in adverts:

Scientists (skin care, washing powder, washing machines), hairdressers (shampoo, hair gel), mothers (floor cleaners, washing powder, cooking), designers (nappies, sanitary towels), and the most common of all, friends (spot cream and dandruff, deodorant). (1995: 169)

The specialist is seen as a neutral and unbiased reviewer of the product. An exalted claim about a product is more likely to be believed if it comes from an impartial witness, rather than someone who is closely connected with the company. The recommendation carries even more weight if the specialist is reported to be an expert in the field under discussion. Consumers do not seem to require any particular proof of the authenticity of these specialists, as people in white coats in toothpaste adverts are assumed to be dentists (even if they are actually actors, as they often are). As with celebrities, specialists are go-betweens; however, unlike celebrities, they are not seen as friends, but supposedly neutral agents bridging the gap between consumers and companies with reason and knowledge based on their expert opinion.

7.2 Findings

7.2.1 Consumer

With reference to the establishing of relationships between consumers and advertisers, firstly I discuss the mode of address employed, that is the choice between the familiar or formal address; then the use of possessive determiners in the corpora; and finally analyse jussive and interrogative clauses in the direct address of potential consumers.

7.2.1.1 Formal or Familiar

The most frequently used pronouns in these corpora are ones for 'you' (see appendix nine). This is not surprising, since advertisers are aiming their products at the reader, thus logically *you*. The fact that advertisers prefer to use *you*, rather than an impersonal construction shows how anxious they are to create the illusion of a special bond between themselves and the readers.

Since Russian distinguishes between *T* / *V* when addressing a single individual, translators have to decide between the two when translating into Russian. Using Russian *T* also potentially leads to gender choices and as noted above the use of either the *T* or *V* carries a number of social implications (see 7.1.1.1). Baker (1992: 98) suggests that the *T* / *V* distinction is one of the most problematic aspects in translation since it reflects the tenor of discourse and can convey a whole range of subtle meanings.

Looking at the Russian corpora shows that the Russian monolingual corpus contains adverts which are less likely to address the reader familiarly than the Russian parallel corpus, and therefore prefers the formal mode of address. Both the monolingual and parallel Russian corpora contain adverts which use both the formal and familiar modes of address in the same advert. These results show that advertisers tend to address their potential consumers formally. The high percentage of adverts using *V* in the Russian parallel corpus suggests that it is a neutral means of expressing English 'you'. The product categories using the formal variant are wide and include pet food, cars, computers, sun cream, cosmetics, hair dye and clothing. The use of *V* adds respectability to the product, and does not compromise the research carried out into it. A more general explanation for the use of *V* is that it has often been considered impolite to use the more familiar form of address in promotional literature.¹³ Cook (2001: 240) suggests that there is a preference of *V* over *T* in Russian as a reaction to the Communist slogans which usually addressed the reader as *T*. When *V* is used in the adverts it is always written with a capital letter which is the usual convention when writing formal business letters (Offord 2000: 202).

There are examples of *T* in the corpora. The types of products advertised this way are more restricted, only cosmetics and perfume in the parallel corpus and lingerie and food in the monolingual one. The choice of pronoun may reflect the translator's perception of the target audience; one would expect someone who is thinking of buying a car or a computer to be more serious than someone who wants to buy lipstick. This may explain why adverts for more 'frivolous' goods aim to create the illusion of an intimate friendship with their potential customers. Adverts for cosmetics are often based on images of youth and beauty; cosmetics company Maybelline, whose products are aimed at young people, repeatedly uses the *T* form in the Russian parallel corpus. Its young audience is quite used to being addressed as *T* which might even succeed in making the (presumably female) reader believe that the advert is targeted at her alone and she is made to feel special, believing the product has been uniquely designed for her.

¹³ This is an observation made about Polish promotional literature by Zwierzyńska-Coldicott (2000: 34) who suggests that the choice of the familiar or formal pronoun of address 'is one of the basic questions facing translators and other writers of promotional literature in Polish.'

This does not, however, explain why another major cosmetics' advertiser, L'Oréal, uses *V*. The target audience for L'Oréal's goods is slightly older, and more sophisticated than that of Maybelline's. L'Oréal plays very heavily on its French roots and offers an image of chic sophistication, whereas Maybelline proffers a youthful American aura. Both L'Oréal and Maybelline are, in fact, brands within the larger corporation L'Oréal Group. This goes to show how different brands are used, in the Russian market at least, to appeal to different market sectors, and that these markets are then addressed differently.

There are three adverts where both the *T* and *V* modes of address are used. In these examples the familiar form is used in the headline, as this example shows:

Ja – sila tvoej familiar possessive koži (RP:39)
'I am the strength of your skin'

The formal address comes in the body of the text, where more solid information is given about the product:

{The Skincare} soxranit buduščee Vašej formal possessive koži. (RP:39)
'{The Skincare} saves the future of your skin.'

Otkrojte formal imperative dlja sebja liniju {The Skincare} v Internete (RP:39)
'Discover for yourselves the line {The Skincare} on the Internet'

There is a similar example in the Russian monolingual corpus:

VYBIRAJ!
Vse neobxodimoe dlja sozdanija ujuta i blagopolučija Vašego doma (RM:18)
'CHOOSE! familiar imperative
Everything needed for the creation of comfort and well-being for your formal possessive home'

In these examples, *T* is being used to attract the attention of the reader and draw them into the advert. *T* is used less often than *V* and is therefore relatively novel. The readers' attention is attracted by this device and they are encouraged to continue reading. Once their attention is grabbed, the tone switches to a formal, more respectful means of communicating in the body text where arguments used to persuade are found.

When translating 'you' into Russian, the formal variant is generally used in preference to the familiar, thus retaining an element of respect, and avoiding any

gender issues that the familiar pronoun might raise. The formal variant appears to be a feature of the glossy women's magazine genre; in television advertising, there are more adverts directed at children or young people. In television adverts for food and soft drinks in particular, *T* is often used, as these examples from adverts for soft drinks show:

S Fanta ne skučiš'sja. Veseliš'sja (Fanta, ORT, 18 March 1999)

'With Fanta (you) won't get bored familiar imperative. (You) will have fun familiar imperative'

Ne daj sebe zasoxnut' (Sprite, ORT, 18 March 1999)

'Do not let familiar imperative yourself dry up'

Beri ot žizni vsě (Pepsi, ORT, 18 March 1999)

'Take familiar imperative from life everything'

And these examples from television adverts for chocolate:

Ne tormozi

Snickersni! (Snickers, ORT, 10 December 1999)

'Do not brake familiar imperative

Snickers! Snickers made into a verb with familiar imperative ending¹⁴

Kogda tvoi čuvstva prinadležat tol'ko emu (Wispa, ORT, 17 December 1999)

'When your familiar possessive feelings belong only to him'

Ustupi soblazu raznobražija (Picnic, ORT, 16 December 1999)

'Yield familiar imperative to the temptation of diversity'

In the Russian monolingual corpus, one of the two uses of *T* is in an advert for food. Although the advert is not aimed at children it is appealing to the child within each adult.

oščuti sebja svobodnym (RM:3)

'feel familiar imperative free'

By purchasing the ready made frozen *pel'meni* (Russian ravioli), consumers will have more time to themselves, no longer being enslaved to the kitchen. The advertising image shows a young girl who may be dancing, which is reminiscent of childhood when one is free from all the responsibilities adulthood brings. The combination of the familiar form of address and the advertising image suggest

¹⁴ Kostomarov (2000: 53–54) suggests that many people are still guessing what the difference is between Snickers, Pampers and Tampax. He recounts a story of a little boy who asks his parents to buy him some Tampax, because he understood from the advert that swimming is better with them.

that using the advertised product brings back the happy feeling of freedom experienced as a child.¹⁵

The most important factor, then, when deciding whether to use *T* or *V* is the target audience. If the product is aimed at young people, or the young at heart, then *T* may well be used. For products that are aimed at a wider market, *V* is preferred so as not to cause offence. It seems to be a neutral way of expressing the rather vague meanings of English 'you' and avoiding any discriminatory gender decisions that *T* invokes. The use of both forms in a single advert shows how the distinction is an effective persuasive device, with the familiar pronoun attracting the readers' attention to the advert and the formal being used when the serious persuasion begins.

7.2.1.2 Possessive Determiners¹⁶

The most important possessive determiner in the corpora is the second person possessive (see appendix nine, pp. 371–72). The use of 'your' is a key device when establishing a relationship with the reader, or ensuring that the product is clearly situated within the reader's own life experience.

This utilization of 'your' can be seen in Waltham's adverts for its dog and cat foods. 'Your' is employed in both English and Russian versions as a way of equating the dog or cat in the image with the potential customer's own animal:

ADD LIFE TO THE LIFE OF YOUR DOG (EP:44)

DAJTE VAŠEJ SOBAKE BOL'ŠE ŽIZNI! (RP: 44)
'GIVE YOUR DOG MORE LIFE!'

In Russian, there is a general tendency to dispense with possessive determiners in cases of inalienable possession,¹⁷ as this example demonstrates:

¹⁵ Even though the picture shows a young girl, the adjective relates to a noun of either masculine or neuter gender. This means that the phrase is not referring only to the advertising image, but is establishing a relationship with the reader. The generic form here is masculine, in contrast with L'Oréal's slogan which is targeted only at female readers (see 7.2.3.2.1).

