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Sociocultural Persuasion in Advertising:
Considerations for Translators

by

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Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses how sociocultural meaning is layered into the rhetorical structure of advertising and illustrates how an ad’s meaning achieves its goal of persuading consumers to buy a specific product. Its aim is to deepen translators’ understanding of the advertising genre and elaborate a theoretical base that can help them make decisions about composing the translation specifically for the target culture.

The key elements of translating advertising, namely the importance of its persuasive function, its cultural groundwork, and its communicative unity, are determined through a survey of translation literature. The recurrence of communicative variables such as the addresser-addressee relationship, intention, and purpose is furthered in an investigation of the rhetorical structure of print advertisements. A framework that describes the layering of ideologemes, values, and beliefs in persuasive language, through stereotypes and clichés, is proposed to improve translators’ understanding of advertisements. This framework is then applied to four in-depth analyses of ads and their translations.

Observations include translators’ misunderstanding of the rhetorical importance of the textual and visual unity in ads and the importance of clichés as pivotal logical devices and carriers of sociocultural meaning.
RÉSUMÉ

La thèse porte sur la manière dont la signification socioculturelle se manifeste aux différents niveaux de la structure rhétorique des annonces publicitaires. Elle montre comment ces annonces atteignent leur but, qui est de convaincre les consommateurs d'acheter un produit donné. L'objectif est ici de sensibiliser les traducteurs au genre publicitaire et de proposer un cadre d'analyse qui pourrait éclairer les traducteurs dans les décisions à prendre lorsqu'ils traduisent une annonce s'adressant à la culture cible.

Une étude d'écrits théoriques récents a permis d'identifier les éléments clefs de la communication et de la traduction publicitaires : importance de la fonction persuasive, fondements culturels, unité communicative. La reprise des variables de la communication, telles que le rapport destinataire-destinataire, l'intention et le but de la publicité, conduit à une recherche approfondie de la structure rhétorique des annonces imprimées. Je propose ainsi une conception qui décrit les niveaux du discours persuasif, depuis les idéologèmes, les valeurs et les croyances jusqu'aux stéréotypes et aux clichés. Le but est d'améliorer la compréhension des annonces publicitaires dans l'optique de la traduction. Cette conception est ensuite appliquée à l'analyse de quatre annonces et de leur traduction respective.

Cette recherche révèle que les traducteurs ne tiennent souvent pas compte de l'importance rhétorique de l'unité textuelle et visuelle et de l'importance du cliché comme charnière logique et porteuse de signification socioculturelle.
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Above all, I would like to thank my thesis director, Dr. Annie Brisset. Besides her knack for pointing me in the right direction, she was the major source of many insightful discussions and much helpful input that led to the completion of this work. Her contagious enthusiasm, positive encouragement, and unwavering receptiveness toward my ideas and interests were constant sources of inspiration.

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Of course, I cannot go without thanking my family, both in Edmonton and Ottawa, for their unflinching support. To my mother, who instilled me with a desire to learn and drive to do my best always, and my father, who spent countless hours patiently listening while I “translated” my papers in French literature aloud so he could verify my writing ability, I express my deepest thanks. To my sister, who was the first family member to be subjected to my thesis, I also say thank you. The same appreciation goes to my ‘Ottawa family,’ in particular Sherri Meek, Mara Bertelsen, and Nadine Forget for their constant moral support during tough moments: low motivation, sympathetic ears, documentation style, and linguistic intuition are only a few of the things that come to mind. Most of all, I would like to thank Will Skene, for his patience, understanding, and loving support during the “thesis times.” I only hope I can return the favour with as much kindness and compassion.
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0.0 Introduction

This thesis discusses how sociocultural meaning is layered into the rhetorical structure of advertising and illustrates how an ad’s meaning achieves its goal of persuading consumers to buy a specific product. Its aim is to deepen translators’ understanding of the advertising genre and elaborate a theoretical base that can help them make decisions about composing the translation specifically for the target culture. My interest in this subject stems from two summers of employment at "Anglocom" communication, a translation firm in Quebec City, where the largest portion of translation is done in the fields of advertising and public relations. Drawn by advertising's creative and visual copy, I realized that translating advertising was problematic by nature and wanted to make a contribution to the field. The opportunity to work with and benefit from the experience of a seasoned ad copy translator has provided me with valuable insight that I would not have had otherwise.

Translating advertising falls into the heart of the debate surrounding the notion of translatability or, for the purposes of this work, the possibility of translating textual meaning so that the target ad functions in a manner similar to the source ad, while maintaining some degree of fidelity to the source ad content. Copy elements that resist translation or require translators to diverge from the source text stem most often from the sociocultural nature of language. The resulting linguistic incompatibility requires translators to take a more active role and make decisions about how to deal with maverick textual meaning. Thus, translators often end up taking 'creative liberties' with the source
text, in order to translate it in a way that will be suitable for the target readers and culture. Advertising uses sociocultural meaning as its principle means of persuasion. In advertising, a persuasive framework that accounts for the text’s function, its cultural meaning, and its semiotic unity is more important than the status of the source text itself when determining translation adequacy. When a translation must be submitted to meet a deadline, translators are in no position to give up and declare the text ‘untranslatable.’ As linguistic and cultural experts, they must make decisions and adapt.

Some would argue that, in fact, translators do not translate advertisements. The process they engage in, rather, is adaptation. For the purposes of this thesis, there is a distinction to be made between translation and adaptation. According to The Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies, Bastin writes that adaptation can exist on two levels: local and global. Local adaptation is a translation procedure which “seeks to achieve a balance between what is to be transformed and highlighted and what is to be left unchanged;” whereas global adaptation is a “general strategy aiming to reconstruct purpose, function, or impact” (Bastin 7). Translators make text-wide decisions with a view to retain the function of the original, whereby “formal elements and semantic meaning are sacrificed” (Bastin 7). This process is generally justified by “cross-code breakdown, situational inadequacy, genre switching, and disruption of the communication process” (7). The major preoccupations of adaptation cited in The Encyclopaedia are translators’ awareness of the knowledge and expectations of the target reader; of the parallel discourse style in the target language; and of the meaning and purposes of the source and target texts.
These signature characteristics of adaptation have been extended to the operation of pragmatic, functionalist approaches to translation, particularly by translation theorists House (1997), Nord (1997), and Gutt (1991). Furthermore, adaptation falls within the range of activities that translators are asked to carry out. With any text, translators can be required to "look beyond purely linguistic issues" and take on the role of mediator, or a "creative participant in a process of verbal communication" (Bastin 8). The point at which translation turns into adaptation is a fleeting one and may occur in the text as a whole or at various points within the text. Translating advertising is a prime illustration of this idea, and the translations I examine in this thesis vary from an extremely literal approach to a complete reworking of visual and linguistic features, or *surface features*, of the advertisement's surface structure. On this basis, I have used the term *translation* freely to refer to the range of approaches between translation in its strictest sense and global adaptation; and *adaptation* is used for individual translation procedures within the various layers of meaning in the ad copy.

In an effort to centre my study on relevant aspects of ad translation, chapter 1 reports the results of an advertising translation literature survey, conducted on articles and textbooks written between 1978 and the present. This survey allowed me to identify the main issues that are raised in the literature, namely, the persuasive function of advertising, its cultural foundations, and its textual and visual unity. The study also revealed that there is a considerable degree of consistency in the approaches recommended in the literature. They all revolve around the idea of advertising discourse analysis, in order to determine the semiotics of an ad, and advertising translation as discursive work. I have therefore
supplemented the study with aspects of discourse analysis, such as Speech Act Theory, the
dialogic and intertextual nature of communication, and semiotic approaches to translation.
The recurrence and importance of communication variables such as addressee, addresser,
intention and purpose in the survey pointed me in the direction of the rhetorical framework
of advertising.

Chapter 2 is thus an investigation of advertising rhetoric. Starting from the
sociocultural groundwork up, I examine the persuasive framework of the print ad,
including both copy and visuals, or the written text and its corresponding images. This
starts with the examination of advertising as a cultural system, and argumentation’s roots
in culture. Showing that copywriting textbooks support the creation of a product
consumer metaphor, based on the target market’s cultural values, I suggest that a
comparison of value hierarchies in source and target cultures is the first step in translating
advertising copy. Reconstituting the unspoken social discourse that supports these value
hierarchies and evaluating the relevance of the product consumer metaphor for the target
audience are ways to avoid cultural oversights in the discursive work of translation that
can undermine the persuasive function of advertising.

In Chapter 3, I proceed with an analysis of the textual and visual surface features of
advertisements and their translations. My analysis starts with the stereotypes based on
values and underlying ideology of linguistic cultural groups, and their linguistic
manifestation in clichés. Clichés are the advertising surface feature *par excellence*. The
cliché has significant argumentative value because of its roots in social stereotypes, values,
and ideology. Generally, they are related to the ad’s product consumer metaphor and
introduce social meaning into the persuasive argument. They surface as attention-getting themes in ad headlines, which are often carried into the copy for coherence. My analysis focusses on how the rhetorical structure of the ad fares in translation, with respect to the textual and visual thematic unity that is steeped in sociocultural meaning.

The direction that my research took was based on my observations in the field and supported from examples from the corpus. The corpus of advertisements and their translations was assembled from work done at "anglocom" over my two summer employment terms, advertisements found by scanning the *Montreal Gazette* and *La Presse de Montréal* for suitable pairs, and by watching for translated publicity materials in circulation. It does not contain ads that are more than five years old. My general criteria for the pairs of ads were that they be printed material (as opposed to Internet, radio or television advertisements), that a significant part of the message be linked to the visuals, and that the ads contain stylistic devices in their headline. I did not have a preference for the translation direction, i.e., from French to English or English to French, simply that the translation be done in Canada. I realize that this limits the problems surrounding cultural incompatibility to a great extent, but I wanted my work to be relevant to the immediate social context. Furthermore, there is a trend away from translating advertising between significantly different cultural groups, and I think the smaller differences between Quebec and English Canada provide a good starting point and an appropriately smaller scale for this type of study.

The contribution I hope to make in this project is the following: to explore a theoretical groundwork that supports the discourse analysis of advertisements, which
allows translators to discern sociocultural meaning more systematically and situate it within the textual unit. Increased awareness of the way copy and visual surface structures constitute a motivating force in the ad's argumentation gives translators greater latitude and authority to compose a translation that can function as effectively in its target market as the source ad does.
Chapter 1:
The Role of Context in Advertising Translation

1.0 The Literature

The work that has been done on translating advertising copy is quite limited compared to other areas in translation studies. In a recent survey of existing translation journals and textbooks ranging in date from 1978 to present, I uncovered ten articles published in translation journals and two sections in translation manuals dealing directly with the subject. In spite of the limited work that has been done compared to other types of translation, there was a reasonable degree of consistency in the work. This indicates that advertising translation, as a subfield of translation, has its own problematic and merits closer examination. Some systematization seems possible, provided it is not bound up by rules and it confers special status to advertising translation constraints. The ones that immediately come to mind are the persuasive nature of advertising, culture as a carrier of meaning, and textual and visual unity in advertisements. Discourse analysis as a method to determine the workings of the text as a semiotic unit is a method that can encompass these

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1 The articles and manuals used for the survey are indicated in boldface in the bibliography.

2 According to Basil Hatim’s explanation, in The Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies (Baker: 1997), there are two types of discourse analysis: concerning “the way texts are put together in terms of product and form, sequential relationships, intersential structure and organization and mapping,” and “the way texts hang together in terms of negotiative procedures, interpretation of sequence and structure, and the social relationships emanating from interaction” (67–68). Definitions of discourse are characterized by a duality of “form and procedure,” and a link with the “institutional communicative framework within which both genre and text cease to be mere carriers of the communication act and become fully operational as vehicles of meaningful communication” (68). Hatim also notes that the ideological and cultural background of the author and its perception by the reader/translator “governs the way in which the overall meaning potential is realized at both ends of the communicative channel” (70).
three areas of text knowledge.

Discourse analysis is useful in a functional approach to translation because it provides translators with ways to analyze the source text and determine how the advertising message achieves its goal, that is, its persuasive function. Ironically, discourse analysis seems not to be used as a tool in either ad text composition or translation. To demonstrate its usefulness from both theoretical and practical perspectives, this chapter focusses particularly on the aspects of ad copy that contribute to the function: the addressee/addrerer relationship, the role cultural information plays, and the communicative unity of advertisements. These elements of meaning have been given priority by the translation theorists in this study. Once translators determine how these aspects of meaning, in particular, figure in the source text, a target text that functions appropriately in the target market, but not necessarily identically, can be composed to convey the meaning. I will supplement my discussion of the issues raised in the literature with other aspects of discourse theory, such as the role of the advertising genre in society, the role of ideology in advertising, intertextuality and social discourse, in addition to more linguistic aspects, such as surface structure and rhetorical devices, as they are relevant. Then, I will compare and contrast the various translation methods and models proposed in my reading.
1.1 Advertising As Persuasion

As an act of communication, the ultimate goal of the advertising genre is to persuade a market to take action, that is to consume. In our market-based society, this reaction is to incite consumers to buy a product or have a positive idea about a specific institution. According to Roderick White, the role of advertising in society is to “inform, persuade, remind, influence, change opinions; [...] even perhaps, [to] change emotions and attitudes. Advertising changes society; makes people buy things that they do not want” (qtd. in de Pedro 28). This communicative function is upheld by all the elements of the ad. It is an integral system which, as a whole, can transcend its own limits and take on new referential value. Characterized by the density of its signification, which derives from text, image, and in some cases sound, ads must make contact and communicate content instantaneously. Societal values strengthen its appeal and emotive meaning amplifies its persuasion. In the clutter of the Information Age, people have developed filters in response to constant bombardment by advertising messages. Advertisers, in particular, have developed their own set of tactics to combat this filtering—a unified message conveyed through several different media.

The most complete breakdown of the function of this type of communication is the one described by Tatilon (1978, 1990). However, Shakir (1995) provides a point of departure in his discussion, stating that in order for the persuasion and incentive to be effective, the ad must have impact and appeal. Impact derives from the effect linguistic and rhetorical devices have on the reader. Appeal, he says, lies in the attitude and response of
the reader to the ad (66). In his terms, Tatilon explains how this information is assimilated, correctly and completely understood, and retained ("Texte publicitaire" 243). Readers must understand the content in terms of its identification function, or recognition of the product/service, its laudative function, or the advantage the product/service offers, and its ludic function, or wordplay. I propose that wordplay can be extended here to include the surface features of the ad in general, in order to incorporate some discussion of style and rhetoric. The second part of an ad’s reception, says Tatilon, involves the reader’s retention of the information ("Parole publicitaire" 79). Retention, or memorization, is a result of the impact of the laudative and ludic functions, the mnemotechnical function (readability and density), and the formal structures (rhythm/rhyme).