¹⁶ A determiner which expresses possession such as, in English, *my*, *our*, *your*, *his*, *her*, *its*, and *their* and, in Russian, *moj* 'my', *naš* 'our', *tvoj* 'your', *vaš* 'your', *ego* 'his/its', *eë* 'her/its', *ego* 'its', *ix* 'their', *svoj* reflexive possessive, in all their forms. These are often confused with possessive pronouns, in English *mine*, *ours*, *yours*, *his*, *hers*, *its*, *theirs*. In Russian possessive determiners and possessive pronouns have the same form. I will be dealing only with possessive determiners here. In these corpora, there is only one example of a possessive pronoun, which is in the Russian monolingual corpus: *Tol'ko dlja svoix* 'Only for yours' (RM:17).

Ja vymyla ruki i lico
'Literally: I washed hands and face'

There are occasions, however, in the corpus where Russian employs a possessive pronoun where one is not necessarily needed. This is most marked in Elizabeth Arden's advert for Ceramide Herbal, where the possessive *vaš* 'your' is used on four occasions in the Russian translation, whilst the English original uses *your* just once:

Botanical Supplement for the Face (EP:8)
Rastitel'noe Pitanie dlja Vašego Lica (RP:8)
'A vegetal substance for your skin'

gives your skin an immediate feel good glow
estestvennyj zdorovyj cvet Vašej koži.
'Natural healthy colour of your skin'

Nature's self defence
Prirodnaja zaščita Vašej koži
'Natural protection of your skin'

Natural radiance booster
Estestvennoe sijanie Vašej koži
'Natural radiance of your skin'

Ryazanova-Clarke (1996: 103) suggests that one typical example of faulty advertising copy is 'the multiple error of using the second person plural possessive pronoun in the construction of obvious ownership, natural English, but improper Russian'.¹⁷ However, similar examples are found in the monolingual Russian corpus:

Skol'ko stoit Vaša grud'?
Vaša grud' pomogaet Vam vygljadet' krasivoj i seksual'noj (RM:22)
'How much is your bust worth?
Your bust helps you to look beautiful and sexy'

Certain adverts have, however, removed the possessive determiners to produce a more natural Russian text:

Whip up your lips (EP:31)
Vdoxni žizn' v guby! (RP:31)

¹⁷ INALIENABLE POSSESSION – the property of a possessive in which the possessed represents something that cannot reasonably be separated from the possessor (Trask 2000: 69).

¹⁸ Ryazanova-Clarke is using 'pronoun' here where 'determiner' would be more appropriate.

‘Breathe life into lips!’

As can be seen in this example it is not just the possessive determiner which has been removed, but the whole headline has been altered. This headline is discussed in more detail in 5.8.2.2.3, pp. 166–67 .

Another example where a possessive determiner has been removed is in Waltham’s advert for its Advance dog food:

Ask your vet how Advance can give your dog the best possible future (EP:44)

Veterinarnyj vrač podrobněj ob’jasnit Vam, kak važen {ADVANCE} dlja buduščego Vašej sobaki. (RP:44)

‘The/a veterinarian will explain in more detail to you how important {ADVANCE} is for the future of your dog’

Removing the reference to ‘your vet’ and changing the clause structure from a jussive to a declarative makes the advert formal and impersonal, giving the impression that the reader might not have a specific vet whom they consult. Also significant is the use of *veterinarnyj vrač* ‘veterinary doctor’ rather than the more informal *veterinar* or *vetvrač*.

Russian has a reflexive possessive determiner, *svoj*, which English does not. In clauses which have a first or second person subject *svoj* is used as an alternative to other first and second person possessive determiners, for example: *Ja govorju o svoej / moej rabote* ‘I am talking about my work’. However, if the personal determiner is in the third person, using the possessive determiner and the reflexive possessive determiner express crucially different meanings:

Brat otpravil svoë pis’mo ‘The brother posted his (own) letter’

Brat otpravil ego pis’mo ‘The brother posted his (i.e. somebody else’s) letter’ (Pulkina and Zakhava-Nekrasova 1994: 154)

This example shows Russian being less ambiguous than English, more context is needed in English to be sure who the ‘his’ refers to. There are two examples of the reflexive possessive determiner *svoj* in the Russian parallel corpus:

DOVER’SJA SVOEMU INSTINKTU (RP:32)

‘ENTRUST YOURSELF TO YOUR INSTINCT’

Ja videla èto svoimi glazami (RP:25)

‘I’ve seen it with my own eyes’

It is surprising that this determiner is used so infrequently as it is commonly used in Russian and appears in nine percent of the adverts in the monolingual Russian corpus. *Svoj* is the most frequently used determiner according to Brown's (1996) dictionary of the 10,000 most frequently used words in Russian, where it ranks twenty-eighth.¹⁹ Possessive determiners are an important device used to create relationships between advertisers and readers. In English, however, the possessive determiner is normally used more frequently than in Russian. Russian can discard the possessive determiner when ownership is obvious, especially in cases of inalienable ownership. This analysis has shown that in some instances Russian adverts are using possessive determiners where they are not needed, thus demonstrating interference from the colonizing language.

7.2.1.3 Jussive Clauses

In the parallel and monolingual corpora, the jussive clauses are all aimed at the text receiver; there are no examples of imperatives including both speaker and receiver (e.g. *let's*), or third-person imperatives (e.g. *pust'* 'let'), see appendix nine, pp. 373–75). The parallel Russian corpus and the Russian monolingual one use the formal imperative more often than the familiar. The use of imperfective or perfective verbs is also balanced across both corpora; the imperfective being used when the emphasis is on repetition, invitation or a request to begin to do something:

Naslaždajtes' formal imperfective *solncem*. (RP:17)

'Take pleasure in the sun'[an invitation to begin to take pleasure in the sun and continue to do so].

Pol'zujtes' formal imperfective *novoj uveličivajuščej ob''em tuš'ju dlja resnic*. (RP:38)

'Use new volume increasing mascara' [an invitation to begin to use the mascara and to continue to use it].

The perfective is being used to emphasize that something need only be done once:

Zabud'te formal perfective *navsegda o ploskom cvete!* (RP:21)

'Forget forever about flat colour' [forget once and for all about flat colour].

In the parallel corpus there is only one example of a negative imperative.

¹⁹ This contrasts with *moj* 'my' 67, *naš* 'our' 33, *tvoj* 'your, T' 232, *vaš* 'your, V' 128, *ego* 'his, its' 50, *ež* 'her' 55 and *ix* 'their' 79.

don't imitate
innovate (EP:15)

ne podražaj
tvori (RP:15)
'not imitate
create'

Although the advert gives readers a firm command not to imitate, the second clause suggests they do something more positive. The fact that this is the only negative imperative suggests that they are not a popular device in advertising. The monolingual Russian corpus has only one example of a negative imperative in the form of a warning, again the readers are offered a new course of action:

Ne riskujte, kupajte otečestvennoe! (RM:7)
'Don't take a risk, buy native!'

There are a number of adverts where both the source and target texts use the imperative form. The jussives are used to encourage the reader to take further action, either by consulting a website, by telephoning the sales department or by trying the product:

Learn more about The Skincare at www.shiseido.com (EP:39)
Otkrojte dlja sebja liniju {The Skincare} v Internetu: www.shiseido.com
(RP:39)
'Discover for yourselves the line {The Skincare} on the Internet :
www.shiseido.com'

Call ... (EP:12)
Pozvonte našim oficial'nym dileram. (RP:12)
'Call our official dealers.'

Discover colour in three dimensions (EP:10)
Otkrojte dlja sebja cvet v trex izmerenijax (RP:10)
'Discover for yourself colour in three dimensions'

The Hewlett Packard advert for the Vectra includes its own version of a moral which uses an imperative in both the source and the text:

When you want protection, hire the best. (EP:12)

Esli Vam neobxodimo zaščita –
priglasite lučšix teloxranitelej. (RP:12)
'If you need protection –
invite the best bodyguards'

The most common way of using the imperative is in the headlines or the slogan.²⁰ The imperative is being used as a device to impact on the consumer's life. For example:

FOLLOW YOUR INSTINCTS (EP:32)

DOVER'SJA SVOEMU INSTINKTU (RP:32)
'ENTRUST YOURSELF TO YOUR INSTINCT'

Rimmel's slogan also contains an imperative form of the verb:

MAKEUP YOUR OWN LANGUAGE (EP:38)

This example attempts to increase memorability through the use of wordplay, with the polysemous noun: MAKE-UP 'cosmetics; paint etc. used by actors in making up. Also by women generally' (*OED* 1989: 00138797, 2b) and the verb MAKE UP 'to concoct, invent, fabricate (a story, lie). Also, to compose (verse etc.) impromptu, to improvise' (*OED* 1989: 00138776, make, v.¹ 96gc). The slogan invites readers to use Rimmel's cosmetics to invent their own language (of makeup?), and by writing the verb in the form usually reserved for the noun, 'makeup', the advert reminds the reader that the company manufactures cosmetics. The Russian slogan does not use wordplay, as the component parts in of the English slogan: KRASIT'/POKRASIT' 'to use cosmetics', VYDUMYVAT' 'to concoct' and KOSMETIČESKIE TOVARY 'cosmetics' (*ORD* 1995: 969) are not polysemous in Russian. Some of the impact of the English slogan is lost. The slogan does, however, employ an imperative:

Zajavi o sebe (RP:38)
'Announce yourself'

The imperative gives direction to readers, inferring that the use of Rimmel cosmetics will make them stand out; readers will not need another person to make their arrival known as the makeup will do that for them.

There are examples where the source text contains imperatives which are not replicated in the target text. Most of these examples point readers in the direction of websites and numbers to telephone to request catalogues or locate stockists.

²⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the headlines, with particular reference to the use of rhetorical figures see chapter five.

The fact that these are not mentioned in the Russian texts suggests that these services are not available in Russia. Many of the English imperatives which have not been translated used the softener *please* to make the command more polite:

For more information please telephone. (EP:39)

The Russian parallel corpus carries no examples of softeners, such as *požalujsta* ‘please’ and only one of the particle *-ka*. The particle *-ka*, when attached to an imperative, suggests informal, friendly advice, feelings of admiration or expresses a challenge to do something which is believed to be difficult (for more on the *-ka* particle in use see 5.8.2.2.3, pp. 165–66).

In the following example, the imperative is used to give the reader a direct course of action: if you do not ask about Advance, you will not find out about it:

Ask your vet how Advance can give your dog the best possible future (EP:44)

The Russian version does not offer a jussive clause, but a declarative one. This declarative clause does not tell the reader what to do, but implies that it will inevitably happen.

Veterinarnyj vrač podrobnее ob“jasnit Vam, kak važen {ADVANCE} dlja buduščego Vašej sobaki (RP:44)

‘The vet will explain to you in more detail how important {ADVANCE} is for the future of your dog.’

There is an example of an imperative form being used as a colloquial form of a conditional tense in the source text:

apply this all-over foundation with its easy blend, cream formula and it transforms into comfortable powder finish. (EP:23)

The imperative is being used instead of an *if* clause (‘if you apply this all-over foundation’) to simulate everyday speech. The fact that the second clause is in the present tense ‘and it transforms into comfortable powder finish’ infers that the second is the result of the first, and that this is always true – do A and B always happens. In the Russian translation the conditional tense is not maintained:

Legkoe nanesenie i prijatnyj barxatistyj èffekt pudry. (RP:23)

‘Easy application and the nice velvet effect of powder.’

Here, there is no suggestion that doing one thing will naturally lead to another. The effect of the nominalization is that the phrase is more matter-of-fact and does not engage with the reader in the same way as the English.

In contrast, there are examples of imperatives being used in the target text when they are not in the original source advert. Some of the uses are compatible with trends that have been noted above, for example in headlines:

blesni-ka (RP:12)
‘shine, go on shine’

This imperative carries the softener *-ka*, which makes the command less forceful.²¹

The imperatives direct readers somewhere else, as with the examples of websites and telephone sales assistants. There are examples where the Russian advert invites readers to visit the Clinique shops:

Posetite magaziny KLINIK (RP:4)
‘Visit the KLINIK shops’

The shops in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Nizny Novgorod, Rostov-on-Don and Yekaterinburg are then listed. It would be impossible to mention all the places that Clinique products can be purchased in the UK, so this information is not found in the English version.

In the following example, found in both the Advance cat and dog food adverts, the use of the imperative in the Russian advert leads to certain assumptions about the availability of these products in Russia. The English version is a declarative phrase, which tells the reader quite clearly where the product can be purchased:

Available in specialist pet shops and other specialist outlets. (EP:44)

In the Russian advert, readers are directed to ask in pet shops and veterinary surgeries:

Sprašivajte v zoomagazinax i veterinarnyx klinikax (RP:44)

²¹ For more analysis of this headline see 5.8.2.2.3, pp. 165–66.

‘Ask in pet shops and veterinary surgeries’

Unlike the English version, it is not altogether clear that the pet food will be available in these places, thus suggesting that the food may not be as widely available in Russia as in the UK.

By means of comparison, the imperative tense is little used in the Russian monolingual corpus. There are two examples of imperatives in headlines:

VYBIRAJ! (RM:18)

‘Choose!’

oščuti sebja svobodnym (RM:3)

‘feel free’

There is one advert which uses the imperative in a plea to readers not to fall foul of foreign importers of tights (RM:7). In addition there is an advert which uses the imperative to tell readers what to do (and that using its product will make it possible):

Pomogite svoej grudi (RM:22)

‘Help your bust’

podderžite Vašu grud’.

‘support your bust’

Despite being a prominent feature of persuasive texts, the most frequent use of imperatives is not to explicitly direct readers to buy the product, but rather to encourage them to find out more about the product through various outlets. Although the imperative is being used to establish a relationship with the reader, advertisers appear reluctant to tell their potential customers what to do so overtly (which using the jussive, a command, does) preferring other ways of addressing the consumer.

7.2.1.4 Interrogative Clauses

When compared with the use of jussives, the corpora have few instances of interrogative clauses (see appendix nine, p. 376). There are two adverts where the source and target texts carry questions directed towards the potential consumers. Both ask the text receiver to consider their pets and to imagine them in the future. The implication is that these animals are currently in good

condition, since it is not the desire of the advertiser to suggest that the readers are the kind of people who neglect their pets. The advert questions whether the animal could be receiving even better care. The first examples comes from Waltham's Advance Cat food, the further two examples from the dog food advert from the same company:

WILL SHE ALWAYS BE IN SUCH GOOD SHAPE? (EP:43)
BUDET LI ONA VSEGDA V PREKRASNOJ FORME? (RP:43)
'WILL SHE ALWAYS BE IN WONDERFUL SHAPE?'

WILL HE STAND AS PROUD TOMORROW AS HE DOES TODAY? (EP:44)
BUDET LI ON VYGLJADET' STOL' ŽE DOSTOJNO MNOGO LET SPUSTJA? (RP:44)
'WILL HE LOOK SO DIGNIFIED MANY YEARS LATER?'

WILL HE BE FULL OF LIFE FOR YEARS AND YEARS?
BUDET LI VSEGDA POLON ŽIZNENNYX SIL?
'WILL HE ALWAYS BE FULL OF VITALITY?'

In each case the adverts declare that the product, Advance, is the answer to these questions. Rather than stimulating real dialogue, the advert promotes reflection. The advert plays on the readers' fear of not caring sufficiently for the future of their pets, yet offers an instant answer, through the purchase of the product, to any insecurities which arise.

The source texts include examples of questions which have not been maintained in the target texts. In two examples, the question forms have no equivalent in the target texts. In L'Oréal's Color Riche advert, the text tells the reader that the advertised lipstick has a rich colour, can moisturize, makes lips shiny and will not crack. With this impressive list of attributes, the adverts asks:

Is it too much to ask? (EP:19)

The presupposition here is that the lipstick does more than a lipstick is normally expected to do. Although this is a tall order for most lipsticks, it is standard for L'Oréal's product. By questioning the reader, the advertiser is emphasizing that the properties most desired in a lipstick are all present in Color Riche, but not necessarily in those of competitors. It also demonstrates the addressers enthusiasm for the product by inviting response from the receiver. The target Russian text lists the lipstick's qualities; but instead of questioning readers' lipstick expectations, plainly tells them that:

Vse pri nej. (RP:19)
'Everything is in it.'

This demonstrates what seems to be a trend towards Russian-language adverts highlighting the benefits and giving information, rather than provoking or questioning the receiver (see 5.8.1). In a similar example, the source advert begins by asking the reader a question, which is subsequently answered later in the body copy:

Can a make-up that's fast, last and last? (EP:23)

In the target Russian text, the question is not asked, but rather a claim is made which is substantiated in the remainder of the text:

Nanositsja za 1 minutu
Deržitsja ves' den' (RP:23)
'Applies in 1 minute
Stays all day'

This does not mean that questions are not used in Russian to stimulate the reader; the parallel corpus uses questions in target texts that are not in the originals. The Ford Ka advert, for example, offers the special features of the car advertised before asking readers if they curious to find out more (RP:12). If the answer is affirmative, then a contact telephone number is provided. The monolingual corpus uses questions in the same way as the English and Russian Waltham Advance pet foods do, by questioning readers about their lives and making them reflect on them, before using the product as a means of solution, for example:

Skol'ko stoit Vaša grud'? (RM:22)
'How much is your bust worth?'

The advert highlights a number of ways that readers can care for their breasts, for example through a fitness course or plastic surgery, before offering their product as the most cost-effective treatment. The Russian monolingual corpus carries another advert which questions the cost and worth of the advertised product:

Stol'ko že stoit vse èto udovol'stvie? (RM:4)
'So how much does this pleasure cost?'

These adverts respond to a need expressed by respondents to my questionnaire to have information about the cost of the product (see appendix five). Making reference to the cost, combined with an explanation of the benefits, helps to persuade readers to purchase what may otherwise be rejected as an expensive, overpriced luxury.