The function of advertising is always gauged to its social role, or what marketing research has determined as the appropriate discourse field, mode, and tenor. Every aspect of the text register is chosen to appeal to the addressee based on the perceived relationship between addressee and addresser (tenor) which is influenced by advertising convention (field) according to the particularities of the media (mode). Following Hatim and Mason’s reasoning, this type of register analysis is not sufficient to translate a text as a whole; it simply affords valuable insight into the communicative dimension of the context (57). For advertising, however, this dimension is its sole reason for being. Persuasion is contingent on the addressee-addresser relationship, which dictates how copy is written for the target market: the social role of the product, the target market’s dominant beliefs, and the ad’s communicative intention.
The importance of this addressee-addresser relationship links directly to Austin's Speech Act Theory. In his 1975 philosophical treatise *How To Do Things With Words*, Austin explores how addressers achieve their goals through speech. In his view, one speech act contains three separate components: the formation of an utterance with propositional content (*locutionary act*) (Austin 91), the way the addressee uses speech (*illocutionary act*) (99), and the effect on the addressee (*perlocutionary act*) (100). Meaning is thus negotiated from the interaction between the addressee's intention (*illocution*) and the addressee's perception (*perlocution*). A text is regarded as having an *illocutionary structure*, or the sum of individual speech acts in the text, that supports the *text act*, or the cumulative effect of the illocutionary structure (Hatim and Mason 78). The coherence of the ad rests upon the force of its propositional development. The communicative unity of the ad exists at all levels.

More often than not, speech acts are implicit in ad copy. Implicit speech acts are characterized by the addressee's reference to any of the culturally-based *sincerity*, *essential* or *preparatory* regulative rules, called *felicity conditions*, by Searle (63). In advertising, the text act is somewhat slanted as the advertiser is doing everything possible to cater to the audience's perceptions, which affects the integrity of the sincerity rule. But advertisers know that anything that does not correspond to the audience's world view may result in a misfire. Ads align themselves with collective cultural meaning, or in other words cultural commonplaces, in their attempt to persuade addressees and prevent them from questioning the truth and sincerity behind the ad's claims.
Speech act theory has been criticized for its incomplete treatment of “the interaction of conventions with current context”\(^3\) (Cohen qtd. in de Beaugrande and Dressler 118). For this reason, Grice’s Cooperative Principle is often associated with speech act theory. The principle is: “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose of direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Bell 181). The Gricean Maxim relates the preparatory and sincerity rules to the assumptions addressers and addressees have about each other’s beliefs and intentions. These assumptions are based on the fact that “participants normally pursue their goals in communication in accordance with such unwritten conventions as [Grice’s]; any deviation from them is perceived by other participants as involving implicature”\(^4\) (Hatim and Mason 63). Such maxims are specific to culture—what is saying enough, stating what is true, being relevant, or being cohesive in one language may not match the norms for the same situation or context in another.

\(^3\) “Speech act theory is therefore rather incomplete in its usual framework [i.e. treating speech acts as if they were always explicit, ] and it fails to appreciate the interaction of convention with current context.” In Philip Cohen, *On Knowing What to Say: Planning Speech Acts*. Toronto: University of Toronto CS-TR, 1978. p. 188 (My explanation)

\(^4\) Here, implicature refers to the addressee’s reference to contextual knowledge of the communicative situation shared by the addressee and addressee; see Section 3.2, page 54 for further explanation of implicature.
1.2 Culture in Advertising

Culture\(^5\) is a major aspect of meaning in advertising. Marshall McLuhan states: "It has not been sufficiently noticed that advertising is itself an information commodity far greater than anything it advertises. That is why it is no longer possible to classify it as a mere means of selling goods and services [...] ads can be studied as complex social events and as 'meanings'," (Culture, 2). Advertising persuades its audience, through language, by appealing to what is valued by a specific social group. Marketing research strives specifically to establish "what type of advertising will be acceptable within the framework of a culture's norms and attitudes" (Slater, "Problems" 42). Values are used because they are easily isolated from the social web and are recognized instantly as true. Stated simply—cultural values find their expression in language, and language is a manifestation of cultural values.

A culture imbues the words it uses with its ideology.\(^6\) As in the famous words of Bakhtin: "Wherever a sign is present, ideology is present too" (Voloshinov 10). Words are the fundamental tool for expression and, therefore, a manifestation of the user's perception of the world.

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\(^5\) According to sense 5 in Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1981), culture is a) the total pattern of human behaviour and its products embodied in thought, speech, action, and artifacts and dependent upon [humanity's] capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations through the use of tools, language, and systems of abstract thought; b) the body of customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits constituting a distinct complex of tradition of a racial, religious, or social group; and c) a complex of typical behaviour or standardized social characteristics peculiar to a specific group, occupation or profession, sex, age grade or social class. [My emphasis.] Culture is discussed in detail with respect to advertising in Section 2.1.

\(^6\) Ideology is defined as "the body of doctrine, myth, belief, etc., that guides an individual, social movement, institution, class or large group" (Random House Unabridged Dictionary. 2nd ed. 1983) and as "a system of ideas or way of thinking pertaining to a class or individual, esp. as a basis of some economic or political theory or system, regarded as justifying actions and esp. to be maintained irrespective of events" (The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1996). In his explanation of ideology and translation, Seliger speaks of: "an action-oriented set of beliefs" (qtd. in Fawcett 107).
of reality or ideology. Words are also dialogical, according to Bakhtin, they are the fruit of a conventional, reciprocal relationship between the addressee and addressee. Rooted in a society's thinking, writing and speech, this relationship evolves along a trajectory influenced by its historical precursors. Dialogism, then, provides a foundation for the concept of intertextuality: "each word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read, [...] any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity" (Kristeva 66). Thus dialogism and intertextuality in language are founded on the relations between the addressee and addressee, which are at once the result and the source of cultural convention.

The complex relation between language and culture is precisely the element that gives advertising its "appellative force and intratextual influence"7 (Tatilon, "Texte publicitaire" 244). Culture specific persuasion has proven time and again the most effective advertising technique. Slater continues along the same line as Tatilon with the idea that advertisers capitalize on associative meaning to say more. By alluding to a particular concept that is valued by a culture, an ad aligns itself with an entire set of values, attitudes, and images. In rendering products accessible by presenting familiar situations and values to the target market and giving the impression that providers of products and services understand them, says Berger, publicity makes spectators marginally dissatisfied with their way of life within society and offers them an improved alternative to what they are (142). Advertisers use culturally valued myths like beauty, individuality, fun, and prestige to sell

7 "la force appellative et le rayonnement intratextuel"
items like shampoo, cars, alcohol, and credit cards. We see images of beautiful women
telling us not to hate them because they have beautiful hair (Pantene), car ads asking us if
they are made to dominate (Volkswagen), groups of smiling friends around a bar drinking
beer (Molson Dry), and images of gold and art selling credit cards (Visa Gold).

Similarly, advertising borrows genres and images associated with other disciplines
to convey values and attitudes that appeal most appropriately to the target market. For
example, a series of quotations from car magazines posed as apparently unbiased quality
reports in an ad for Lexus. This form of thematic dialogue occurs when the speaking
subject wants to retain the constructional and semantic autonomy of the reported speech
“while leaving the speech texture of the context incorporating it perfectly intact”
(Voloshinov 115). Through this dialogic interaction, a refractive instrument is made out of
linguistic signs, giving them an intangible nature and “driving inward the struggle between
social value judgements which occurs in it, to make the sign uniaccentual”
(Voloshinov 23). Members of the target market are left believing in the objectivity of the
reported speech, and comparing themselves to the values of the dominant ideology.
Emotive dissatisfaction with their social status pushes them to act in the direction the ad
urges.

In order to take advantage of the dialogical nature of words, advertisers also take
advantage of addresser-addressee reciprocity. This relationship is notoriously culture
dependent. Culture is like a web of conventional meaning linking members of the same
social group. Consider the various ‘accepted’ greetings, culinary habits, or generally held
beliefs about society in different cultures. These all provide points of reference that
addressees in a particular culture understand. This is to say that culture underlies what an ad can say, what associations it has, and what the addressee expects it to convey. Moreover, this applies to both image and text. The visual media designed to appeal to a culture is as much a part of the communicative force and argumentation in an advertising message as the linguistic message itself.

Shakir and Séguinot both discuss the translator’s interpretive role in facilitating the cross-cultural addressee-addresser relationship. Interaction between register and schemata, that is, language level and recognizable patterns by which it conveys cultural knowledge, is the focus of Shakir’s discussion about the translator’s role as a cultural mediator. Séguinot also attributes adaptation of ads for the target culture to the translator. Shakir elucidates how cultural knowledge is a necessary tool for translators:

schematic knowledge seems to contribute in three ways toward promoting equivalence in translation. Firstly, it employs cultural background in a way that may help in shaping the translation of both the content of the text and the intention of the writer/speaker in a manner the translator deems to be most appropriate. Secondly, it activates inferential elaboration of content and purpose of the text, thus providing basis for filling gaps. Thirdly, schemata provide correspondence between already established knowledge and the givens in a text, which may help the translator check his (or her) interpretation of the text. (63)

The main lexical items in an ad are often major reference points for cultural metaphor and connotation in a text. The translator, in turn, grasps these as the threads of cultural reference to be adapted from the source language to the target language—just as the advertiser uses them to convey a culturally loaded message. Culturally dense language is one of the characteristic features of advertising. Analysis of culturally dense language is
one of the characteristic features of translating it.

1.3 Advertising Signs: Text and Image

One of the fundamental concepts in understanding any form of communication is understanding how the parts contribute to the whole and, of course, how the whole is suited to its function. Advertising is a sign, “it does more than simply elicit a concept [...]. That is, the sign, as the ‘associative’ total of signifier and signified, is potentially greater than merely the sum of its parts” (Hatim and Mason 111). Advertising is an interesting case study for semiotics, since on a textual level it already consists of a signifier (the text) and a signified (the image) combined inseparably to form the sign (the meaning of the ad in its entirety).

According to Peirce, the dimension of the interpretant, or the category of mediative or creative thought, is the mechanism by which the addressee interprets the sign, referring the representamen (referent) to the object⁸ (Deledalle 21). This union requires a step that involves fusion—a continual evolution governed by laws—fed by general notions that are only phases in a process that is one and the same with the growth of reason⁹ (Deledalle 16). In an ad, the text and the image are unified around shared interpretants and isotopies; together they create an overall impression that achieves the goals advertisers have set. Take, for example, a teaser ad campaign for the car Intrigue. For two weeks

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⁸ “un signe qui renvoie un représentamen à son objet”

⁹ “la coalescence, le devenir continu, le devenir gouverné par des lois, le devenir doué d'idées générales ne sont que des phases d'un seul et même processus de croissance de la raison”
before the product was put to market, billboards, print ads, and invitations to the product launch were made public. The ads featured a blurred, motion shot of the car bearing the heading *Intrigue*, whose font was slanted to reflect the motion conveyed in the visual. The addressee recognizes the linguistic reference to *intrigue*, the concept, and the concrete reference to *Intrigue*, the car. This dual reference is reflected in the visual by the indexical relation between the concept of *intrigue*, where the viewer catches a glimpse of something and is left wondering, and by the iconic relation between the object *Intrigue* and the car in the image. The success of the ad is always dependant on how well its communication functions are concentrated to appeal to the target market.

The style and rhetoric of an advertisement is of course the translator’s focus. However, it is difficult to make generalizations about it, since variation is key. Certain common areas were identified in the literature—all with their sights set on the persuasive aspects of style. The figures of speech used in ad copy for appeal are often some form of wordplay. Wordplay, as Tatilon puts it, depends on “idioms, lexias and syntaxias that are memorized forms and thus easily recognizable”\(^\text{10}\) (Tatilon, “Parole publicitaire” 84). Implicit reference to those aspects of culture taken as “truths” are instantly recognizable. Readability is achieved through this type of language because the addressee easily remembers the salient point of the ad, and also feels some satisfaction for having understood these denser blocks of meaning. Gailliard calls this aspect of copywriting “the

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\(^{10}\) “au relevé des idiotismes, lexies et syntaxies, qui sont des formes mémorisées, donc facilement reconnaissables.” *Lexias* are units of meaning that are occurrences of isotopies identified by a denser concentration of connotation (Barthes, *S/Z* 13–14). Here, Tatilon has extended the concept to syntax to describe fields of meaning often associated with one another. Bernard Pottier also uses this term to refer to “une unité lexicale de langue qui s’oppose à ce qu’il appelle une réunion fortuite de discours.” Lexical unit is given as a synonym.
creation of popular expressions”11 (6). Innovative language is the signature of advertising language.

Many advertising slogans, especially those bearing an indexical relationship to the qualities of people who might use the product or service, called lifestyle ads, have made their way into popular speech. Think of expressions like: “This Bud’s for you,” “Have Coke and a smile,” “Don’t leave home without it,” and “Just do it.” De Pedro also speaks of the preference given to literary devices like puns, rhyme, polysemy, metaphor, irony, parody, humour, and intrigue. She explains that these devices are usually a result of extensive language manipulation, which is generally culture specific. For example, an ad for a fashionable department store’s credit card puns “Une vraie carte de mode,” a headline on a press release for the 30th anniversary of the Quebec City Summer Festival parodies “C’est à trente ans que les fêtes sont belles,” and an invitation to a perfume launch metaphorizes “Une fleur s’ouvre et tout en vous respire l’harmonie.” Tatilon, Picken, and Séguinot make note of an interesting use of metonymy unique to advertising: the substitution of name brand for the product itself. As in the Budweiser beer and Coca-Cola examples above, this transfers the exaggerated perception of reality from the product to the brand and, thus, makes it possible for that item to accommodate the exaggerated cultural role that it has been assigned.

Shakir and Coclet have very definite ideas about register and style in advertisements. Diatype, a blend of the lexical units dialect and text type, is what Coclet calls the variety of language employed in ads that is defined according to use or purpose; it

11 “Sa [l’adaptateur] vocation est de fabriquer des expressions qui vont devenir populaires.”
has its “own syntax, [its] own lexikon [sic], and [its] own paradigm and [is] devised to achieve specific effects, to communicate as effectively as possible and to prompt the readers to action” (39). According to Shakir, advertising is characterized by its disjunctive nature, simple structure, short sentences, implicit cohesion, and unconventional style (69). For an ad to be effective in a split second, it must be in packages of easily processed information. Key lexical items are from general language and largely connotated to make meaning reception instantaneous and instinctive. He continues by explaining that ads are cohesive in two ways. Advertisers rely on the reader to fill in the gaps or cooperate in the dialogical relationship, through inferential strategy and context. In fact, says Shakir, too much referential connectivity goes against the isolative emphasis provided by the sentence structure and diminishes the exaggerated uniqueness attributed to each package of information (69). This allusive style is a typical tactic of advertising statements like “Because you’re an original too” (Bailey’s Irish Creme), “The Friday Scotch” (Glenfiddich), and “Go where you’ve never gone before” (Ford trucks). Meaning in these slogans is largely implicit; it is connotated to the addressee.

Addressees are given the impression that they are privy to encoded information and thus feel that the ad is speaking to them directly. In order to have maximum impact, the logical relationships between elements of the ad text are implicit: the reader must infer the causal relationships of the product/attribute relationship. If this “defeat of rhetorical strategy and disjunctiveness” (Shakir 69) does not occur, it strips the ad of its mystery and ability to generate interest. Shakir points out in the same vein that ad argumentation is atypical: persuasion is carried out by exaggeration, simple structure, colourful style, and
implicit relations of cause and effect (69). No other discipline would entrust its success to such sophistic arguments. Coclet states that the syntactical and lexical choices made on the basis of achieving effect and thought paradigms, or advertising *topos*, are all used to best incite the desirable action—consumption. In his explanation of an ad’s structure, Coclet says that each part of an ad has a different goal and that the language is designed accordingly: the headline and subheads are eye-catchers, the tagline is similar, but more content related, and the copy contains the argumentation.

Although most of the articles acknowledged image as a factor to consider in the message, Slater places the most importance on it by far. He states “iconic messages are a type of language interpretable by means of a cultural code” (“Beyond” 38). It follows then that the equivalence of image does not always exist between cultures. An ad often conveys much more by its visual than by its text in print advertisements. Not to mention that the visual makes instant, memorable contact with the audience. However, it is the aspect most often overlooked in translating advertising. He suggests that there is a great need for a comprehensive study of cross-cultural image meaning within the framework of semiotics or structural anthropology. Consider an example of an image overlooked in a Bell Canada ad for three-way calling service. The slogan is “Composez *71 et cessez de courir deux personnes en même temps,” and it is translated into English as “Call a double play with *71.” Although this may seem an acceptable possibility at first, we see that the accompanying image is a dog, running from place to place as dogs do when they are excited around people. However, the image of the dog has nothing to do with the metaphorical reference to baseball in the English translation.
Séguinot provides a good overview of the relationships of image to text with what she refers to as "the iconicity of an advertisement." She explains that, in semiotic readings of advertising, the text bears a relationship to its physical context and the visual and graphic elements in the marketing process (60). In this there are three types of signified/signifer relationships: *iconic*, where the graphics show the product for identification; *symbolic*, where they illustrate the product's attributes; and *indexical*, where the personal qualities of the owner of the product are shown through a process of logical deduction (Séguinot 61). Every aspect of an ad is selected to convey the message—the result is an amplification of the text and the image as an inseparable unit.

1.4 How Is Advertising Copy Translated?

Translating advertising copy is evidently not an easy task. The problems associated with it are many and unique. Advertising translation involves some of the major difficulties of literary translation, yet it does not offer extensive context and length which provide translators with tools to increase their chances of finding adequate solutions and the opportunity to compensate for losses. Slater says it most succinctly: "advertisements manifest intricate semantic structures, use of symbol and metaphor, and compact levels of organization that thwart approaches suited to more continuous forms of communication" (39). Murillo also focusses on the problematic associated with ad translation: the integral quality of text and image. "The translator will tend to focus on the rational, verbal contents of the text, not on the effect it must have on the consumer" (Murillo 69). However, the reality of the situation is that most translators do not arm
themselves with the knowledge they need to translate ad copy. As Picken puts it, "translation has little to do with this fascinating area of communication" (112). However, this is not entirely the case.

Gailliard, Murillo, and Séguinot all state that translators need to think of themselves as copywriters. Essentially, they carry out the same function. For these three theorists, translating advertising, like marketing, has to focus on the target market. The translator needs to understand every aspect in the development of the copy strategy and take on a quasi-management role. Gailliard says there should be a focus on the "major aspects of an advertising campaign [...] What? Distinctive characteristics of the product [...]. Where? Distribution channels [...], when the ad will be in print [...]. Why? Market development [...], to attract attention [...]. Who? The target market [...] and] How? What are the marketing claims?" (4–5). She insists that by using "textual analysis to determine how the language is manipulated to attain advertising goals" the translator is able "to create the same atmosphere, provoke emotions, capture attention, incite a reaction" (Gailliard 6). Séguinot sums it up once again in emphasizing that translation should be incorporated into the production process:


13 "Si on faisait une analyse de texte, on verrait comment on a manipulé le langage pour obtenir cette même atmosphère sur le plan du message. La question n’est pas d’obtenir des effets littéraires mais de chercher à déclencher des émotions, capter l’attention, créer des ruptures."
translation is a mediated response to an object or concept, and [...] the motivating force behind the language of the source text is likely to be quite specific. Now the motivating force is generally carried by the more hidden messages, the connotative meaning. And connotations are notoriously culture-specific. How can the translator build in a different motivating factor if the legal, cultural, or marketing factors determine that the original is unacceptable? Without access to the product or information about the service, none. (60)

Séguinot, Murillo, and Galliard’s efforts at encouraging translators to take a larger, more professional role in the production process are admirable. However, their discussions do not focus a lot on ad translation itself.

Among those who address the translation process directly, there seems to be a general consensus about how it is done. The apparent solution, in spite of vastly differing terminology, lies in discourse analysis with some variation in the focus of the analysis to extract source text information that will ultimately be incorporated in a functional approach to translation. When translating advertising, the primacy of the source text no longer holds as a translation principle. Tatilon, for example, insists that the overall function of the ad be retained, that is, the way the four functions of a successful ad interact in order to be effective for the target market. For him, translation of ad copy is “to translate the idea rather than the surface structure, the functions rather than the words”14 (“Texte publicitaire” 245). He proposes an adaptation of the source text through a functional model, or the selection of the most pertinent information from amongst the functions, before translating the text and when evaluating the translation. Essentially, this is the result of carrying out an analysis of how the individual parts of the ad contribute to the whole

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14 “traduire non la lettre mais l’esprit, non les mots mais les fonctions”
meaning. Here, he speaks of translation difference or distance. Fidelity to the original, says Vinay, must be determined “in function of the final goal”\textsuperscript{15} (qtd. in Tatilon, “Parole publicitaire” 87).

De Pedro continues along the same lines as Tatilon, discussing the degrees of translation ranging from adaptation to a combination of adaptation and literal translation. Through some negotiation of adaptation and literal translation, she says, translators must make the target market’s comprehension and the ad’s intended publicity function their priority. By careful negotiation of the relation that holds between text and image, translation of an ad will vary. There are no rules. According to de Pedro, translation of an ad can be a combination of any of the following: the words may be translated literally, idiomatically, or freely; and the image may stay the same, vary but conform to a cultural prototype, or change completely (41). She even acknowledges that literal translation can work, but that it will work for different reasons. On the other end of the scale, entirely separate campaigns may be used for cross-cultural advertising. That is to say, a completely radical translation of: “Buy our product.” Her discussion gives detailed explanations of specific examples of translating ad copy: how the literal translation of a pun does not work, yet how literal translation of an ad using national stereotypes does; how literal translation can be made more effective by the use of images more typical in the target culture; how complete substitution of images is sometimes necessary because of cultural taboo; and how a successful adaptation, or writing an ad that works on the same concept

in each culture using different rhetoric and image, can be extremely effective in both cultures. De Pedro's discussion of translation is centred entirely on cultural considerations of the advertising functions, yet she encourages textual analysis to determine the semiotics of the ad and, thus, to gauge its adequacy in the target culture.

Shakir offers the most detailed demonstration of how a thorough analysis of surface structures can make ad translators more effective. He refers to discursive equivalence where translators must be familiar with "the social, psychological, and cognitive resources verbal expression derives from" (71). They must be aware of both the effect the ad has on the source culture and how to render it best for a parallel reaction in the target culture. His analysis of sentence structure, lexical choices, referential and logical cohesion, and the relationship between text type and surface features illustrates how all parts of an ad text contribute to the whole. Shakir's shortcoming is that he does not address the impact image can have, excluding it from the translator's responsibility. The effect of an ad, according to Shakir, is based on how the ad conforms to the target audience's expectations of what it should be. It follows then that translators need to be able to create the same effect, or "absorb the mood of the utterance and to attempt to recreate that mood in the [target language]" (62). Shakir favours language knowledge and analysis tools to determine how the components of an advertisement create their effect on the source culture. In turn, translators must be able to use tools in the discursive frame of the target culture, such as register, culture-bound expression, and audience expectations to create the same effect on the target culture.

It is apparent that the most effective and widely used approach to advertising
translation is based on two types of discursive work. Following Pym, discourse analysis is first used to understand how the surface features of a source text work to communicate a specific message within a specific culture and determine how, together, individual aspects of the text achieve the text's aim. Once these aspects of the text have been determined, they act as guiding principles for the second type of translators’ discursive work—the composition of a new text that can function appropriately in the target culture, according to a specific function, overcoming “quite massive initial non-equivalence” (Pym, “Limits” 237). As Pym puts it “discourse may be extended from one cultural setting to another” (“Limits” 235). In my reading, the authors consistently give precedence to the function of the ad, that is, the fact that a translation’s function must be transferred to the target culture. Following this, advertisements are by and large culture-bound. A culture expresses its values by what is or is not said, and how it can be said. Furthermore, an ad’s effectiveness is based on how it is perceived. Advertisers cannot afford to offend their audiences if they want to be successful in the increasingly global market economy. The message must be clear and have wide appeal. The efficacy of the whole—text, image, concept—is essential, and the target text must be as cohesive as the source text. Translators must take all aspects into account in the translation process, and being language specialists they must be able to analyze the source text to best render the message in a culturally relevant, publicity-oriented manner. Translators, above all, must be able to take on the ideology and discourse of the genre for an optimum effect in the target market.
Chapter 2:
The Persuasive Function of Culture in Ads

2.0 Culture in Advertising—The Foundation of Persuasion

In chapter one, culture is identified as the foundation of an ad’s sales argumentation. This is achieved through an intrinsic relation between the text, including language and image, and culture. As the primary means of marketing communication, language and images are imbued with the ideology\textsuperscript{16} of their culture. As a communication vehicle between people, a text is dialogical and kept to a pathway of social and cultural representations that have been influenced by society’s thinking, writing, and speech that have preceded it. The text’s dialogical nature is a precursor for intertextuality\textsuperscript{17}. Intertextuality is used in advertising to align with a particular concept valued by the target market. Advertisers capitalize on associative meaning through the use of thematic dialogue or adopting other discourse styles.

I also suggested that advertising speech acts\textsuperscript{18} are tailored to cater to the target market’s perceptions. They are also implicit, referring to culture specific information to prevent the target market from questioning the truth and sincerity behind their claims. However, consumers have been conditioned to expect this type of visual and linguistic

\textsuperscript{16} See Section 1.2 Culture in Advertising, page 13 for definition and discussion of ideology in advertising.

\textsuperscript{17} See Section 1.2 Culture in Advertising, page 13 for definition of intertextuality, as it relates to dialogism, in advertising.

\textsuperscript{18} See Section 1.1 Advertising As Persuasion, page 10 for discussion of Speech Act theory.
communication in advertisements. The preparatory and sincerity rules that are assumed about advertising speech acts are also based on culture specific terms like the Gricean Maxim. When communication stays within these culture bound rules, addressers and addressees rarely question the premises on which it is based. In fact, they will find logic in the communication rather than accept that their partner is being intentionally incoherent. Culture provides the fabric for the addressee to understand one another’s messages.

### 2.1 Advertising as a Cultural System

Culture is a concept that eludes description. For every individual, it means something different. To get a clearer idea about what culture is, I compared definitions of culture by anthropologists Williams and Geertz. Both maintain that culture exists at individual and social levels. Williams describes this as two converging sets of interests (11), while Geertz suggests a more ambiguous structure of “interworked systems of construable signs [...]”. Culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviours, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly [...] described” (14).

Similarly, Williams mentions that culture is the signifying system through which the social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored in all forms of social activity (13). For him, culture is ‘produced’ by individuals, but mainly by the institutions
that structure the social order. Geertz reinforces the idea that culture is a semiotic system stating that a cultural group must be described using terms the group uses to define itself. As an ethnographer trying to describe culture, he maintains that social discourse should be read through symbolic acts, or clusters of symbolic acts that are the signifiers of cultural semiotics. In describing the work of ethnographers, he says:

Our double task [in interpreting culture] is to uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects' acts, the "said" of social discourse, and to construct a system of analyses in whose terms what is generic to those structures, what belongs to them because they are what they are, will stand out against the other determinants of human behaviour. (27)

This explanation bears a clear resemblance to the type of research done by marketers to establish the nature of the target market.

Researchers do extensive studies on culture—using focus groups to determine product essence, market segmentation, market demographics, psychographics, or value and lifestyle research, and the effectiveness of various types of ads. Williams mentions advertising as one of the institutions that contributes to the production of culture, and perhaps one of the most significant, as it plays an integral role in the general social organization. It works on an individual level, drawing on cultural knowledge, and a social level as a major form of cultural production governed by the institution of the organized market. This makes it clear that marketers seek to get a clear perception of the cultural group they are targeting, so they can weave the symbolic acts that implicate the target group into the advertising message.

Ad texts provide particularly fertile ground for the study of textual argumentation firmly embedded in its culture. "The amount of research put into the development of a
commercial, specific knowledge about a product—the generic category and the competing brands, consumer opinions, preferences, and so on—make advertising agencies among the best of ethnographers" (O'Barr 277). Marketers have finetuned the art of cultural persuasion by developing research techniques to determine the target market's expectations about the product, the values they associate with it, and the most implicit, concise way of communicating them.

2.2 Argumentation—Culture and Persuasive Discourse

The principle behind the art of persuasion is to induce or increase an audience's belief in a particular thesis, which is presented for its assent. The study of rhetoric has been revived in Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's *The New Rhetoric*. In their study, they aim to broach the "idea of self-evidence as characteristic of reason, [...] to make place for a theory of argumentation that will acknowledge the use of reason in directing our own actions and influencing those of others" (3). Their treatise is based on the principles of Aristotelian rhetoric.

The framework is essentially the same as a basic communication diagram. It designates an addressee, an audience, and conventions on which communication is based, such as mutual expectations between the addressee and the audience, membership in the same social group, and sharing a common language. This is the foundation of the structure of persuasive discourse. Their focus is on how to formulate an argument that convinces a
specific audience. In the same spirit as Bakhtin’s dialogism and Austin’s speech act theory, details of the relationship between the addresser and the audience are carefully elaborated.

To be effective, the addresser must know the audience’s opinions regarding the social environment, the people and values it associates with, and its dominant opinions and unquestioned beliefs. “These views form an integral part of its culture, and an orator wishing to persuade a particular audience must, of necessity, adapt him/herself to it” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 20). In short, an effective addresser is guided by the minds of the audience and its cultural understanding of what is real, true and objectively valid. Market research exists for this purpose alone.

One of the objectives of argumentation, when aiming to incite a particular action, is to invoke the audience’s passions, overcome apathy and forces acting against the action the addresser is trying to provoke. Considering this is a primary goal, the epidictic oratory in traditional rhetoric is significant because it sets out to increase adherence to values which might not be contested when considered on their own, but which might not overcome other values that conflict with them (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 50). Its most notable effect is to establish a sense of communion between the addresser and the audience by amplifying and enhancing the values on which it is founded. This might be regarded as one of the first forms of publicity since its role was to appeal to the communal values which are undisputed and unformulated—those that go without saying. Often, consumers do not think to question them because the addresser implicitly refers to premises that are taken for granted. In modern terms, these premises have come to be called ideologemes.
In argumentation, premises that are most likely to assume the status of fact for a specific group are chosen as the foundation. There is a continuum of objects of agreement that can serve as premises holding varying degrees of authority with a given audience. In order of their degree of universality, they are: facts, truths, presumptions, values, hierarchies of values, and loci. Facts and truths refer to objective reality and require no justification or intensifying. They are, however, subject to the audience's acceptance of their status as fact or truth (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 68). Presumptions are connected with what is normal and likely and are often accepted by convention. They only enjoy this status within a specific reference group and require some reinforcement to maintain their validity (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 70).