The three corpora use questions to engage the reader to the same extent; and whilst all use question forms to encourage readers to think about their current behaviour, only the parallel corpus appears to use questions as a means of exposition. On occasions, the Russian parallel corpus omits these question forms, or simply gives the information that the English question is trying to tease out of the text receiver.

7.2.2 Company

This section looks in detail at the voice with which the company chooses to address its potential consumers. The discussion begins with personalization through ‘we’ which can be used inclusively or exclusively. I then turn to the less personal, and more authoritarian use of the company voice.

7.2.2.1 Exclusive ‘we’

In the English parallel corpus there are several examples of exclusive ‘we’ through the use of the possessive determiner *our*.

Based on our FBMI
Using our unique vitamin and ingredient blend (EP:43)

Our WALTHAM veterinarians
Call our careline (EP:44)

Our freshest skincare (EP:8)

These determiners are not translated in the Russian advert and the results are impersonal structures:

osnovannyx na {FBMI}
‘based on the {FBMI}’

unikal’noe sočetanie ingredientov i vitaminov. (RP:43)
‘the unique combination of ingredients and vitamins.’

Učenyje Centra {WALTHAM}
‘Scientists at the {WALTHAM} centre’

obraščajtes' v konsul'tacionnuju službu (RP:44)
'contact the consultation service'

Čistyj produkt (RP:8)
'Pure product'

There are, however, two exceptions to this pattern and they show the use of a possessive determiner in the Russian where there is none in the English original. The first appears in Ford's advert for the KA. The reader is encouraged to:

Pozvonite našim oficial'nym dileram (RP:12)
'Call our official dealers'

Whilst the reader of the English advert is invited simply to:

Call ... (EP:12)

In an example taken from a similar context in the Russian monolingual corpus to that of the Ford KA advert above, the phrase used is less personal and does not give a human face to the producers of *Volga* cars.

Dopolnitel'nuju informaciju možno polučit' po telefonam (RM:19)
'More information can be received by phoning'

There is one example of the exclusive 'we' being used in the monolingual corpus:

My rabotaem každyj den' s 9.00 do 21.00, v voskresen'e s 10.00 do 19.00.
(RM:1)
We work everyday from 9.00 until 21.00, on Sunday from 10.00 until 19.00.

When exclusive 'we' is being used in the Russian monolingual corpus to refer to the company, however, the trend is to silence the actual pronoun:

Rabotaem bez vyxodnyx (RM:18)
'(We) work without days off'

Ždem Vas ežednevno (RM:9)
'(We) look forward to seeing you daily'

It would appear that the connotations attached to the use of 'we' mean that it is a negative selling point rather than a positive one. The use of 'we' reminds the Russian reader of the Communist 'we', which promised a lot, yet often failed to deliver.

7.2.2.2 Inclusive 'we'

Referring to the company as 'we' is not a successful or popular device in Russian advertising: there is only one example in the parallel corpus (the Ford Ka example given above). This is reinforced by looking at the monolingual Russian corpus where the first person plural is more likely to be used inclusively, incorporating both the text producer and the receiver:

Poroj nam prixoditsja prikladyvat' ogromnye usilija (RM:19)
'Now and then we have to apply enormous effort(s)'

Čto Vek Serebrjanyj daruet nam ponyne... (RM:15)
'That the Serebrjanyj vek [Silver Age] has granted us to this day'

Naši predki ne znali Deda Moroza (RM:6)
'Our forefathers did not know Father Christmas'

There are examples of the inclusive 'we' being used in the Russian parallel corpus; the advertisers are not trying to personalize the company, but to include the reader in a special group who use or should use their products. In Shiseido's advert for The Skincare, the English version relies heavily on the use of personification (see 7.2.3.1), whereas the Russian uses a combination of pronouns, determiners and impersonal constructions, one of which is *naš* 'our'. The example below shows *naš* 'our' being used in Russian where the English uses an impersonal, non-inclusive phrase:

[...] and optimize epidermal-dermal communication (EP:39)

kotorye optimizirujut svjaz' meždu èpidermisom i dermoj našej koži (RP:39)
'which optimizes the link between the epidermis and the dermis of our skin'

This inclusive use of *naš* 'our' seems superfluous, for Russian tends to dispense with the possessive determiner when ownership is obvious. This form of inclusive 'we' is not used at all in the English corpus, perhaps suggesting that English companies are aiming to maintain some distance between themselves and the potential consumers. They do not favour the illusion of solidarity that the inclusive 'we' provides. The Russian monolingual corpus does use the technique, which suggests that it is a more popular relationship building technique in Russian advertising. Its absence from the Russian parallel corpus, then, can only be accounted for due to its scarcity in the parallel English corpus.

7.2.2.3 *Speaking with a Company Voice*

The company voice is a sign of authority. The authoritative voice is used more often in the Russian corpora than in the English one. Whilst both the English and Russian versions of L'Oréal's Féria hair dye use the following:

L'Oréal invents the new language of colour. (EP:21)

L'Oreal' izobretaet novyj jazyk cveta. (RP:21)
'L'Oréal invents a/the new language of colour'

The Russian version also highlights L'Oréal's part in the creation of three-dimensional colour:

L'Oreal' sozdaet trexmernyj cvet
'L'Oréal creates three-dimensional colour'

In the English version the agent is not emphasized:

Colour so multi-faceted, it shimmers

By using the company name in the initial subject position, the Russian version is more definite than the English original. Consumers are not told by the advert who created the multi-faceted colour in the hair dye, only that it is an attribute of the product. This distancing of the company from the assertions made in the advert in the English original texts when compared to the translated Russian ones can be seen in other adverts. Waltham's Advance Cat food, for example, uses both passive constructions and modal verbs to create distance which is not maintained when translated into Russian. Whereas in English the cat food is designed to help strengthen the cat's natural defences, in Russian it promotes maintenance:

ADVANCE is designed to help build your cat's natural defences (EP:43)

{ADVANCE} sposobstvuet podderžaniju zaščitnyx sil organizma (RP:43)
'{ADVANCE} promotes the maintenance of the protective powers of the body'

And while in the English advert the cat food *can* potentially help to keep cats in good shape, in Russian it *does help*:

ADVANCE can help you keep your cat in good shape

{ADVANCE} pomogaet koške podderživat' prekrasnuju formu
'ADVANCE} helps the cat maintain a wonderful shape'

These examples show meaning being changed subtly during translation, with the Russian text becoming more direct. The English, on the other hand, is less-committal, suggesting that the cat food has been developed to improve the cat's life, rather than it will indeed do so. The Russian suggests that this cat food does help, and then gives more detail as to how (i.e., by giving her a healthy, happy and long life). This could be tested, thorough experiments on cats which have been fed Advance, and may be discovered to be false or misleading. I suspect this, most certainly, explains why the English version does not employ it. The English version shows greater caution and distance; is more vague and thus less likely to infringe legal requirements, although the implication of the benefits given directly in the Russian are still implicitly present in the English.

The monolingual Russian corpus suggests that this direct address by the company to the addressee is an effective means of establishing a relationship with the reader. So, there are examples where the company offers its products:

ARBAT PRESTIŽ predlagaet
èlitnuju parfjumeriju i kosmetiku (RM:1)
'ARBAT PRESTIŽ offers
high quality perfumeries and cosmetics'

Or where it wishes the potential consumer season's greetings:

"Flagman" želaet Vam prijatnogo Novogo goda! (RM:6)
"Flagman" wishes you a pleasant New Year!

In another example, a Russian lingerie store, Dikaja Orxideja 'Wild orchid', advertises one of the French brands that it stocks: Barbara. In this advert an interview with the president of Barbara, Jean-Jacques Bena, is simulated. He replies to a question posed in the advert:

Počemu èto bel'e stalo stol' populjarnym?
Vse ženščiny, kotorye nosjat bel'e {Barbara} ljubit ego, – govorit Žan-Žak Bena, prezident kompanii {Barbara}. (RM:4)

'Why has this lingerie become so popular?
"All women who wear {Barbara} lingerie love it," says Žan-Žak Bena, president of the {Barbara} company.'

Bena then goes on to tell readers why Barbara lingerie is popular. Bena should know about lingerie as it has been his family's business since 1926.²² The fact that the advert carries a recommendation by the French company president adds credibility to the advert and shows how non-Russian brands are still regarded as more luxurious than those made in Russia.

The use of the company voice is more popular in the Russian corpora. Brands are still establishing themselves on the Russian market, so it is necessary to repeat the names, and combine them more explicitly with the benefits of the product. In the parallel Russian corpus this also has the advantage of highlighting the fact that the product is foreign.

7.2.3 Intermediary

Rather than speaking directly to potential consumers, advertisers can address them through an intermediary. I have noted the use of product personification, celebrities and specialists as a means of addressing the audience. With reference to celebrities, I look in particular at the use of *I* and *she*.