Values are attitudes toward reality and carry a specific influence on action. They are considerably less concrete and much less universal, but can nevertheless be taken as fact in a text for a specific audience (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 76). They are most effective in a general state, since they can be isolated from the sociological material that has been used to shape and then used to persuade. Concrete values, or those related to a living being, a specific group or a particular object, can be linked to abstract or universal values to give an argument greater import (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 76). This follows Geertz's notion of culture as a signifying system, as concrete values may be seen as the symptoms, or signifiers, of a more abstract, cultural whole (26). Lifestyle scenes used in advertisements display concrete values, such as attractive people enjoying a product in desirable surroundings, to convey a more abstract message encouraging
consumers who identify with the beauty and status of the people and surroundings they see to buy the product.

Hierarchies are an extension of cultural values, tying individual values into a whole belief system or web of values forming the social order (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 81). They are more significant than values in persuasive discourse since they are not so widely accepted and may be used to tailor an argument more closely to its target audience. Hierarchies are avoided in ad texts precisely because copywriters want the ad to appeal to as many people as possible. Making the value hierarchy in an ad’s argumentation explicit, and thus forcing the addressee to make choices, can be avoided by using images. By demonstrating the desirable values in an image—whose cohesion and coherence is determined by the audience itself—advertisers can avoid losing the adherence of the target market. Viewers will impose a value structure that corresponds to their own rather than find meaning that makes them question the values portrayed. However, this does not mean that all the values in ad images cross cultures, the symbols, indices and icons in an image are surface manifestations of values that are seldom universal.

The last group of objects of agreement are known as loci, or commonplaces. This only applies to premises of a general nature that serve as the basis for values and hierarchies (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 83). They are expressions of the relations between the terms of an argument. They can be used indiscriminately for any science and apply to the realm of the preferable. They are general patterns, like analogy, models, and illustration, that may be used to relate logic to both concrete and universal values in the structure of reality. This is an aspect of argumentation that is often taken for granted and
the persuasive strength it offers is often overlooked (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 84).

Loci related to concrete values are called topos or themes. In this case, they may not be used indiscriminately as they stem from the logic in the concrete value structure. They may be perceived as universal within a specific group but pose transfer problems between cultures.

In his article “Présupposé, topos, idéologème,” Angenot explores a mechanism by which all the conventional objects of agreement in a society interact to form a culture’s ideologemes,¹⁹ or the individual premises that it unquestioningly accepts as true. This evolution requires cultural transformation at individual and social levels and is fuelled by an energy sui generis. The process starts with an individual, cultural value that is recognized widely enough to be seen as the pinnacle of a belief system, regardless of its concrete nature. It becomes implicit in many areas of the social discourse to the point where it is commonplace and seen as a locus relating logic to reality. It is rooted in ideological reality and is thus left unspoken as a matter of convention. It is thus considered part of the order of the real in a specific discourse type or the entire social discourse. These loci, or recurring themes, are likely to be used in logical reasoning to encourage adherence to various theses. They are perceived as universally acceptable or “cultural

¹⁹ “Nous appellerons «idéologème» toute maxime, sous-jacente à un énoncé, dont le sujet circonscrit un champ de pertinence particulier [...]. Ces sujets sont déterminés et définis uniquement par l’ensemble des maximes où le système idéologique leur permet de figurer. Leur statut opiniâtre s’identifie à la confirmation d’une représentation sociale qu’ils permettent d’opérer.”
constants unique to a specific social group\(^{20}\) (Angenot 22). They constitute a semi-logical argument, different from one based on objective reality, in that all the \(loci\) stem from experience in the social system.

These socially derived \(loci\) are what Angenot calls ideologemes, or ideological maxims. They are so socially prevalent that they are taken for granted and function as regulatory principles in the social discourse, providing it with authority and coherence. They appear as concrete values and at the same time governing principles in the social order which motivate the propagation of cultural beliefs. To identify a text’s ideologemes, the underlying, absent discourse must be reconstituted to reveal the linking propositions that are not at all innocent or neutral. If the addressee is part of the targeted belief system, this reconstitution is automatic and these assumptions do not enter into question.

In advertising argumentation, it is common for trends that are taken as fact to require reasoning that is not fundamental and demands interpretation of cultural convention and stereotypes. However, the validity and acceptability of this type of reasoning only stands for a specific class, society and time. If an advertisement’s persuasive technique does not work on a group of individuals, the chances are that it is not intended for them.

### 2.3 Finding the Ideologemes of Consumer Culture

The role values play in advertising is much the same as the process Angenot describes. In marketing, values are used, amplified and have become part of the social order. These

\(^{20}\) "des invariants culturels propres à une société donnée"
values are not, however, universal and in fact, they are attributed to very specific target groups. Although every person in society is bombarded by advertising daily, every ad is designed specifically according to what has been determined about the product-consumer relationship. Values in marketing research are used, as in the argumentation methods in section 2.2, to determine how to segment the population into smaller, more easily targeted groups, and to pinpoint the ‘essence’ of a product, or how it is perceived by a specific social group or culture. According to Barry Day, in The Complete Guide to Advertising, “great advertising starts with the way people think and feel, and then it finds a way to interpret whatever it happens to be selling to fit that context. That way, an ad can fit into someone’s life and create a real relationship” (qtd. in Jewler 58). In the same vein, Luc Dupont’s third rule of writing ad copy that sells is “play on reason and emotion at the same time”21 (93). Thus, once a product-consumer match has been made, the common values are used as the basis for the ad text and visual so that the ad appears relevant to the audience’s lifestyle. This is what is referred to as the major selling premise, or creative concept.

To investigate how values are communicated between advertisers and target markets in the advertising industry, I consulted the sections relating to copy strategy in marketing textbooks in use in English Canada and Québec. I wanted to compare the way each culture defines its advertising. The directives on how to write successful ads were

21 “Jouez à la fois sur la raison et sur l’émotivité.”
strikingly similar. Listed in the comparative table\textsuperscript{22} are items taken from instructions on how to write good print copy.

From these statements, we can see that these copywriting textbooks support the creation of a product consumer relationship that uses the values of the target audience's culture. The textbooks do not provide general classifications of values—just specific examples that illustrate how certain types of things are sold to certain groups of people. As Leiss \textit{et al.} put it, "the analysis of value-charged references as unifying cognitions in ads has become a standard concern in advertising research, although once again there is no definitive list of categories" (222). The locus, or the relation between reality and logic, is that of analogy, where the terms of the analogy are from different spheres—cultural values and their concrete manifestation in society. This is due to the dynamic nature of values in culture.

This joins with the previous assertion that values are most effective in their general state, so that the intended audience is not confronted with the disjunction between what is expressed and the referent or the fact that such a premise is the basis of an argument. Messaris makes an insightful comment on this subject. He describes how upward mobility may be a common value, but open display of it is socially unacceptable, and how explicit attempts to put on an appearance of virility or act immaturity are often regarded with contempt and disapproval. He states that "the kinds of associations involved in such instances are things that many people might not want to spell out explicitly. [...] In situations of this sort, then, the tacitness of the associations created by advertising may

\textsuperscript{22} See Figure 2.0 "Comparison of Copywriting Directives" on page 39.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jewler's Creative Strategy in Advertising (pp. 117–18)</th>
<th>Dupont's 1001 Trucs publicitaires</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ad concept works to communicate the major selling premise effectively.</td>
<td>Présentez l'argument majeur au début de votre message (93).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The visual works to gain attention by depicting something unusual, new, provocative, attractive.</td>
<td>Pour faire face à cette avalanche de publicité, les gens ont appris à sauter d'une image à une autre pour découvrir ce qu'on leur offre. [...] Faites donc en sorte que votre illustration livre son message instantanément (134).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If people are shown in the visual, they are appropriate for the message, the product, and the target market.</td>
<td>La différence [entre les produits], elle est dans la personnalité du consommateur (18). Les publicités illustrées avec des personnages obtiennent des valeurs d’attention et de mémorisation deux fois plus élevées que les publicités sans personnage du tout (136).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The headline offers a benefit (reason for using).</td>
<td>Les titres qui vendent le plus de marchandises sont ceux qui promettent aux consommateurs un avantage (55).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The headline selects the audience for the ad.</td>
<td>Les titres sélectionnent directement le prospect (65).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The headline arouses curiosity without totally confusing readers.</td>
<td>Les titres qui piquent la curiosité marchent généralement très bien (65).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The headline works with the visual to draw readers into the copy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The headline identifies the type of product, service, or company.</td>
<td>Pour être efficace, une campagne publicitaire doit s'exprimer par une Unique Selling Proposition ou USP (76).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body copy uses the word you as an involvement device.</td>
<td>Personnalisez votre écriture (88).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ends with an urge to action, a summary of the main idea, or an open-ended statement designed to provoke the reader to action.</td>
<td>Concluez [...], reformulez les avantages principaux que vous proposez [...], incitez le lecteur à passer à l'action (113).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone and style of the ad are appropriate to what is being sold and the target market addressed.</td>
<td>La longueur d'un texte doit varier en fonction des trois éléments suivants: des médias que vous avez retenus pour mener votre campagne à terme, des cibles, du produit ou du service pour lequel vous faites de la publicité (115).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
allow the users to benefit from these associations while avoiding the consequences of making them explicit" (xxi). People do not want to question or be confronted about the content of the values that form the social order to which they subscribe. Implicit reference to ideologemes are thus extremely common in advertising discourse.

The greatest issue in transferring ads between societies stems from the differences in their values and value hierarchies. Not only must translators be aware of how values surface in the argumentation of the source text, but also how they are perceived in the value hierarchy of the source text’s target audience. Then, they must compare this cultural knowledge to that in the target culture, weighing it against equivalent surfacings of values and their positions in the value hierarchy of the target text’s target audience. This oversight is a frequent problem in translated, crosscultural advertising.

2.3 Culture as a Unit of Meaning in Translation

It is generally true that the most significant part of the cultural information in an advertisement is contained in the headline, subheadings and image. The viewer’s attention is caught by a metaphorical relationship between the headline and the image, which is more often than not language based. However, the image is the primary vehicle of cultural values. They are “the connecting link between the consumer’s value systems and his or her preferences for products” (Leiss et al. 240). The image is held out as a sample, or stereotype, of the values and attitudes of particular social group. They are transferred analogically from a desirable state of being to the product. The values underlying the
desirable state of being are most often ideologemes. In this sense, culture is a fundamental, dynamic unit of meaning in the text.

The manifestation of ideologemes can be seen as occurring in layers. There are surface structures, such as culturally-specific imagery and cultural practice, that denote certain ideologemes, and thus the values associated with them. De Mooij et al. provide a schema formulated by Hofstede supporting the idea that a layering effect exists in advertisements:

![Figure 2.1: The Layers of Cultural Expression in De Mooij's Advertising Worldwide (p. 75)](image)

De Mooij explains that, in cultural practice, symbols are words, gestures, pictures and objects that carry particular meaning to members of a culture. They are very unstable and change constantly; they may be transferred or transferrable between cultures. Heroes are people who have culturally-desirable qualities and serve as models for behaviour. They can be alive, dead, real or imaginary. Rituals are activities that are based on convention
and are socially essential. They are most often carried out for their own sake and assume a phatic role in the cultural signifying system (76). Values are the core of this conception of culture and therefore must be the hinge in transferring culture-bound material from one social group to another.

Nord adopts a similar viewpoint in her book *Translation as a Purposeful Activity*. She cites Agar’s concept of rich points, or the “differences in behaviour causing culture conflicts or communication breakdowns between two communities in contact,” (qtd. in Nord 25) as one of the focal points of any translation task. They must enter into the equation as units of meaning during the translation process. For Nord, translation means comparing cultures and basing decisions on how these units of meaning may be transferred into the target culture.

To illustrate this process, I have chosen an advertisement that was translated from French into English for a joint promotion *Bell Canada* did for the *Vista 350* telephone and *SmartTouch* services.23 The ad was for use in Québec only, and the English translation was distributed in English Montréal and to English Quebeckers who had requested service in English. The ad is a flyer containing two coupons—one offering $50 off the purchase of the telephone and the other free *SmartTouch* services for one month to new subscribers. They are coupled so that consumers can take full advantage of the visual display features of the telephone with the *SmartTouch* services: call display and call waiting.

The headline and the visual on the outside of the flyer are interrelated to capture the viewer’s attention. The French ad features well-known comedian Benoît Brière,

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23 This advertisement and its translation are included in Appendix 2.
dressed up as an elderly woman, declaring “50$ de rabais sur le téléphone Vista 350 en criant ciseau!” The character is holding a pair of scissors and cutting along the dotted line, as if she were going to go out and use the coupons. The caption “en criant ciseau” is a familiar expression that is mostly used by older generations and means le faire très rapidement. En peu de temps. —fam. (Robert Québécois). This commonplace expression is reactivated by the scissors in the image and the elderly woman who is using it. These are the surface features that communicate the cultural knowledge to the target audience.

As translators approach a text that contains cultural information they must, according to Nord, evaluate its content and how it will affect the translation in the target culture: “In the case of a translation, the translator is a real receiver of the source text who then proceeds to inform another audience, located in a situation under target-culture conditions, about the offer of information made by the source text” (35). This means reconstituting the unspoken discourse that contains the values and ideologemes that have been chosen as the premises used to convince the target audience. In the source text, there are two forces at work. Benoît Brière is a popular comedian in Québec, who saw his rise to fame with series of ads where he played all the roles, and figures here as an illustration of a desirable action. The action that the copywriters are trying to provoke is the purchase of the phone and subscription to SmartTouch services. His speech, the expression “en criant ciseau,” urges the viewers to take quick action, as he has. As someone who represents humour and success, he stands as an icon and cultural hero in Québec. Social
success is the ideologeme for this component of the ad. The value he represents is
transferred to the product through analogy.

The second force is the elderly woman, who stands as a stereotype for
grandmothers. In the Québec family structure, grandparents have traditionally played a
significant role in the lives of their grandchildren, since close-knit families are common.
She is portrayed cutting coupons, which is perceived as a familiar activity for people of her
generation. Saving money is a dominant ideologeme in Québec, though it is one that
Quebecers do not like to be confronted with perhaps because of their history of financial
inferiority in the Canadian social structure. The humour brought in with Benoît Brière
eases the direct implication of this value. The values grandmothers evoke are comfort,
happiness and security. They are from a generation which, largely dominated by Catholic
values, is perceived as credible. Social principle dictates that family matriarchs are
respected, which also contributes to the grandmother’s credibility. The ideologeme here is
that grandmothers do not lie. She is accepted as a symbol of honesty in Québec society.
Likewise, this value is analogously transferred to the company.

Once this unspoken, social discourse has been reconstituted, translators may then
proceed to transfer what information they can in light of the type of translation that is to
be done for a specific text function. This, according to Nord, determines the degree of
adequacy that a translated text attains with respect to the target culture (36). The surface
features in the English translation have been considerably altered, but the status of
advertising does not require that its form be preserved in translation. The English
translation has only one force at work. The headline has been translated as “We’ve
trimmed $50 off the price of the Vista 350!" The commonplace metaphorical expression, "to trim the price," is reactivated with the presence of a pair of scissors pointing toward the dotted line around the coupons. This illustrates the action that copywriters are urging the target market to take. The translator has used these surface features to convey cultural values that are equally relevant to the English target market.

In English Canada, cutting coupons is viewed less negatively. Excess is viewed disdainfully by a certain group of people who are, presumably, the target market for this ad. Thrift is a value that is highly esteemed amongst the group of consumers who would be interested in buying such a telephone. However, it is really a way to urge guilt-free consumption of a luxury product. Frugality is the dominant ideologeme in the ad. It is a widespread belief in society and manifests itself in many areas: government cutbacks, business cost-effectiveness, and corporate social accountability through a system of checks and balances. And, as an ideologeme, it is not questioned.

Investigation of its content, however, reveals incompatibility with reality. The telephone is a luxury item. Ironically, purchasing such a telephone is a blatant act of consumerism and does not correspond to the value the ad conveys. As Messaris points out, users of this product will benefit from the tacit associations of this ad to enjoy the luxury telephone without assuming the consequences of making these values explicit. However, the target market prefers not to be confronted with the reality of purchasing a luxury telephone and its corresponding services. The ideologemes of frugality and success
are effectively transferred to the product in the English translation using different surface structures.

2.4 Conclusion

By reconstituting and understanding unspoken social discourse in the translation process, the intended message has not been significantly altered and the translator has successfully manipulated culture-bound language to communicate it. The result is that both the source text and target text offer convincing arguments to sell a product. And the values portrayed in the headline and the visual are reflected in the product through analogy. The communication act has not been upset by violating any of the conventional dialogical relations between addressee and addressee or by referring to any of the conditions that might make the target audience question the truth or sincerity of the advertising speech act. The consumer can continue to feel positively about consumption.
Chapter 3:
Analysis of Value-Based Rhetorical Structure in Advertisements and their Translations

3.0 What Is ‘Translatable’?

In Chapter 2, I discussed how ad copy argumentation draws on social values and ideologemes through its use of culture bound language and images. The copy must address consumers by implicating as much of their social reality as possible in the argumentation. In a close reading, translators can decipher the ideologemes, or cultural commonplaces, that uphold the characteristic stereotypes of a specific target market. These contribute to the formulation of the creative concept, or the product consumer metaphor, linking the product to some aspect of the consumer reality. This analysis is proposed as a means to get below the copy’s surface structures in advertising translation so that translators do not simply rely on the stylistic devices of an ad for inspiration. It is a way to avoid the common disclaimer, “This is not translatable.”

A study ordered by Publicité Club de Montréal and carried out by Léger & Léger Recherche et Stratégie Marketing in September 1997, concludes that original advertisements are on average 37% more effective than adaptations and translations24.

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24 See Appendix 1 for details about the study and a breakdown of its results.
Effectiveness was judged on the basis of six criteria grouped into two categories: under the heading of consumer attitude were originality, interest, and ability to attract attention; and under the heading of the ad's purpose were credibility, persuasiveness, and target appropriateness. Consumer attitude is equivalent to the addressee's reception of the ad and the ad's purpose is the addresser's intention. The criteria all stem from the degree to which advertising communication is geared to its target market, based on the addresser-addressee communicative relationship. These criteria can be extended to include elements of the message such as stylistic devices and subject matter, the values it is based on and strengthens, and how the ad functions as a whole for the target market.

In the discussion that follows, I will look at how assumptions based on stereotypes are incorporated into the ad's creative concept, and how they figure in the stylistic and rhetorical devices in the four advertisements and their translations. The four pairs of advertisements include: an English pamphlet detailing three service levels at the credit union CS CO-OP\textsuperscript{25} and its translation into French; an English newspaper print ad for BIRKS' Summer Sale and its translation into French; a French direct mail package for Bell Canada encouraging customers to install a second line and its translation into English; and a French tourist pamphlet for the Old Québec shopping district Quartier Petit Champlain and its translation into English.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25} CS CO-OP is an abbreviation of Civil Service CO-OP

\textsuperscript{26} These advertisements and their translations are included in Appendix 2.
3.1 Creative Concept—Translating the Product Consumer Metaphor

The creative concept is the copy theme that unifies an ad’s content, connecting its textual and visual surface features. The creative concept is a product consumer metaphor\(^{27}\) that, in addition to its role as a relational figure, plays a part in the ad’s coherence. Metaphor is a condensed analogy based on the resemblance of the relationship between two terms, whereby the first term, the *theme*, is imbued with the values associated with the second term, the *phoros* (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 371). In an advertisement, the *theme* is the product and the *phoros* is the aspect of social meaning to which it is related.

Advertising *phoros* can take many shapes—some of the most generic are social status, sexual appeal, family values, comfort, convenience, and practicality.

The product consumer metaphor is thus the basic selling premise of ad copy argumentation. It relates a specific product to target audience, through a series of assumptions. These assumptions are made on the basis of stereotypes that characterize a specific market segment. Advertisements, in order to address consumers collectively, must draw on the stock of stereotypes pertaining to a specific group. “Stereotypes are fixed, general, formula images and sketches that individuals develop in regard to their social

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\(^{27}\) Product consumer metaphor is a term I am using, in line with *The New Rhetoric*, to describe the relation marketers set up between the target market and a specific product. In marketing terms, it is the result of laddering research: “the goal of laddering and motivation research is to answer the question, what is this product all about? [...] the goal is to answer the question, what is the person all about? With information about key target values, we are able to develop advertising, positioning, and new products which leverage these values. If we think of each key value as a motive or drive that is seeking to get out, we can position products to be on the receiving end of these drives.” (Durgue, O’Connor, and Veryzer 98).
environment” 28 (qtd. in Amossy 26). They are based on collectively preconceived and pre-existing meaning, which can take innumerable shapes and forms.

In the media, stereotypes indicate to viewers that a certain aspect of a certain group’s ideology has entered into play. They ensure a group’s social cohesion.

“Addressees instinctively perceive meaning in terms of cultural models,” 29 by identifying stereotypes (Amossy 33) Although in many fields it is viewed negatively to base opinions on stereotypes, Lippman notes “were there no practical uniformities in the environment, there would be no economy, and only error in the human habit of accepting foresight for sight” (Lippman qtd. in Amossy 38). The general truth on which stereotypes are founded is rarely questioned and remains implicit—it is rooted in cultural knowledge. These general truths are what I referred to in the second chapter as ideologemes. Confronted with images of their own group, addressees rarely criticize the percepts on which their views and values are founded.

In order to decide on an appropriate product consumer metaphor, marketers must define and elaborate two variables. These are based on the assumptions about the product's relevance in the consumer’s life. They must widen a set of consumer characteristics to represent a market segment as accurately as possible, and find the cultural definition of a product, or the role a certain product plays for a specific group.

“The stereotype has a double role as a commonplace and accepted ideas; the fixed cultural

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29 “présentent un ensemble de traits que le lecteur doit rapporter à un modèle culturel préexistant”
image tends to be confused with its underlying ideas”30 (Amossy 34). Based on stereotypes, these two sets of data are used to create the product consumer match, or addressee-addresser relationship, which ultimately determines how the message is conveyed.

It is through this information that copywriters develop a creative31 that implicates the target market. When copy implicitly subscribes to consumer belief systems, it is more likely to be unquestioningly accepted. The consumer trait, or phoros, is used to highlight one of the product’s qualities, or theme, that is relevant to the consumer. The pair mutually strengthen one another through their resemblance, giving consumers an enhanced impression of the product’s pertinence for their lifestyle. The meaning of the product is carried in the implications that the metaphorical relationship evokes for the target market.

The product consumer metaphor of the four ads being used for this chapter may be broken down as follows:

30 “il [le stéréotype] fait alors double emploi avec le lieu commun et l’idée reçue ; l’image culturelle figée tendrait à se confondre avec les idées qui la sous-tendent”

31 Creative is used here to refer to the creative concept and copy together.
### CS CO-OP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Related Assumptions</th>
<th>Consumer Related Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Product:</td>
<td>Consumer Stereotype:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• most target market addressees already have a bank account</td>
<td>Civil servants are looking for the most services for the lowest account service fees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• credit union service has been updated</td>
<td>All-inclusive packages are perceived as a better value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• improved service quality to secure already existing clientele, eventually draw more business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• advertising for financial institutions should be credible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer Ideologemes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumers have the right to choose and the right to good service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumers are individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Value for money is important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accountability in financial affairs is essential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Product Consumer Metaphor:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three service packages are tailored to better serve customer banking needs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BIRKS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Related Assumptions</th>
<th>Consumer Related Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Product:</td>
<td>Consumer Stereotype:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Birks sales sell themselves; there is simply a need to draw attention to the event</td>
<td>Customers are drawn to owning luxury items and showing prestige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• needs to maintain quality brand image: classic, understated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sale is during summer wedding season</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer Ideologemes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saving money is a good reason to buy quality (luxury) items.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quality is classic and understated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luxury items show prestige.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Product Consumer Metaphor:** A sale allows the purchase of original luxury items.

- **Bell Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Related Assumptions</th>
<th>Consumer Related Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Product:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Target Consumers:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• is already used in household</td>
<td>• have a family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• is used frequently, plays a central role in household</td>
<td>• live a hectic lifestyle balancing career and family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• is used to communicate with family and friends, conduct business, surf the Internet, use the fax or the modem, pay bills, etc.</td>
<td>• have careers and thus a certain level of income</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consumer Stereotype:** Double or single career family has a busy, active lifestyle.

**Consumer Ideologemes:** Family harmony hinges on communication.
Efficiency and convenience are essential to a busy lifestyle.
Telephone symbolizes communication.

**Product Consumer Metaphor:** A second line is a solution to the frustration of a busy lifestyle.

- **Quartier Petit Champlain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Related Assumptions</th>
<th>Consumer Related Assumptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Product:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Target Consumers:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• oldest shopping district in North America</td>
<td>• are mostly tourists therefore have money to spend shopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• unique European atmosphere with cosmopolitan appeal to discover</td>
<td>• have travelled to Québec to explore and discover; desire for adventure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• exotic hand-crafted, artisanal products, including jewelry, stonework, clothing, restaurants</td>
<td>• are looking for ‘authentic’ and ‘exotic’ items for souvenirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• like Europe in North America</td>
<td>• want to experience Old Québec (i.e., feels like Europe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consumer Stereotype:** The target group is upper middle-class shoppers and tourists.
**Consumer Ideologemes:** Authentic experience (products) symbolize discovery and the essence of Old Quebec. Exoticism and adventure are valued.

**Product Consumer Metaphor:** Owning something authentic from this exotic shopping district is a way to break out of the ordinary.

From these analyses, it is evident that the product pertinence to consumer lifestyles is a central focus. They are also aligned with dominant beliefs in the target market so that the claims will be perceived as legitimate and raise interest.

Advertising translation must start at this level. Translators have to be aware of the structure of the copy’s argumentation in order to fully understand its communicative function and implicit meaning. This is not to say that the product consumer metaphor must be translated, simply that knowledge of this aspect of an ad’s meaning can prevent cultural oversights in translated copy. At the very minimum, the significance of an ad’s underlying assumptions, stereotypes, ideologemes, and the resulting metaphor must be examined in terms of the target language-culture during ad translation. At maximum, the product consumer metaphor can be altered to better suit the target group.

### 3.2 Translation Related Decisions About Product Consumer Metaphors

In his book *Translation and Relevance. Cognition and Context*, Gutt states that implicit meaning, or implicatures and explicatures, are fundamental in the process of understanding metaphor. Communication through metaphor, in relevance theory, occurs when the addressee makes reference to the explicatures, or analytical implications, and implicatures, or contextual implications, of the knowledge underlying an utterance (38). The
implicatures and explications at the base of the product consumer metaphor are the assumptions drawn from consumer stereotypes and ideologemes.

Explication is related to the theme and the phoros. It essentially refers to the content and logical relations in a text. Relating two terms that are separated by a gap in logic, the addressee signals a similarity and, therefore, the need to interpret the metaphor. Implication, on the other hand, is related to context. In advertising, textual sociocultural meaning is always implied. Addressees draw on their knowledge of the social and cultural context to interpret the gap, and also to situate the communication within their own reality. Together, references to explication and implication are negotiated by the addressee to understand textual meaning. The implicatures and explications that the translator interprets as the addressee are relevant to understanding the addresser's intended message. Thus, communicating meaning hinges on shared knowledge between the addresser and addressee.

Addressees negotiate relevance and interpret the addresser's intention by processing explications and implicatures that strengthen or change their understanding of the world at a "minimal processing cost" (Gutt 30). Likewise, it is the responsibility of the addresser to contribute to the addressee's understanding. As a result of this dual communication process, the ads can mean the following: three levels of service can prove that the credit union is serving customer needs; a sale can be an excuse to purchase good quality, classic products or simply make a name brand available to prestige seekers who
would not normally be able to afford it; a second telephone line can be a solution to a frustrating, busy lifestyle; and the originality of a shopping district can be an attraction for both residents and tourists. Because these product consumer metaphors rest on implicit consumer values and ideologemes, their inherent validity is not questioned.

André Lefevere suggests that translated metaphors should be evaluated by working from the literal meaning of the two terms and explaining how they enter into the bond of metaphor (37). This way, intersecting assumptions about the product and the consumer can be compared and evaluated for each market. Translators can judge the effectiveness of the product consumer metaphor and how it will hermeneutically channel each target market’s reading of its ad. They can ensure that sociocultural and emotive meaning is relevant for each group. Fewer oversights result in the translated subtext and the communicative ‘density’ in the ad has a greater chance of being maintained. For the four advertisement pairs, I have analysed the terms of the product consumer metaphor in light of both cultures, noting any potentially problematic aspects.

In the CS-COOP concept, presenting three service levels to better serve customer needs is valid for both target markets. Between the two groups of federal public service employees, there is probably very little difference in francophone and anglophone income and job security. We can assume that both dominant anglophone and francophone ideologies include the customers’ rights: to choose a suitable package, to receive good service, and to be considered as individuals. Attitudes towards financial affairs are generally serious, and the ideologeme “the best value for money” is likely to be common to both groups. Similarly, in the Bell Canada ads, the product consumer metaphor, its
assumptions, stereotypes, and ideologemes, are well suited to both English Canadian and French Québec culture. Family harmony and the central role of the telephone in coordinating busy lifestyles are equally important for francophones and anglophones. Both cultures experience the frustration of a busy telephone in a modern household and are susceptible to believing that a second line is an appropriate solution. These ad concepts are relevant in both target markets.