7.2.3.1 Product Personification

In the parallel English corpus there is one very strong example of personification, where the product speaks in the first person throughout the advert:

I am your skin's strength (EP:39)
Rely on me
I promise to strengthen your stressed skin
Use me daily

The Russian version of the same advert only employs the personification on one occasion:

Ja – sila tvoej koži (RP:39)
'I am the strength of your skin'

Further in the text, the personification is replaced by impersonal clauses:

²² For more about Barbara Lingerie see: <URL:<http://www.barbara.fr>> [Accessed 15-02-02]

English Version (EP:39)	Russian Version (RP:39)
I come from the advanced laboratories of Shiseido	Sozdannaja v naučnyx laboratorijax {Shiseido} 'Created in the scientific laboratories of Shiseido.'
What I do is complex, but basically, I strengthen stressed skin and optimize epidermal-dermal communication	Novaja linija {The Skincare} – èto revoljucionnye sredstva uxoda, kotorye optimizirujut svjaz' meždu èpidermisom i dermoj našej koži. 'The/A new line {The Skincare} – these are revolutionary products for care, which optimize the link between the epidermis and the dermis of our skin.'
I am a new source of strength for the future of your skin	Ona gluboko vosstanavlivaet koža i zaščiščaet ee ot vrednyx vnešnix vozdejsvij 'It deeply restores the skin and protects it from dangerous external influences'
I promise to strengthen your stressed skin and keep you looking younger far into the future	{The Skincare} soxranit buduščee Vašej koži. '{The Skincare} saves the future of your skin.'
Please use me daily	

The changes to the Russian text have altered the tone. It does not have the colloquial, personal feel of the original. Instead, the Russian text gives the information in a very scientific and straight fashion. The Russian advert keeps the personification in the opening headline, yet chooses not to maintain it later in the headline, suggesting that the rather jocular tone of the original text is not suitable for the description of an expensive skin care product; but is acceptable as a device to attract the reader's attention.

7.2.3.2 Celebrities

The parallel corpus contains endorsement from actresses Heather Locklear, Milla Jovovich, Audrey Hepburn and Sarah Michelle Geller; models Josie Maran, Cindy Crawford, Naomi Campbell and Christy Turlington; the singer Madonna; and the actor Pierce Brosnan as James Bond. The celebrities have not been changed for the Russian market, so it is assumed that they have been selected for their global appeal. In contrast, the Russian monolingual corpus has no examples of celebrity endorsement (with the exception of someone who looks alarmingly like Prince Charles in RM:18).

Chapter Seven: Relationship Building

Some of the celebrities in the parallel corpus speak directly to the potential consumer. The first example uses what is supposedly Cindy Crawford's handwritten message for those reading the text. In the English and Russian versions, the text is in English:

Omega my choice – Cindy Crawford (EP/RP:33)

The second example has text written in speech marks, a clear indicator of direct speech. The voice is that of Sarah Michelle Geller, famous for her role in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. In this example Geller's words are translated into Russian:

“It's makeup made easy!” (EP:29)

«Makijaž?
Legko!» (RP:29)
'«Makeup?
Easy!»'

Although the Russian version does not contain the rhetorical features that are in the original (that is alliteration and polyptoton), it does use colloquial language expected in a conversation between friends.

There are examples where the text is not in speech marks, but is attributed to the endorser. For example in L'Oréal's Color Riche advert, the following text comes next to the open-mouthed Milla Jovovich:

MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE! (EP:20)

MOI GUBY VLJUBILIS' S PervoGO VZGLJADA! (RP:20)
'MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT!'

Although not indicated directly, it is implied, through the position of the text, and the use of the first person possessive determiner in both the English and Russian versions, that Milla is telling the readers about her own lips.

In the other examples using a celebrity, this referencing is even less explicit. The celebrities are pictured with text which they may or may not be saying. It is, however, assumed by the audience that these are the words of the famous person shown. So when there is the following text:

FOLLOW YOUR INSTINCTS (EP:32)

DOVER'SJA SVOEMU INSTINKTU (RP:32)
'ENTRUST YOURSELF TO YOUR INSTINCT'

And the text is combined with a picture of Naomi Campbell looking directly into the camera, readers presume that these are her words, and that they are meant for the reader. Naomi is pictured naked (but strategically posed to conceal her modesty), so the message takes on a whole range of sexual connotations and is a classic example of what Williamson (1978: 80) terms the 'absent man'. The model is interacting with another person who is absent from the advert. Naomi's posture and expression suggest that this absent person is male, and that the instinct is the most basic (that is to have sex with her). It is strange, then, that this advert for a female fragrance aimed at women, should show the model seemingly interacting with a man; but Berger (1972: 47) explains that 'the surveyor of woman in herself is male'. This means that a woman, looking at another woman in an advert, will see her as a man sees her. So a woman looking at the image of Naomi Campbell sees a woman who is extremely sexually attractive to men and the selling point is that the fragrance advertised will make the female consumer appear to the opposite sex just as Naomi does in the advert. The use of this direct gaze technique – where the celebrities or other characters in the advert are looking straight out of the image at the text receivers – is extremely popular: the parallel corpus uses it twenty-one times, and the monolingual Russian corpus seven.

7.2.3.2.1 The Use of *I*

Many of the adverts using celebrity endorsers are from L'Oréal. L'Oréal's slogan uses the first person pronoun which is left quite vague, in that it could refer either to the celebrity in the advert, or to the person reading it. The translation into Russian has not been able to maintain the same level of vagueness.

The way in which Russian verbs conjugate and adjectives decline means that they can include information about number and gender that English cannot meaning that sentences which are not gender-specific in English may become so in Russian.

L'ORÉAL PARIS
Because I'm worth it. (EP:19-23)

{L'ORÉAL PARIS}
Ved' ja ètogo dostojna (RP:19-23)
'{L'ORÉAL PARIS}
After all, I am worth it.'

When coupled with the advertising image, the pronoun *I* refers to the products' (usually female) endorsers. The pronoun also addresses the potential customer, suggesting that he or she is worthy of using it. The Russian version of the slogan is gendered: *dostoin* 'worth' requires grammatical gender in Russian and is unambiguously feminine in the form *dostojna*. For certain L'Oréal adverts, for example Color Riche lipstick, this feminization is not a problem, as this product is aimed at women. L'Oréal, however, also produces hair-care products (shampoo, conditioner, hair-spray, gel, etc.) which are aimed at men and women alike. In this corpus there is an advert for L'Oréal's Féria hair colour, although targeted primarily at women, the Féria range includes colours particularly for men. This is demonstrated by the following:

Including 3 special shades for men (EP:21)

1 – special'no dlja mužčin (RP:21)
'1 – specially for men'

The Russian slogan, designed to be used uniformly across L'Oreal's products, thus appears to exclude, and could well alienate, men. They may feel that the hair colour is for women only and decide not to use it, or indeed not to pay attention to the rest of the advert. This exclusion is also marked in the advertising image, which contains only female models.²³

7.2.3.2.2 The Use of *She*

There are a small number of adverts which refer to the celebrity as *she*. Using *she* suggests that the referent is already known to the receiver, either through the picture or due to encyclopaedic knowledge. I would also suggest that *she* can be used to signify the generic woman. I believe that this applies in the following:

²³ In China, however, L'Oréal is aiming its marketing at both men and women, since research carried out by the cosmetic's company Shiseido has shown that half the Chinese men living in large cities use moisturizing cream (Takemura 2002). This commitment to the introduction of the feminine into the Chinese translation of L'Oréal's slogan (*wǒ zhī dé yīng yǒu* 'because I deserve') would therefore be inappropriate in Chinese even if Chinese grammar permitted it. I am indebted to Ms Bing Chen for this example.

she_{fem.} is always and never the same_{no gender}(EP:1)

The 'she' is referring to the endorser, Christy Turlington, and to women in general. The way in which gender operates in Russian means that it has been possible to omit the pronoun when translated into Russian.

vsegda raznaja
neizmenno prežnjaja (RP:1)
'always different_{fem.}
Invariably as before_{fem.}'

The advert is referring to something of feminine gender, as this is marked by the feminine ending (-aja) on the adjective *raznyj* 'different' and (-jaja) on *prežnij* 'former, previous'. It is left intentionally vague whether reference is to the endorser, the generic woman, or the female reader.

Taking these examples of *I* and *she*, one could argue that gender is being used in translation both positively and negatively. Positively, as it helps to remove redundant pronouns and thus keep the adverts brief but memorable (as in RP:1), and negatively, as it potentially has the capacity to alienate half of the target population (as in L'Oréal's slogan). This differs from the norm in society, where women's needs are often subordinate to those of men, and perhaps demonstrates the underlying assumption that the reader/consumer is female, as it is women who traditionally make most of the everyday purchases in society. (Dyer 1988: 83, see also Tanaka 1994: XV). It could, of course, be that Russian advertisers have identified, through market research, that their market is one hundred percent female and have adjusted their advertising campaigns accordingly.