In the BIRKS ads, it is expected that the sale is sufficient in itself to attract customers’ attention. BIRKS is a store that is known for its classic jewelry, giftware, and other products. Luxury and exclusive goods are symbols of prestige, and the refined style that the BIRKS image carries is an upper class social value. Both anglophones and francophones may be drawn to its classic, understated image. For anglophones, the image equals quality and the sale provides justification to buy. For francophones, however, the drawing card is the image of quality and the BIRKS brand name. The fact that there is a sale simply makes these values available to people who would not normally shop there. “[Quebecers] are strong impulse buyers and therefore quite different from English-speaking Canadians, for whom the purchase process is a more rational one” (Association of Québec Advertising Agencies 9). The copy message will have to account for these subtle, motivational differences in both languages in order to appeal equally to both groups.
For the *Quartier Petit Champlain* ads, selling the exotic nature of the shopping
district works in both cultures, but translators must bear in mind that consumer attitudes
towards its originality may be different. For residents of Quebec, it is a feeling of pride and
attachment to their history and heritage that motivates their attraction to the shopping
district's original atmosphere and charm. For French tourists the historical attachment is
probably slightly reduced and the appeal of discovery and exoticism of the district are
stronger than for Quebecers. Translated for English-speaking tourists (American, English
Canadian, or other), the pamphlet features an unknown area of Quebec City, unlike any in
North America, for them to discover. The exoticism of the district means different things
to both linguistic groups but, left with an abstract concept that does not conflict with their
views of the world, consumers will perceive meaning that is relevant to their respective
situations.

In fact, in cases like the *BIRKS* and *Quartier Petit Champlain* ads, slight variations
in product consumer metaphors can reach two target markets by adapting the surface
structures. And by the very nature of the metaphor, creating an abstract relation between
the product and the consumer's lifestyle increases the ad's impact and effectiveness. In
argumentation, addressers must use the emotions of their audience "so as to produce a
sufficiently strong adherence, capable of overcoming both the unavoidable apathy and the
forces acting in a direction divergent from that which is desired" (Perelman and
Olbrechts-Tyteca 47). Since an ad's primary purpose is to convince consumers to buy, the
subtextual meaning contained in the product consumer metaphor is necessary to the text's
persuasive function and it must be present in the translated ads. Translation of the copy can only take place after its groundwork has been checked for possible sources of conflict.

3.3 Ad Copy—Translating the Product Consumer Interface

According to Dolezel, *insinuatio* is a figure used to “intimate, by some suspicion we excite, that something is to be understood which we do not express” (64). It is the crux of the advertising argument. Implicit cultural meaning and values in particular are signalled by logical lacuna or explicit hints, insinuations or allusions in the copy. If addressees are to make valid inferences and recover implicit meaning, he says, they must possess the appropriate cultural knowledge (68). This rhetorical figure gives consumers the impression that the ad copy is addressing them directly. Clichés are often the main creative surface structure because of their sociocultural significance. They act as an intertextual link between stereotypes and language. In ads, the cliche is generally brought to life by an image that enhances its literal meaning, usually reinforcing its significance by limiting its banality to the target market. Consumers then infer the relation between the product and their lives.

Clichés are “overused rhetorical or stylistic devices that have become banal” 32 (Amossy 33). Or, according to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, they are the “result of an agreement as to the way of expressing a fact, a value, a connection between phenomena,

32 "le cliche désigne un fait de style ou une figure de rhétorique usée [...] devenu[s] banals"
or a relationship between people” (165). They can include linguistic words or expressions like the metaphor *A stitch in time saves nine*, the oxymoron *bittersweet*, the metonymy *use your head*, or the hyperbole *They ate us out of house and home*. They are often so entrenched in language that they are no longer recognized as figures of speech, but rather as clichés, or fixed expressions with fixed meanings. I have also taken clichés to include commonplaces and textual themes. The wide use of cliché has resulted in the formation of networks, or isotopies, that reveal sociocultural significance. The clichés *time is money* and the more recent pairing of *communications* with *speed, traffic, and travel* reappear in new shapes and forms continually. They are part of the social intertext and they are indices of the dominant ideology33 (Amossy and Rosen 18). Clichés are ready-made linguistic formulations that emerge from a social group’s pool of ideas.

Clichés can be considered linguistic manifestations of a culture’s stereotypes because they are based on an instantly recognizable framework of meaning. Emblem of the *doxa*, the cliché’s argumentative power, extended from that of the dormant metaphor, lies in the fact that it “draws on a stock of analogical material that gains ready acceptance because it is not merely known, but it is integrated by language into the cultural tradition” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 405). The cliché thus raises the persuasive value of an ad through its connection with social reality, drawing on cultural commonplaces and emotive adherence to values.

In the four advertising samples, there is a clichéd metaphorical expression, a clichéd hyperbole, a clichéd metaphorical expression, and a commonplace. I ascertained,

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33 “Son maniement dévoile dès lors au sein du texte un rapport particulier au social et à l’idéologique.”
through an analysis of the ads’ cultural meaning, that the four creative concepts can travel as they are, having taken into account a variation in the target market’s motivation regarding the BIRKS sale and a nuance in the exoticism commonplace as it applies to francophone and anglophone target markets in the Quartier Petit Champlain ad. Having determined the applicability of the cultural groundwork in the product consumer metaphors, the ads’ surface features can then be addressed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AD</th>
<th>CLICHÉ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CS CO-OP</td>
<td>Metaphorical Expression: Sweet deal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRKS</td>
<td>Hyperbole: Everything under the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Canada</td>
<td>Metaphor: Communications as traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartier Petit Champlain</td>
<td>Commonplace: Exoticism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each of these ads, the cliché is the hinge between the product and the consumer stereotypes and ideologemes. In order to avoid a blatant act of banality, the clichés are revived with an image linking to the literal meaning of the consumer trait that is to be reflected in the product. The ads thus appear witty and eyecatching, without entering into conflict with target market values.

Considering the function of advertisements, there is no room for partial translation of the message. Insofar as possible, all levels of meaning must be accounted for. Ads must generate interest immediately and text receivers may not necessarily be part of the target market. So it is essential that nothing in the ad detract from the efficiency and unity of its
message. The target ad must be a covert translation, or a "translated text which is not marked pragmatically as such [and] functions as an original source text in the target culture" (House 194). This decision is based on the status of the source text genre, which for advertisements is not generally high. Translation must be approached functionally. This means that textual meaning is not only studied in terms of linguistic meaning, but also in terms of the social, cultural, and visual meaning that determine the copy's informative intention. On this basis, it is impossible to conceive of a successful ad translation that does not try to translate or reproduce a cliché or a product consumer metaphor to the target market and culture. They are the heart of the ad's persuasive argument.

In his analysis method, Gutt applies relevance theory to House's covert translation through their common link to the addressee in the communication process and their functional perspectives. In view of the addressee's key role in advertising communication, the translator's responsibility to facilitate the exchange is inherent in the notion of "faithfulness," or the relation of accountability that exists between the addressee and the addressee. The functional and formal unity of an ad is part of textual meaning, as it concentrates the impact of the message on the addressee or, in the terms of Speech Act Theory, "the illocutionary power of a [...] passage" (Lefevere 37). In ad argumentation, marketers must use the ad's cultural and ideological undercurrents to overcome consumer apathy and intensify the urge to action. This unity is native to the advertising genre, and if translators choose to ignore it, they are not respecting their role of accountability in the communicative act.
These principles are integral to German theorists' *Skopos Theory*. Following Nord's approach, explained in *Translating As A Purposeful Activity. Functional Approaches Explained*, copy should be reproduced so that it has as much impact on the target market as it does in the original market. The purpose of translating advertisements is clearly to sell the product to the target market in question. Rendering the cultural information adequately thus requires most of the translator's attention. Translators are cultural mediators, weighing all elements of meaning in the source text. Whether or not the product consumer metaphors and the clichés that express them will be effective in the target language—the core of the ads' creatives—is central to the decisions about translating the ads into their respective target languages.

Besides culture-laden surface features, translators have to make the translation fit within the existing image or layout of an ad. Ad translation is generally done at the end of the production process. It is important to note, however, that the unity between the image and the double meaning of one of the cliché's sense components is a translation constraint. The ad's visual becomes fixed as part of the layout and as translators produce the target language copy, they rarely have any role in visual changes that may need to be made, which can result in an incoherent target language message. Because the visual from the source text is a translation constraint, it is pertinent to compare the clichés in the target texts to those of the original.
The cliche and the image reactivating it are rich points, a term Nord adopts from anthropologist Michael Agar, described as potential areas of cultural difference that can cause communication breakdown. Often, the terms of the cliche must be altered to better reach the target market. According to what Nord defines as translational adequacy, translators should choose signs that are considered suitable for the communicative purpose, with a view to facilitating comprehension for target audience addressees (35).

3.4 Analysis of Creative Cliches in Source and Target Texts

3.4.1 CS CO-OP (English to French)

English source text: This pamphlet uses the cliched metaphorical expression a sweet deal. In the expression, “One of the sweetest deals around,” the term sweet is used in its figurative sense, in colloquial use, an emotional epithet expressive of the speaker's personal feelings as to the attractiveness of the object (Oxford English Dictionary). However, dictionary definitions do not indicate that it is analogous to the expressions great deal, good deal, and raw deal that are in wide use. Associative meaning includes resonance with the expression to sweeten a deal, meaning to make a deal more attractive by flattery or gifts; cajoling, or bribery (NSOED). The expression’s connotation of underhandedness gives consumers the impression that they are getting the best of the system. The cliche is revived by three candies wrapped in bronze, silver, and gold foil, which strengthen the literal meaning of sweet in the ad and also allude to the colours of medals, implying victory. The headline is followed by a wink at consumers with “(No matter which one you choose.)” This increases the urge to open the pamphlet by playing
on the mysteriousness of the headline and by providing reassurance to the anglephone market, that they cannot lose with this deal.

This cliche is present to a lesser degree throughout the ad. It simply serves as an eyecatching headline that compels addressees to look at the pamphlet to find out what the deal is. Intrigue is the main component of this copy creative: playing on the connotation of the expression *sweet deal* and enhancing it by the attractively wrapped candies, urging readers to open them and the pamphlet to see what is inside. The links the cliche has to the body copy are threefold: the colours assigned to the candies are the same as the colours of the three levels of service offered to *CS CO-OP* customers; and the candies' wrapping conveys the concepts of the packages and links with the phrase "with no surprises." The deal, in fact, is a choice between the three levels of account services available to customers. Its sweetness is the hinge that attractively relates the ideologemes of the best value for money, the right to choose, and accountability to the consumer in financial affairs.

*French target text:* The French translation of this ad carries the intrigue of the English ad in the heading "Une offre sucrée en trois saveurs." It is a play on the more common expression *Une offre alléchante* and has the same literal meaning as *a sweet deal*, although the originality of *une offre sucrée* leaves the translation with considerably less social and emotive connotation. The literal image of the contextual synonym *sucrée* is nevertheless extremely clear, strengthened also by *en trois saveurs*; the candies displayed on the front
apparently hold a considerable visual temptation. Because the link to the body copy is
mainly through the visuals, the breadth of the English cliché’s double meaning is lessened
in the text. The remaining link “sans mauvaises surprises” reinforces the surprise
component and is thus well situated in the textual meaning. The significance of the colours
bronze, argent, and or are the same for the francophone target market, as are the
ideologemes of consumer choice, serious portrayal of financial affairs, and value for
money. However, the notion of getting the best of the system is not present.

The effect of this extremely literal translation of the heading seemed uncertain, but
after consultation with a CS CO-OP marketing officer, who explained that both ads had
been successful, it was determined that the unidiomatic French creative was accepted as
“intriguing,” inciting addressees to “want to know what the offer was about.”34
Apparently, the urge was strong enough that the hint (No matter which one you choose.)
in the English ad was dropped from the French ad completely. It is noteworthy that the
target markets, French and English civil servants, are supposed to have substantial
knowledge of the other language. This cognitive influence may explain the positive
reception the ad was met with in French. Conversely, it could be seen as an anglicism and
thus viewed as poor language quality.

The phatic function of the heading is retained in the translation as are the figurative
and emotive meanings. Cultural meaning is somewhat obscured but is still retrievable from
associations with the expression une offre alléchante. The English with no surprises fits

34 In conversation with Susan Abraham, CS CO-OP Marketing and Communications Officer, January 25,
1998.
with the ad’s sense of getting the best of the system, while the French *sans mauvaises surprises* fits with the ad’s intrigue component. Although this example is relatively uninvolved compared to the two thematic metaphors that follow, it could be carried into the text. I have retained it as an interesting example of how literal translation and unusual language in a headline can be successful in translated advertising.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Text</th>
<th>French Translation</th>
<th>Proposed Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One of the sweetest deals around. (No matter which one you choose.)</td>
<td>Une offre sucrée en trois saveurs.</td>
<td>Notre offre, c’est du bonbon… en trois saveurs!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... with no surprises.</td>
<td>... sans mauvaises surprises!</td>
<td>... sans mauvaises surprises!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, to recentre the translation on more stable sociocultural ground, I propose the alternate translation for the headline “Notre offre, c’est du bonbon…”. Then for the hint at the target audience “en trois saveurs!” This still constitutes a visual revival of a clichéd metaphorical expression, and thus the ad would increase its persuasive force, at once invoking and negating images of underhandedness. The connotation of goodness and effortlessness contained in the Québec expression *c’est du bonbon* joins with the notions of value for money and good, customer-oriented service, and *Notre offre […] en trois saveurs* still ensures that the ideologemes of consumer choice and individualized service are present. The product consumer metaphor *Three service levels that better serve customer needs* remains intact and in line with the sociocultural meaning previously
identified. The headline’s phatic function is still sufficiently present to reach consumers and direct their attention to the cliché’s sociocultural meaning—the ad’s motivational force.

3.4.2 BIRKS (English to French)

*English source text:* The *BIRKS* ad seeks mainly to increase knowledge of its summer sale, while maintaining its upscale, quality image. Portraying itself rather magnanimously, *BIRKS* relates itself to consumers through the clichéd hyperbole, or exaggeration, “Everything unique under the sun.” The basic form of the utterance is *Everything under the sun*, and ‘unique’ is added to falsely attenuate the exaggeration to *everything unique.*

The commonplace of originality in advertising, especially using the word *unique*, is trite. Although its impact is slightly less than ideal, *BIRKS* has appropriated the expression, modifying it slightly to apply to the store. *BIRKS* is indicating its entrance into relation as an addressee with the addressees, by the phatic function of the heading. The ad boasts extravagance and expresses a strong claim. The image links to the Summer Sale by its revival of the cliché with a sun, whose centre is a necklace—jewelry being *BIRKS*’ main trade—and whose rays feature other luxury products available at *BIRKS*. The body copy concisely states the products that are on sale and that there will be 30–60% reductions.

The whole ad is grounded by the *BIRKS* logo featuring a heraldic lion and the inscription “Jewellers since 1879,” evoking the store’s root in tradition.

Mere knowledge of the sale, as an excuse to buy, will probably lead anglophone prestige seekers to relate the product to their lifestyles themselves. The classic, refined image is upheld in the ad with plain language and a subtle, yet witty, visual. Contrary to its
exaggerated cliché, the caption is written in a modest font and the ad gives a simple impression, saying all it needs to say. Overall, the ironic tone of attenuated exaggeration will be regarded as clever, and therefore appealing, by the English target audience. The ad thus aligns itself with the target market ideologemes, providing justification to buy, strengthening the appeal of quality and prestige of luxury items.

**French target text:** The French translation of this ad features the same visual, text and logo. The only notable difference is that the English adjective *designer*, which is often translated as *designer* in French, has been explicated as *de marques réputées*. This plays to a greater extent on the fact that “Quebecers go positively weak in the knees for brand names” (Association of Quebec Advertising Agencies 9–10). In doing this, the difference in motivation to buy at BIRKS seen in the product consumer metaphor is accounted for in the translation.

The hyperbole, “Everything unique under the sun,” is translated as the play on words “Des rayons d’originalité.” In this case, the image links to the primary, literal meaning of *rayon*: *toute trace de lumière en ligne ou en bande, un rayon de soleil, de lune*, which figuratively extends to *tout ce qui éclaire, répand la connaissance, le bonheur, etc.* (*Le Petit Robert*). In addition to an obvious link between sun and summer, it is worth noting that Québec is stereotypically a sun-loving society, known for its Florida winter vacation exodus, and the seemingly greater emphasis it places on the fashion of having a healthy suntanned look all year round. The second meaning of *rayon* is *partie*
d'un grand magasin réservée au commerce d'une marchandise (Le Petit Robert). The lexia *rayon* is also present in the expression *un rayon de soleil*, which is defined as *chose ou personne qui remplit le coeur de joie*, and in the figurative meaning of *rayonnement*, defined as *influence heureuse, éclat excitant l'admiration*. Again, the wit of the play on words, in line with the classic, understated values *BIRKS* evokes, will be regarded favourably by consumers.

Both meanings of *rayon* and its associations with the visual are transferred to the product, increasing the already strong motivation in francophone prestige seekers to own brand name goods and luxury items. I hesitate to propose a translation here, as the translator has come up with a particularly successful rendering that accounts for all levels of meaning in the advertisement. The importance of reproducing a clichéd expression that has the cultural and persuasive impact of the original may seem less when it only occurs once in the ad’s headline. However, the clichéd metaphorical expression and hyperbole seen in the *CS CO-OP* and *BIRKS* ads play a role in the rhetorical structure of the ads and could very well be written into the body copy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Text</th>
<th>French Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everything unique under the sun.</td>
<td>Des rayons d’originalité.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... designer watches and dinnerware...</td>
<td>... montres et vaisselles de marques réputées ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.3 Bell Canada (French to English)

*French source text:* The clichéd metaphor relating communications and traffic appears here in the form of a comparison of a busy telephone line to a traffic jam. This is a thematic metaphor because it appears throughout the ad. The caption on the outside of the mailing envelope asks "Votre ligne de téléphone est congestionnée?," to be reassured by the message on the pamphlet in the envelope: "Doublez!... Et ne vous laissez plus arrêter par les embouteillages téléphoniques!" Posed out of concern about a consumer problem, this question is mirrored by visuals of telephone cords tied in knots on the envelope, and its answer is accompanied by other cords placed in the shape of highway interchanges on the cover of the pamphlet. They are a subtle link between the busy telephone and the anxiety of a traffic jam, probably another common occurrence in the target market's lifestyle.

The traffic theme continues with subheadings like "Avec une deuxième ligne de téléphone, les communications circulent librement!," "Filez sur Internet tout en ayant le feu vert pour vos appels," "N’arrêtez plus, surtout pour les appels importants," and "Roulez en paix quand on vous bloque la voie." Each subheading is linked to one of the features offered by the ad’s proposed household telephone system consisting of a specific telephone, a second line, and services such as call display, call waiting, conference calling, etc. The tension imposed by the initial headline unwinds as the subheads each offer a new feature, following one another in a rapid succession of solutions linked to freeflowing
traffic isotopy: circulent librement, filez, feu vert, N’arrêtez plus, Roulez en paix, and accompanied by other highways made of telephone lines weaving across the page. As the tension of the emotive meaning releases with the solutions offered and the allusion to freeflowing traffic, consumers feel favourably toward the product and have an exaggerated view of its relevance for their lifestyle.

English target text: The English ad, addressing a similar target audience to the French ad, is a solid translation of the textual content and style. However, its drawback is the lack in communicative unity that the textual metaphor provides in the original. The visuals are the same, the envelope headline asks: “Is your telephone line always tied up?,” and is answered by “Double your performance—add a second line!” The subheads that follow in the body copy are “A second telephone line keeps the channels of communication open!,” “Surf the Internet while catching every wave of incoming calls,” “Don’t get all in a knot about important calls,” and “Keep the lines of communication open.” These are solid individual translations, in terms of linguistic content and idiomaticity. The translations are individual and idiomatic—congestionnée is rendered as tied up; doublez is adapted to double your performance; embouteillages téléphoniques is eliminated; communications circulent librement as keep the channels of communications open; filez as surf, le feu vert as catching every wave; n’arrêtez plus as don’t get all in a knot; and roulez en paix as keep the lines of communication open. As a group, there is sufficient scattering of the theme so that the efficiency of the ad’s communicative impact is reduced.

The effect of translating idiomatically without regard for the textual context is remarkable where “Filez sur Internet tout en ayant le feu vert pour vos appels” is
translated as “Surf the Internet while catching every wave of incoming calls,” when filez is deliberately used as a synonym for the standard naveguez. Filer possesses the notions of speed and time saving with respect to traffic, and it is a metonymic expression for communications by its connection to the term fil. Naviguer, however, contains images of a more leisurely pace, like the English surf. The automatic translation of filer as surf eliminates the eyecatching use of a less common collocation and thus the foregrounding of the traffic phoros. The result is the loss of the metaphor and thus the textual coherence. Similar shifts in meaning throughout the translation result from the underestimation or perhaps misreading of the role of the metaphor by the translator.

The emotive meaning contained in the reference to an inconvenient traffic jam, which is eased by the free impression of highway driving is further lost because of a reduced number of textual links to the visuals. In the English ad, the telephone hookup lines do not appear to represent anything concrete, with the exception of the reference on the outside of the envelope to the telephone line always being tied up and “Don’t get all in a knot about important calls.” The attempt to create a theme with lines of communication and telephone lines being tied up is more obscure. The emotive meaning in the visuals is lessened, and the ad’s momentum with the repetitive reference to freeflowing traffic is dropped, making it difficult to automatically transfer the consumer’s positive view of hassle free travel to a positive view of the product. In the English ad, the product is not
sufficiently linked to the consumer, and the copy and visuals are not cohesive enough for the ad’s message to have as great an impact on the target market.

From the decisions that were made earlier to determine and define this product consumer metaphor, it is possible to literally translate the French textual metaphor into English text. The stock metaphor that equates communications to highways and traffic is equally prevalent in French and English Canada. This implies that the English target audience should be able to benefit from a text that has cultural resonance and is as intertwined with its visuals as the French text. Here, it seems appropriate that the *phoros*, or the traffic references, stay the same because they are suitable vehicles to convey the frustration in the associative meaning that is so important to the source text. Traffic lexical items can be used to influence addressees’ ideas about their busy phones. With this in mind, I propose that the headline be translated as “Is your telephone traffic all tied up?,” followed by the answer “Detour telephone traffic jams with a second line!” The body copy subheads are “With a second telephone line, communication can flow freely!,” “Speed down the Internet with a green light for incoming calls,” “Don’t stop, even for important calls,” and “Drive on even when there’s a road block in your way.” The denotative and connotative senses of the metaphorical terms are intact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Proposed Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Votre ligne de téléphone est congestionnée?</td>
<td>Is your telephone line always tied up?</td>
<td>Is your telephone traffic all tied up?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doublez!... Et ne vous laissez plus arrêter par les embouteillages téléphoniques!</td>
<td>Double your performance—add a second line!</td>
<td>Detour telephone traffic jams with a second line!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French phrase</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avec une deuxième ligne de téléphone, les communications circulent librement!</td>
<td>A second telephone line keeps the channels of communication open!</td>
<td>With a second telephone line, communication can flow freely!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filez sur Internet tout en ayant le feu vert pour vos appels.</td>
<td>Surf the Internet while catching every wave of incoming calls.</td>
<td>Speed down the Internet with a green light for incoming calls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’arrêtez plus, surtout pour les appels importants.</td>
<td>Don’t get all in a knot about important calls.</td>
<td>Don’t stop, even for important calls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roulez en paix quand on vous bloque la voie.</td>
<td>Keep the lines of communication open.</td>
<td>Drive on even when there’s a road block in your way.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The translator seems to have taken only the immediate context into account, therefore translating the headings individually and idiomatically without regard for the wider context, rooted in the *theme* and *phoros* of the textual metaphor. In the proposed translations, the textual metaphor is retained without any major losses in the cultural meaning, permitting the transfer of attitudes toward consumer reality to the product. The emotive meaning of the solutions the second line can provide are able to build on one another and increase the ad’s impact. Attention to other levels of meaning can make a good translation better.
3.4.4 Quartier Petit Champlain (French to English)

*French source text:* As stated previously, rather than a clichéd expression, this ad uses the commonplace of *exoticism*, chosen to represent Québec’s *différence*, surfacing in a pun on *la faune*. The meanings of *la faune* in question are: *Ensemble des animaux (d’une région ou d’un milieu déterminés)* and, marked pejorative and figurative, *Ensemble de gens qui fréquentent un lieu et ont des moeurs particulières et pittoresques* (*Le Petit Robert*). The multicoloured pamphlet, smattered with images of handcrafted items bearing animal motifs, declares “Découvrez une faune exceptionnelle.” The literal meaning of *la faune* is activated by the animal motif that serves as a connector between all of the exciting things there are to discover, buy and eat in the special shopping district community.

Of course, the subheads and body copy carry the animal motif through the text as they group various aspects of the shopping district’s *exoticism* and bring it out by the convergence of animal, discovery and mythical isotopies. Opening the pamphlet, addressees see a succession of abstract, unusual subheads: “Le plus ancien quartier commercial en Amérique du nord,” “Quand la pierre et le métal s’anime,” “Des parures pour se pavaner,” “Une matière à laquelle on insuffle la vie,” and “Jusque dans votre assiette,” in addition to various textual references in the copy. The literal meaning of *la faune* is enforced by the animal and discovery motifs, while its figurative meaning is enhanced by the character it is given by the mystic isotopy. Lexical links to the animal theme are implicit, with the exception of the literal meaning of *la faune*. *La faune* is repeated in the copy as *une faune peu commune*. *Se pavaner* is most often used to describe the way a peacock struts; *la vie* resonates ‘la vie animale’; *formes de vie*
insoupçonnés, pierre, métal, and matière all contribute thematically to the la faune’s ‘habitat’ sense component. The deictic Jusque directs readers attention to the theme la faune and brings it into their plates. Seven out of ten visuals are handcrafted merchandise featuring an exotic animal motif—pottery in the form of zebras and birds, a stone carving of an eagle, a colourful beaded pin in the shape of a lizard, quirky ties bearing pictures of dogs and squirrels, a wild looking rabbit ornament, and a plate full of smoked salmon garnished with a piece of yellow squash carved into a duck—and contribute greatly to the exotic animal isotopy. Furthermore, the notion of discovery enhances and relates the exotic images to addressees: repetition of découvrez, use of lexies trésors les plus précieux, furetant, regorgent, déniche and the district’s name Champlain send addressees back to the days of the great explorers.

Lexical items and expressions such as ancien; s’anime (with respect to pierre and métal); parures; créations; alchimistes modernes; formes de vie insoupçonnées; acquièrent, parfois même sous nos yeux ébahis; une personnalité originale; charmer; and la magie opère encore et toujours all reinforce the mystic isotopy by their unusual nature. They are joined by insuffle (la vie), which conjures a biblical tone. With the images, the subheads and copy allude to a world where strange and wonderful happenings are there to discover. The products are all made in the district and are reminders of the authentic experiences of exoticism and discovery, attractively linked to the historical ideologeme so entrenched in Québec society. This no doubt appeals to French tourists, because of their
socio-historical attachment to Quebec, and especially since it is supported by tourist-targeted themes such as exoticism and mysticism.

**English target text:** Bearing in mind that the English text is solely for tourists, who probably have little knowledge or understanding of Quebec's historical différence, the immediate focus of the translation is on the exotic character of the shopping district, over its historical roots. It is nevertheless a place where tourists feel as though they are "really experiencing Quebec," a major selling point in the tourist industry. Moreover, it is impossible to play on the closest English equivalent fauna, since it does not carry the same double meaning. Fortunately, the cliché embodying the product consumer metaphor in the source text is a commonplace, and the French copy's pun on la faune is not based on a fixed expression. The translator therefore has more freedom to manipulate the copy's surface structures, constrained only to the colourful visual animal safari motif.

The translator was probably aware that there are three isotopies at work in support of the play on la faune. However, this translation seems to show that the reading of the original text was asystematic. The lexis and expressions in the source copy that contribute to the creation of exotic animal, discovery, and mysticism are reproduced almost one for one. The mystic isotopy is completely retained—ancien remains oldest, s'animent as come to life, création is transposed to become creative energy, alchimistes modernes stays as modern day alchemists, biblical reference insufflé la vie is suitably adapted to take matter into their own hands (with a play on matter), and charmer is translated as to catch the eye of. The expression acquièrent, parfois même sous nos yeux ébahis, une personnalité originale is adequately rendered as take on a remarkable life of their own, sometimes
before your very eyes, and la magie opère encore et toujours becomes the matters that magically transform (again, with a play on matter). The mystic isotopy remains present in the English text.

Textual references to the animal and discovery themes are generally maintained and rendered originally. There are three exceptions which are, at worst, lacklustre. The translator seems to have overused the lexia discovery in this isotopy. Découvrez, les trésors les plus précieux and regorgent de surprises are rendered as discover, wildest discoveries, and full of surprising discoveries respectively. Also, fiuretant is modified to the English wander, detracting from the French’s strong link to the discovery motif. These translations are not skewed enough to affect the converging isotopies, but they are examples of translators’ reticence when it comes to getting away from idiomaticity—even in a genre where the use of original, idiosyncratic language is expected.

The translator’s drive to maintain the textual richness is evident in the discovery isotopy, but implicit references to the animal isotopy, particularly in the subheadings, are in large part dropped. This is most likely the result of the translator’s initial observation that the play on la faune is ‘untranslatable.’ Unfortunately, the animal isotopy serves as the logical term that allows the text to pass from a shopping district’s products to its mystical atmosphere and the appeal of discovering it. It may be argued that this link is not necessary, as in many syllogisms, but I counter that it is imposed by the visual prevalence of the animal isotopy. Furthermore, the fact that animal textual links are the basis of the
theme unifying the headings, subheadings, and text gives the ad its ability to draw attention and motivate consumers. The translation’s communicative power is weakened by such an oversight.