The second example of *she* comes from the Maybelline slogan. As with L'Oréal, Maybelline is a heavy user of celebrity endorsers. The English slogan uses the third person pronoun:

MAYBE SHE'S BORN WITH IT. MAYBE IT'S MAYBELLINE (EP:29-31)

In this case, the 'she' in the slogan does not refer to the generic woman. Instead it seems to be a reference to the celebrity in the picture. In addition, the 'she' is the possible reaction of those seeing the person who has bought and used the product

being advertised, and is therefore a prediction. In Russian, the 'she' is not maintained; but is replaced by the second person familiar:

VSE V VOSTORGE OT TEBJA, A TY OT MĚJBELLIN. (RP:29-31)
'EVERYONE IS DELIGHTED WITH YOU, AND YOU WITH MĚJBELLIN'

Although the references are the same – *ty* 'you' can refer to either the endorser or the reader who has used the product – the emphasis has changed slightly. In the Russian slogan, the consumer is addressed more explicitly than in the English. It would be quite easy to disregard the 'she' in the English slogan as relating to someone else, but the use of 'you' in the Russian makes this more difficult (although, of course, not impossible). The decision to change this pronoun may rest on the fact that the celebrity endorsers are not as well-known in Russia and there is a need to focus on the benefits for the potential customer, rather than on some lesser-known actress or model. The slogan is also fundamentally changed. The English slogan plays on the repetition at the beginning clauses of 'maybe' (anaphora) and the fact that 'maybe' is also a part of the company name Maybelline which would have been impossible to translate into Russian. Instead the new slogan displays antimetabole. The grammatical elements of *ot* 'from' and *ty* 'you' are reversed in the second clause. Ryazanova-Clarke (1999b: 127) notes that this reversal of grammatical elements is a popular device in Russian advertising. That it has been used here in a prominent slogan, engineered for the Russian market and replacing the devices used in the English version, would lend weight to this theory. The result is a more effective translation than if the original had been faithfully translated. This is not the case in all the languages into which the Maybelline slogan has been translated, as this Czech example shows:

MOŽNÁ SE TAK NARODILA. MOŽNÁ JE TO MAYBELLINE.²⁴
'MAYBE SHE WAS BORN LIKE THAT. MAYBE IT IS/SHE IS MAYBELLINE'

Although the slogan uses anaphora with the repetition *můžná* 'maybe' across the clauses it is not enough to hold them together and the result is somewhat disjointed (this is not helped by the different tenses between the two). In

²⁴ This example was provided by Ms Daniela Zitková in an email correspondence, 15 February 2002.

addition, the reference is blurred in the second clause as Maybelline can be read as a girl's name which may, when seeing the female model in the image, leave readers wondering who is this Maybelline. Although this reading is possible, it is unlikely due to the use of *to*, which would normally be left out for the *je* to be read as 'she'.²⁵ *Možná* 'maybe' does not resemble English *maybe*, and therefore the repetitive effect that is a feature of the English slogan (*maybe* and *Maybelline*) is not present in the Czech version, although it retains the original's rhythm. It would, perhaps, have been prudent to devise a new version of the slogan for the Czech market, as happened in Russia.

7.2.3.3 Specialists

Max Factor employs specialists in three adverts in the parallel corpus. The women featured are makeup artists who have worked on blockbuster films. In the English and Russian versions, their voice is marked by speech marks indicating that it is a direct quote. In the first example a short biography is given before the quote:

Tina Earnshaw make-up artist: *The Talented Mr Ripley* "Bewitching eyes and bejewelled nails. The look is Midnight Passion." (EP:27)

Vizažist fil'ma "*Talantlivyj mister Ripli*" Tina Èrnšo: "Koldovstvo glaz i dragocennyj blesk nogtej. Tak vygljadit Povelitel'nica Noči" (RP:27)

'Makeup artist for the film "*The Talented Mr Ripley*" Tina Earnshaw: "The sorcery of eyes and the jewelled shine of nails. That's what Mistress of the Night looks like."

The final two examples attempt to make the comments more personal by printing the makeup artists' names in what resembles handwriting (and could in fact be theirs). In the Russian versions the names are retained in the same Latin script and then transcribed into Cyrillic.

"A foundation that's virtually touchproof? I've seen the proof"
Sarah Monzani Make-up Artist 'Evita' (EP:28)

"Tonal'nyj krem, kotoryj ne stiraetsja ot prikosnovenij? Ja videla èto svoimi glazami"

{Sarah Monzani} Sara Monzani. Vizažist fil'ma "Èvita" (RP:28)

"A foundation cream which is not wiped off by touch? I've seen it with my own eyes."

{Sarah Monzani} Sara Monzani. Makeup artist for the film "Evita"

²⁵ Thanks to Dr Neil Bermel for this observation.

The confidence that Max Factor has in the references to these makeup artists is reflected in its slogan:

MAX FACTOR. The make-up of make-up artists. (EP:25-28)

{MAX FACTOR} sovetujut professionaly (RP:25-28)
'Professionals advise {MAX FACTOR}'

The English slogan highlights the fact the makeup artists use Max Factor makeup. This carries the implication that Max Factor must be a good brand, as makeup artists need to use makeup everyday for their job and would not use an inferior make and that they work with film stars also adds credibility. Max Factor has always been associated with the film industry. The company was founded by Max Factor who, incidentally, emigrated to the USA from Russia in 1902. He began his career by providing stage actors with makeup and later gave advice to the fledgling movie business.²⁶ Potential consumers will be attracted to the makeup as it is the one worn by their favourite stars. In the Russian slogan, the emphasis on the specialist-status of the makeup artists is more explicit: it is the makeup recommended by the professionals. Unlike many of the adverts employing specialists, these experts are named. It is therefore possible to check their authenticity. Tina Earnshaw and Sarah Monzani are makeup artists for the film industry who have worked on a number of extremely successful films and been rewarded for their talents with Academy Award nominations for Earnshaw and Oscar and BAFTA awards for Monzani.²⁷ The adverts work on the assumption that the receivers will have seen the films mentioned and will be able to, if not remember the standard of the makeup, at least recognize the production's artistic quality; thus making the audience both trust and admire the

²⁶ For more information about Max Factor see: <URL:<http://maxfactor.com>> [Accessed 15-02-02].

Although Max Factor now focuses on the professionals who use its products, the company was the first to realize the importance of celebrity endorsement. By enlisting the support of film stars the sales of Factor's own product range soared. The Channel 4 documentary *Because You're Worth It*, charting the history of makeup, shows some of his most famous looks (Clara Bow's 'bee-stung' mouth, Joan Crawford's blood-red slashed mouth and the emphasis on Bette Davis's mouth.) Shown 13 and 20 February 2002, 9pm on Channel 4.

²⁷ For the biography of Tina Earnshaw see: <URL:<http://www.tinaearnshaw.com>> [Accessed 15-02-02]

For Sarah Monzani see: <URL:<http://www.angelasashes.com/plays/filmmaker15.html>> [Accessed 15-02-02]

people who are speaking to them. With this trust and admiration, the potential customers are more likely to believe what they are being told. The films – *Evita*, *The Talented Mr Ripley* and *Titanic* – were all successful both in the UK and Russia, so it is assumed that the use of these experts will have had the necessary impact.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has looked at the ways companies have built relationships between themselves and their potential customers. When building relationships, companies can directly address their readers, personalize the company or speak to readers through an intermediary. When adverts are subsequently translated for another market, the strategies employed can give indications of the power the company yields in the target market.

One of the main ways of building a relationship with the reader is through the use of the pronoun ‘you’. When translating adverts into Russian a choice has to be made between the formal and the familiar variant, a difference which does not exist in the original English. The more neutral *Vy* is the most frequently used method of translating English *you*. This is in line with the native Russian adverts which tend to use *V* in preference to *T*. I suggest that the determining factor for choosing one over the other depends on the perceptions of the target audience and the product being advertised. Some adverts use both forms of address, with the *T* form opening the advert and the *V* form appearing later in the body copy. This use of *T* seems to be a device for drawing people into the advert, before reverting to a more polite form of persuasion when the attention has been attracted. It seems that the target adverts are using the second person forms effectively. Pressure and influence from the colonizers is perhaps more difficult to apply here as what we are dealing with is a concept that does not occur in the English original and that the colonizers may not even perceive. The translators are, in a sense, given more freedom to choose the variant most suitable to the norms of society. Although the colonizer can be seen as treating the potential customer with a degree of respect by using *V*, as the use of *T* makes assumptions about the relationship between the two parties.

One area where it could be argued that the influence of the colonizer can be seen more clearly is that of the possessive determiners. Although Russian does not usually use possessive determiners where ownership is obvious, there does seem to be a tendency to do so in advertising texts. The number of possessive determiners is lower in the Russian parallel corpus than in the English, but it is still possible to see examples when they are used where there is no apparent need. More interesting is the fact that this superfluous usage can also be seen in the monolingual corpus, demonstrating that the colonizer's influence is also visible in those adverts produced by Russians, and showing the power of the Western model of advertising and its assimilation by the Russians.

There are differences in the use of jussives across the corpora. In the English parallel corpus, seventy-three percent of adverts have imperatives. In the Russian parallel corpus, sixty percent have an imperative clause. The lower number can be explained by the omission of imperatives which direct the reader to things which do not exist in the target culture; so, the reduction can be seen as culturally relevant. The use of imperatives in the Russian parallel corpus is still higher than the monolingual one, where twenty-six percent of adverts have a verb in the imperative form. This implies that such a direct method of selling is not so popular in Russian, as has been suggested.²⁸ The higher incidence of imperatives in the Russian parallel corpus is an indication that the influence of the colonizer is still strong. In the case of interrogative clauses, however, a certain amount of adjustment seems to have been made. Both the Russian corpora have the similar average number of interrogative clauses – sixteen percent for the parallel and seventeen for the monolingual corpus. Adjustments made to the interrogative clauses suggest that, in contrast to the jussive clauses, the needs of the Russian consumers are being taken into account.

Of the three players in the relationship building process, the consumer gets the greatest attention. This is, perhaps, unsurprising as one of the aims of all adverts is to win over the potential consumers. The main way this is achieved is through

²⁸ Ryazanova-Clarke notes a high incidence of imperative clauses her corpus of television adverts (1999: 115). Her corpus includes 108 television adverts recorded between 1993 and 1995. She makes no distinction between those adverts which were originally made in Russian and those which have been translated (1999: 110); so this may account for the higher levels.

the synthetic personalization of the consumer, and this is a technique used in both the Russian and English corpora. The analysis has shown that although some changes have been made when addressing the Russian consumer, there are many instances when the Russians are addressed as though they were English-speaking consumers.

The portrayal of the company, however, is more likely to be altered for the Russian market. The adverts in the Russian corpora tend not to use exclusive 'we' to personalize the company. The fact that this is used in the English parallel corpus and not in the Russian one, suggests that this cultural difference has been accounted for. In contrast, the Russian monolingual corpus displays examples of personalization through the inclusive 'we'; this use is found in neither the English nor the Russian parallel corpus, suggesting that Western corporations, the colonizers, are not willing to get close to their potential customers and although they do use personalization, they tend to keep a distance and use it on their terms. Not using the inclusive 'we' means that they are not speaking for their customers, only for themselves. This may be a result of the individualist capitalist cultures behind the companies in this corpus, when compared with the collectivist culture which Russia experienced, at least on the surface, under Communism. The Russian corpora attach great importance to the authoritarian voice of the company which is used more frequently in the Russian monolingual and parallel corpora than in the English parallel corpus. The effect of the introduction of the company voice in the Russian parallel corpus is to place greater responsibility on the companies, emphasizing the part they play in the effectiveness of the products; this is in contrast to the English parallel corpus where assertions are more cautious. This is a strategy which takes into account the target audience's preferences; however, it also favours the colonizer in that it repeats the name of the Western company. This technique plays on the fact that Western brands are still sought after in the Russian Federation, and that the West remains attractive, reinforced through the monolingual corpus where a Russian lingerie shop using the voice of a French company to improve its own brand.

The most visible sign of the colonizer is through the use of intermediaries. What is striking is that there are no examples of intermediaries at all in the Russian

monolingual corpus. With the exception of the toning down of the technique of product personification in the Russian parallel corpus, the other intermediaries remain unchanged from the English original; as a result all the celebrities and specialists used are non-Russian. The colonizer is visible in the use of the pronoun 'I'. The monolingual corpus does not have any examples of this pronoun, and the Russian parallel corpus maintains them only in the L'Oréal slogan: *Ved' ja ètogo dostojna* 'After all, I am worth it.' This slogan is not particularly liked in Russia; and I believe it is partly due to the use of *ja* 'I'.²⁹ My analysis has shown that this pronoun is not used as frequently in the Russian corpora as it is in the English, and its appearance may jar somewhat on the Russian reader. I suggest that Russian consumers feel quite intimidated by such an expression of individuality after their long history of collectivism (the 'Soviet Man', for example, was expected to put society's interests above his own – see Kon 1996: 193).³⁰ Soviet politics actually excluded 'I' from the language making it difficult for the 'Soviet Man' to perceive 'himself' as a subject or an individual (Thom 1989: 133–34).

The colonizer, here L'Oréal, is forcing a slogan onto the Russian people which is perhaps not the most suitable for their culture, in an attempt to keep a universally similar and instantly recognizable slogan.³¹

²⁹ Email correspondence with Natal'ja Bogoslavskaja at the University of Leeds, 29 September 2001. Natal'ja suggested another more idiomatic version for the slogan: *Na sebja ne žalko* 'don't regret [spending money] on yourself'. This is a Russian way of saying that you would spend money on yourself. However, Natal'ja admits this draws attention to the fact that the product is not cheap. She was, however, certain that it was not due to the use of 'I' which is my own theory.

³⁰ There have been a number of studies into the differences in advertising between individualist and collectivist cultures. In collectivistic cultures, members have interdependent relationships and subordinate their personal goals to the ingroup goals, whereas individualistic cultures prefer independent relationships and subordinate in-group goals to personal ones (see Han and Shavitt 1994: 328). I would suggest that Russia, although not as collectivist as Japan or Korea, is more collectivist and than the UK and most definitely the US. Han and Shavitt (1994) have shown that the advertising appeals in individualistic and collectivistic societies differ, so perhaps more research is needed in this area to ensure that the most effective kinds of advertising are being produced for the Russian market.

³¹ In French and Italian the L'Oréal slogan has a very similar structure to the English and Russian versions: *Parce que je le vauds bien* 'Because I am really worth it' (French) and *Perché io valgo* 'Because I myself am worthy' (Italian). In Spanish, however, the pronoun has been changed: *Porque tú lo vales* 'Because you are worth it' (Spanish). I have noted that in recent magazine adverts in the UK for L'Oréal products (Color Riche – Crystal Shine, *Glamour*, January 2002, for example) the slogan 'Because you're worth it' is being used. If this new form is subsequently translated into Russian it will perhaps be a more culturally fitting slogan than the one currently used. That leads to the question as to whether the translators will use *T*, as in the Spanish version or *V* which is the current mode of address in L'Oréal's Russian adverts.

As far as relationship building is concerned, there are both adjustments geared towards the Russian receiver and slavish imitation of the relationships within the English originals. The Western companies are highly visible in the translated texts, through the use of company names and the non-Russian intermediaries. As well as being an indication of the power these companies have in Russia, the visibility also suggests that the Russians are receptive to this form of advertising, with the Western companies being a positive selling point.

8. Conclusion

This conclusion offers a summary of the thesis's findings, gives recommendations for further development of this topic and suggests the impact of the research on the discipline of translation studies.

8.1 Summary of Findings

The overriding function of any advertisement is to persuade, and to accomplish this goal advertisers must be aware of those devices that have a persuasive impact on potential customers and use them accordingly. Different target markets will respond to different marketing techniques, as will different cultures when manufacturers take their products overseas. Translation theorists suggest that the translation of advertising texts should result in an advert which can function as an original in the target culture. Contemporary studies of the translation of advertising texts have responded to this understanding by advocating translation strategies that focus on the target culture and the role of both linguistic and visual messages. Such studies have been based on semiotics, where the sign with its denotational and connotational content is translated to have the same impact on the target audience; descriptive translation studies, where the focus is on the translated text and its position within the target culture; and *skopos* theory, where texts are translated to fulfil a defined function within the target culture. Such flexible approaches, which allow for a number of different translation strategies, are necessary when translating advertising texts which are a constantly changing genre (Cook 2001: 221). Flexible as these approaches are, they cannot account for cases where strategies are employed which seem to go against the recommendations of translation theorists nor deal with the often unequal power relations between those involved in the translation process.

I have suggested that a postcolonial model offers a flexible approach to the study of advertising translation strategies and that it has been particularly useful when investigating Russian advertising. Using a four-stage model, I have traced the history of Russian advertising and have shown how translation strategies changed with time and how those strategies were dependent on the power relationships between the colonizer (corporations) and the colonized (Russian advertising translators); their contact resulted in transculturation, manifesting

itself in differing levels of domination, subordination, assimilation and appropriation in the translated adverts. This interplay of the colonizer and the colonized was the focus of the empirical research in this thesis.

The empirical research was based on two corpora. The first, a parallel corpus, containing forty-five English-language adverts and their translated Russian pairs. The second, a monolingual Russian corpus, acting as a control corpus to aid identification of trends specific to the translated adverts. The adverts dated from 1997 to 2001 and all publicized luxury goods, aimed primarily at women. The postcolonial model suggested that Russian advertising was currently in the post-colonial state, characterized by hybridization where the colonized was moving away from the colonizer and searching for a new identity in light of the colonial experience. The aim of the thesis was to describe the contemporary advertising contact zone and investigate the roles of the colonizer and the colonized. Three areas were chosen for discussion: the use of rhetorical figures in advertising headlines, the visibility of the linguistic Other, and relationship building.

The study of the use of rhetorical figures in headlines showed that a full range of strategies for translating the headlines had been employed, from transference of the source language headline into the target culture, to the creation of a new headline for the Russian market. Most of the headlines, however, were translated using source-language-orientated strategies. The resulting translated headlines neither displayed the figures which had made the source-language headline successful, nor figures which would impact on the target audience. The power of the colonizer was shown in their insistence that translators stay close to the source-text and through the use of verification by back-translation. Only in a few examples did the headlines demonstrate synergy (the fusion of two traditions to create something new), and the overall view was one of confusion and instability. It appeared that the creators of headlines translated into Russian had not yet learnt which were the most effective figures for their adverts and were hindered from discovering them by the requirement to remain close to the colonizer's model.

The Other was extremely visible in the translated Russian adverts, although in terms of lexis, at least, it was being used with specific purposes. The linguistic

Other did not have the overbearing presence that it had during the colonial state; there were no examples of long tracts of English in the Russian adverts in the corpora, rather examples of foreign lexis being assimilated into Russian with words introduced to fill semantic gaps or to add prestige to the advert, hence their use in adverts written originally in Russian, as well as those which have been translated. With the use of colours, the inventive colour terms were transferred, omitted, or replaced by numbers and only rarely communicatively translated. The colonizer had, however, seen the value of concentrating on the colours in the image, with these being altered more often than the terms used to name them. Nowhere was the colonizer more visible than in the names of the products being advertised. In every Russian advert in the parallel corpus the name was given in Latin script, which was a sure indication of the continuing attractiveness of the Other in contemporary Russia and the positive effect it can have on sales. There did seem to be, however, a movement away from blind trust in the colonizer's supremacy with trends towards transcription which rendered the name in Cyrillic script and additional explanation of the product's use (often housed in the original name) in the Russian adverts. This will only occur as long as the foreign brand carries positive connotations. A movement away from the colonizer can already be witnessed in certain product categories. Coca-Cola, for example, has seen its sales fall in Russia and is turning to the production of the Russian soft drink kvas, and is planning to re-introduce the Soviet favourites Tarkhun and Buratino in order to increase flagging sales. The Coca-Cola logo will not be prominent on the packaging of these drinks (Gentleman 2000: 23). Another example can be found within confectionary, where Nestlé produce a chocolate bar named *Šok* 'shock', which is advertised on television with the following strap line:

Šok – èto po-našemu (ORT: 4 November 1999)
'Šok – it's ours'

Nestlé is not mentioned at all in the advert, instead the chocolate is marketed under the brand name *Rossija* 'Russia'. It appears Nestlé have decided that focusing on the Russianness of their product, rather than the Otherness, will increase sales. This is highlighted in the description of the product:

sočétanie tradicionnogo ruskogo šokolada, nugi, karameli, persika, araxisa i mindalja 'the combination of traditional Russian chocolate, nougat, caramel, peach, peanuts and almonds'¹

Foodstuffs are particularly culture-specific; but there is nothing to suggest that a similar trend could not be witnessed in other product categories.

Although advertising is a one-way discourse, the way in which advertisers define themselves in relation to their potential consumers is an indication of the level of power they hold. With regard to the direct address of the consumer, the colonizing model was predominant; possessive determiners were being used where they were not needed in the Russian adverts, and a greater percentage of jussive clauses were used in the parallel corpus, in comparison to the monolingual one. The use of interrogatives was similar in all corpora. It was in the use of the second person pronouns that the colonized was given more freedom, owing, I would suggest, to the colonizer's ignorance of the subtle differences between the use of the formal and informal modes of address in Russian. In general, potential customers were being addressed respectfully through the use of *V*, although *T* was introduced when the product was aimed at younger people, thus displaying a level of sophisticated targeted marketing. Employing both forms in a single advert appeared to have a particular function of attention grabbing with *T*, and formal persuasion with *V*. The choice of the form of address was being made with the target market in mind, and the lack of correspondence between the English and Russian systems allowed translators space to use the most culturally applicable variant. Soviet/Russian history was taken into account with the use of 'we' which was not used at all in the Russian corpora; this was due, I have argued, to the Communist connotations that it carries. Inclusive 'we', in contrast, was not being used in the Russian parallel corpus even though both it, and the use of the company voice, had proved popular devices in the monolingual one. It was, however, through the use of intermediaries that the colonizer was most visible. All the celebrities and specialists in the corpus were non-Russian, demonstrating once again the attractiveness of the foreign.

¹ Information about Nestlé's chocolate bar Šok available at:
<URL:<http://www.nestle.ru/products/shokolad>> [Accessed 1 April 2002].

The overall view, then, of the post-colonial advertising contact zone was one of flux. There were examples of synergy, where the translated Russian adverts drew on Russian traditions and combined them with Western practice resulting in excellent and, one hopes, effective advertising messages. At the other end of the spectrum, there were adverts where mechanical transfer, slavish imitation and constrained translators gave rise to bland adverts, filled with unknown foreign words and nonsensical names. However, these extremes are to be expected in the early post-colonial state where the colonized is developing a new identity in the new advertising world. When Russian traditions and Western experience are successfully melded and the result is an effective advert, it will be repeated until the practice is assimilated and seen as a prominent feature of the new Russian advertising genre. These changes will not occur overnight, and whilst there has been much progress since the colonial state, it will be some time before translated Russian adverts confidently draw on the preferences and desires of the Russian people, rather than the corporations which commission them.

8.2 Recommendations

Since the area of translated Russian advertising has been little researched, there are numerous further investigations that could be carried out in this area.

My empirical analysis could be expanded in the following ways:

- By increasing the size of the corpus and noting the dates when adverts first appeared, allowing more definite conclusions to be made about specific trends.
- Changing the media researched (for example, television, newspaper, billboard or Internet advertising) which would paint a fuller picture of the genre.
- Concentrating on specific product categories (such as cosmetics and cars) to ascertain whether strategies are product bound.
- Investigating the translation of non-English adverts into Russian in order to see whether the Other is still as visible, or if the Other is predominantly English-speaking.

In order to extend the work on the postcolonial model, I suggest:

- An empirical analysis of adverts during the precolonial and colonial states, to give more detail of these periods.
- That, since transculturation is not a one-way process, it is worth investigating transculturation from the colonized to the colonizer (adverts translated into English from Russian) and how the colonizer's view of the colonized's culture is shaped by the colonized themselves (see Pratt 1992: 6).
- The continuation of the study in the future to ascertain whether the translated adverts are moving towards the colonized state and to substantiate my predictions.
- That a similar study be carried out into other emerging Eastern European markets to see whether the same pattern has been experienced. Previous work by Jettmarová, Piotrowska and Zauberga (1997) suggest similarities in the Czech Republic, Poland and Latvia although more rigorous investigation is needed. The study could then encompass other Communist states, such as China and Cuba, to examine how countries which remained Communist have responded to the opening of their borders to foreign investors, in comparison to those which chose to become market economies.

With particular reference to power relations:

- An investigation into how translated adverts are received and understood by the target audience, what differences exist between the reception of translated adverts and those originally written in Russian and what marks the advert as being a translation.
- A survey of translators employed in the translation of advertising material; focusing on their academic backgrounds and experience, but paying particular attention to the difficulties of translating adverts and the external influences which have an impact on their work.
- A study into the perceptions held of translators by advertisers, addressing what they expect of those who translate their adverts, their motivation

behind the commission and how much they understand of the languages and cultures in which their adverts will be placed.

- A worldwide investigation as to how the global/transnational corporations construct images of themselves in other cultures and whether it is possible to see patterns emerging for different regions and country groups.

Focussing on the rhetorical figure taxonomy:

- Applying the taxonomy to a larger corpus of Russian and English advertising headlines in order to note specific rhetorical tendencies for the respective languages.
- Modifying the taxonomy so that it can deal more effectively with images, text, graphics and their interaction.
- Using the taxonomy to analyse other persuasive text types, such as propaganda and political speeches.
- Empirically testing the application of the taxonomy as a tool to raise awareness amongst trainee translators of language use in persuasive discourse.

8.3 Impact on the Field of Translation Studies

Although this thesis has dealt specifically with advertisement translation from English into Russian, I hope that it will be of interest to people working with other language pairs. What I hope to have demonstrated is that when talking about the translation of advertising texts, one cannot talk about good and bad strategies. The nature of advertising is one of constant change, deviation and innovation which means translators have to be ready to employ a whole range of translation strategies in order to produce an effective, operative text for the target market. The predominance of certain strategies is also prone to change depending on the economic and cultural environment. In Russia, the sweeping changes that followed the collapse of Communism made the invasion of foreign companies seem all the more acute and brutal; however, other cultures also feel threatened and pressurized by the corporate colonizers. The overriding desire by many global and transnational corporations to use a single advertising campaign

worldwide often places a great deal of pressure on translators, meaning that they cannot produce texts which they believe will be effective in the target culture; in being loyal to the corporation, they are disloyal to the target receivers. This violates the notion of loyalty, propounded by Nord (1997: 123–25), which requires that translators be loyal to, and commit bilaterally to, both the source and target sides. In order for advertising translation to be successful, I suggest that this loyalty should be reciprocated by advertisers trusting the expertise of the professional translators that they have employed. This would allow translators to make the changes necessary to the text to make it optimally functional within the target culture for, as Guidère (2000a: 37) writes:

La liberté du traducteur est la condition du bonheur de tous, et son infidélité est le garant de leur fidélité (au produit et à la marque).

‘The freedom of the translator will make everyone happy, and his infidelity is the guarantee of their faithfulness (to the product and the brand)’.

This paradox seems to sum up the attitude overseas advertisers need to take. Translators have to have the freedom to be unfaithful or faithful to the text; by being unfaithful they can find ways to use language, culture, ideology or image to create functional advertising texts. I am, therefore, calling for a redistribution of power; with translators, the experts in both the source and target languages and cultures, being afforded the power their position deserves. My corpus has shown that when translators are given this freedom of judgement, innovative and memorable adverts result. As time and attitudes change, I hope that the status of the translators will rise, allowing the translation of advertising to continue on the road towards the decolonized state.