The English pamphlet heading calls out “Go Wild for our Arts and Crafts” and follows through with “The Oldest Shopping District in North America,” “Where Stone and Metal Come To Life,” “Original Attire for Original People,” “They Take Matter Into Their Own Hands,” and “The Art of Fine Cuisine.” The thematic wordplay that neatly conveys *exoticism* is absent. Repetition of *la faune*, a link to the heading and animal motif, in “Découvrez le plaisir d’explorer ses innombrables recoins habités par une faune peu commune” is lost with “So go ahead, wander and explore, and get set to make some very surprising discoveries indeed.” The heading “Découvrez une faune exceptionnelle” refers generally to the *Quartier Petit Champlain* and alludes to the thrill of discovery and exoticism, providing an umbrella for the subheads in the French ad. Its translation, on the other hand, is “Go Wild for Our Arts and Crafts,” although implicitly refering to the zebra shaped urn below, abruptly limits the scope of the district’s appeal to shopping rather than its interesting atmosphere and culture.

In an attempt to retain the wordplay that connects the exotic aspect of *Quartier Petit Champlain* to the tourist interest in discovering and thus ‘really experiencing’ vacation spots, I propose to translate the heading as, “Get a Taste of the Local Colour,” playing on the community’s culture and atmosphere and thus implicating in a general manner the colourful, original-looking animals, and to keep the subheads “Where Stone and Metal Come to Life,” “They Take Matter into Their Own Hands.” The animal link
could be further strengthened by replacing "Original Attire for Original People," "The Art of Fine Cuisine" and the textual repetition *une faune peu commune* with "You'll Be In Fine Feather," "It's Right On Your Plate" and *get set to discover the life of the local colour*. As a bonus, the expression *in fine feather* has a double meaning of *to be dressed in fine clothes* (archaic) and *to be in good spirits* (*NSOED*), and "It's right on your plate" refers anaphorically to the concept before it. By replacing the wordplay on *la faune* with a play on *local colour*, the copy regains its coherent theme, evoking *all* the exotic appeal of the shopping district, by maintaining the mystic isotopy, promising the thrill of discovery, and increasing cohesive links to the colourful animal motif to streamline the message.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French Text</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Proposed Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Découvrez une faune exceptionnelle</td>
<td>Go Wild for Our Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>Get a Taste of the Local Colour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le plus ancien quartier commercial en Amérique du Nord</td>
<td>The Oldest Shopping District in North America</td>
<td>The Oldest Shopping District in North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quand la pierre et le métal s'animent</td>
<td>Where Stone and Metal Come to Life</td>
<td>Where Stone and Metal Come to Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des parures pour se pavaner</td>
<td>Original Attire for Original People</td>
<td>You'll Be In Fine Feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Une matière à laquelle on insuffle la vie</td>
<td>They Take Matter Into Their Own Hands</td>
<td>They Take Matter Into Their Own Hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jusque dans votre assiette</td>
<td>The Art of Fine Cuisine</td>
<td>It's Right On Your Plate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The proposed translations maintain the wordplay in the main heading as the pivotal term of logic in the ad. It unifies the convergence of the exotic animal, discovery, and mystic isotopies. ‘Local colour’ can accommodate the double meaning present in ‘la faune’ because it refers literally to the colourful animal images that represent the life of the district and figuratively to the distinctive culture and ambiance of the district. The literal component of the wordplay is then properly supported by the exotic and discovery isotopies and the figurative component by the mystic isotopy. The communicative force of the ad is grounded in a similar clichéd expression and retains its visual and textual unity.

3.5 Conclusion

In my analysis of these four pairs of advertisements, I have illustrated how persuasive communication between the addressee and addressee is based on shared cultural knowledge. This knowledge is present in the text by implicatures and explicatures related to the product and the consumer. In turn, such assumptions are attached to consumer values and ideologemes, which uphold the stereotypes and clichés they are based on. In turn, clichés such as metaphorical themes and expressions, wordplay, and hyperbole can be used as surface features.
Translated advertising must be written from the groundwork up. First, the translator must determine the cultural assumptions made in the source ad and see them through to the surface structures of the target ad, in an attempt to minimize oversights in cultural compatibility. Second, it is necessary to maintain the textual and visual thematic unity that is so essential to an ad’s impact. The ads I have looked at in this chapter have shown a variety of the many results in translated advertising.

The first ad, CS CO-OP, is a case in point. As a result of literal translation, the underlying values, ideologemes, and associative meaning is distanced from the target market. And, I can only assume that if *une offre sucrée* were continued in the text, the result would be the same. Perhaps it could be linked to sociocultural meaning contained in associative meaning of *sucré*. Nevertheless, it serves its phatic function and visual appeal so well that the hint, (*No matter which one you choose.*), included to increase curiosity in the original, was dropped in the translation. The unidiomatic expression ended up being a successful ad, according to CS CO-OP marketing and communications officer.

In the BIRKS ad, considerable distance is taken from the surface structures in the translation *Des rayons d’originalité*, in order to accommodate the visual. However, the translator was able to find an idiomatic, expressive creative with considerable cultural resonance, so that the translated ad is just as effective as the original. It is safe to guess that the translator wrote the caption with the target audience in mind, strengthening the links to originality and the name brands—aspects that motivate Quebecers to buy. This is
an ideal example of copy and visual unity that gives ad messages their impact. Although it is not text-wide, such a print ad creative could be expanded to a textual metaphor in a pamphlet.

The last two texts, *Bell Canada* and *Quartier Petit Champlain*, illustrate what can happen when textual metaphors are overlooked or underestimated. Headings and subheadings are translated individually and idiomatically, without awareness that textual coherence is damaged as a result. The target message is therefore disparate and lacks the force required for advertising to be effective. This is due to translators’ propensity for what Chevalier calls the *orthonymic reflex*, traced from the distance that exists between source and target texts, resulting in the naturalization of the source text for the target culture. The originality of source text concepts is ‘levelled’ by idiomatic perception of the source text meaning by translators. This resulting distance can be caused by habit, wariness of faux-amis, obsession with idiomaticity, bashfulness in the face of language that readers would admire in an author but condemn in another, judging literal translations to be less banal than the original, or influence by another aspect in the context (25).

Considering that the *Bell Canada* and the *Quartier Petit Champlain* ad claims are able to travel between markets, and innovative language and originality are necessary for good advertising, the distance we saw in the translated ads is not justified. It hinders the translated ads from functioning as they should rhetorically.

Orthonymic translation in the *Bell Canada* ad saw the textual metaphor considerably weakened. And, in the specific example of *filez* translated as *surf*, obsession with idiomaticity and translational ‘habit’ would have it that associative meaning is in fact
opposite to the original meaning, with filez as a time saver and surf as a leisurely activity. Sufficient scattering of the theme occurred for the text and visuals to be disjointed and for a significant loss in emotive meaning to result.

Similarly, the Quartier Petit Champlain ad loses a key element in its logic when the wordplay in the headline is not recognized as a pivotal point in the ad’s argumentation. When it was determined that the play on la faune was not translatable, the translator adapted the headline in such a way that the shopping district’s arts and crafts, rather than its character and atmosphere, became the focus. The logical shift is less conspicuous than in the Bell Canada ad, but the result in the subtext is the same. The copy is removed from the visuals and the communicative force of the ad is weakened.

This may seem insignificant on an individual basis, but when it occurs throughout a text, the ad’s unity is lost, the product consumer metaphor shifts, and the impact of the ad’s message suffers considerably. In ad translation, reading and recognizing the textual metaphor as meaningful and logically significant are essential. In my proposed translations for these ads, I have attempted to recentre the translated copy to conform to the imposed coherence of textual/visual logic and cliché, culture bound language. This recentering requires attention to what can be said in a language as opposed to what is usually said, that is to resist the orthonymic reflex. In fact, minimal changes to the surface features of the text were required, but the result is a clearer, more cohesive message. The bulk of the
work was already done—it was simply a matter of re-evaluating word choices in light of textual motifs.

In the corpus, where minimal distance was taken from the linguistic content of the originals in the *Bell Canada* and *Quartier Petit Champlain* ads, the result was a significant departure from the thematic metaphor and thus the persuasive value of the ad. For the *CS CO-OP* ad, no distance was taken from linguistic content but considerable distance resulted in the ad’s sociocultural meaning. Significant distance was taken from the slogan’s surface features in the *BIRKS* ad, in order to take account of the sociocultural values at stake. It appears not to be the amount of distance taken in ad translation, but rather from where in the ad’s argumentation it is taken that detracts from an ad’s effectiveness. In order to maintain an ad’s function, the motivating elements—underlying values and ideologemes, stereotypes and product consumer metaphors, and thematic clichés—must remain. For this, increasing discourse analysis competence in translators is essential.
5.0 Conclusion

This study is aimed at producing polished, unified advertising text through translation. The texts I have chosen as samples are good translations, bearing the marks of attentiveness to language and textual richness. They stand on their own as examples of good English writing. However, what I am pursuing is a way to make translated advertising function as effectively as original advertising. This calls for increased sensitivity to the importance of textuality and greater focus on underlying sociocultural meaning. From my experience, these are the aspects of advertising that suffer most often in translation and are precisely the reason why translated ads are generally less effective than original creations.

Perhaps most importantly, the expressiveness of the textual and visual unity, rooted in figurative play on the cliché, must be recognized as a carrier of rhetorical meaning and coherence rather than dismissed as an extra consideration in the translator’s work. Cliché-based text and image are the surface features that represent stereotypes, acting as the interface between ideologemes, values, and beliefs that characterize the specific market segment that is targeted. When these aspects of sociocultural meaning are invoked, the target market has the impression that they are being directly addressed. The addressee-addresser relationship is nurtured and the target market feels naturally inclined to receive
the ad's message. These aspects of meaning are what incite consumers to purchase a product—the ultimate function of advertising.

Furthermore, the visual complements the cliché in such a manner that the various values and ideologemes deemed relevant to the target market, according to the product consumer metaphor, are bridged through the literal and figurative meanings that are associated, through sociocultural stereotypes, with the reactivated cliché. The isotopies that form in the text, cohesive with the literal and figurative meaning of the central cliché, provide implicit rhetorical links and signal that fields of meaning are to be related. The outcome of the interpreted relation is consumer understanding that the product is relevant to their lifestyle.

This theoretical conception of how advertising reaches its target audience and motivates it to consume is meant be useful to translators. As a foundation on which to build translation competency, it provides insight into how social and cultural meaning contribute to the advertising text—including copy and visuals. In a deadline oriented profession, ad translators must be extremely competent discourse analysts and immediately able to see where the motivating force of an ad is situated in its textual layers. They must be able to recognize where cultural meaning may create translation problems and reformulate the surface features from the groundwork up in their own discursive work. With a greater understanding of how the ad works and what marketing concepts are being taken into account, translators will be able to better justify their decisions to clients, in terms they are able to understand. Professionally, this will give translators more latitude in decision-making and a more significant role in the production process.
The framework I have initiated in this thesis is far from complete. I have connected and proposed a series of theoretical concepts that are valid for the limited corpus I have used. Further avenues of research in this area might consist of extending and testing this hypothesis on a more specific and standardized corpus—focussed on Canada's two official languages and, eventually, on other more distant language pairs. In addition to a more rigorous practical application, other aspects of the theoretical basis could be developed, namely the investigation of textual and visual advertising clichés for various linguistic, cultural groups and also the testing of market reception of ads translated using this framework.
Appendix 1:

Publicité Club de Montréal and
Léger & Léger Recherche et Stratégie Marketing Study

In the market study, the performance of original advertising creations was compared with that of advertising adaptations and translations. In a total of 50 ads, 25 were original creations and 25 were adaptations or translations. The testing sample of 300 adults was taken from the population of Montréal between April 9 and September 5, 1997. The percentage of error was calculated at ±5.7%. The corpus was compiled from 19 agencies (30 were contacted) who were asked to submit their best ads. Fifty ads were selected from 312 submissions according to the following criteria:

- ad was less than two years old
- 25 ads had to be original creations and 25 had to be adaptations or translations
- ads had to be taken from activity sectors that represented the Quebec market
- no duplicate ads were accepted
- corpus was arbitrarily selected
- corpus was arbitrarily ordered

Each ad was rated on a scale of 1 to 10 by the 300 adults, in terms of originality, interest, ability to attract attention, believability, persuasiveness, and application to addressee.

Figure 3.0 illustrates the percentage of ads (original and adaptations/translations) that received a grade of 6 or higher. Figure 3.1 displays the average grade out of 10 assigned in each category for the corpus (originals vs. adaptations/translations). Table 3.2 compares the grade assigned to originals vs. that of adaptations/translations, illustrating the statement that original advertising creations are an average of 37% more effective than adaptations/translations.
Figure 3.0

EVALUATION of Effect
ORIGINALS vs. ADAPTATIONS/TRANSLATIONS

**% of ads given a grade of 6 or higher out of 10

Figure 3.1

AVERAGE GRADE by Category
ORIGINALS vs. ADAPTATIONS/TRANSLATIONS

** Average grades out of 10 (10=Strong and 0=Weak)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Creations (/10)</th>
<th>Adaptations/Translations (/10)</th>
<th>Variation between Creations and Translations (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Originality</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believability</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasiveness</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applies to Addressee</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.75</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.95</strong></td>
<td><strong>37%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2:

*Original Advertisements and Their Translations*

All advertisements and their translations are reproduced with permission.
50$ par téléphone Vista 350 en tenant ciseau!

1er au 31 août 1997, Bell vous fait économiser sur ses appareils et ses services Étoiles.

Pour profiter du rabais sur le téléphone Vista 350, vous prévaloir de l’offre d’un mois gratuit sur le service Affichage d’Appel en attente ou sur tout autre service Étoiles,

présentez-vous dans un magasin Téléboutique Bell,

ou appelez-nous en composant le :

1 888 850 BELL (2355).

Obtenez de l’information supplémentaire en visitant le site Internet du téléphone Vista 350 et des services Étoiles : www.bell.ca/vista350

Faites vite! La promotion se termine le 31 août 1997.
We've trimmed $50 off the price of the \textit{Vista} 350!

From August 1 to 31, 1997, Bell has savings just for you on phone equipment and \textit{SmartTouch} services.

To enjoy savings on the \textit{Vista} 350 phone, or to take advantage of the one-month free offer on \textit{Visual Call Waiting} or any other \textit{SmartTouch} service –

Visit your nearest Bell \textit{Téléboutique™} store.

Or call us at

\textbf{1 888 850 BELL} (2355)

Or find out more by visiting the \textit{Vista} 350 and \textit{SmartTouch} services

Web site: www.bell.ca/vista350

\textbf{Bell Canada Coupon Direct Mail Offer: English Target Text}
Three New Levels of Service

PrestoMagic

Three New Levels of Savings

Now CS CO-OP gives you more flexible packaged account choices with three new levels of PrestoMagic: Gold, Silver, and Bronze.

Each offers more value and service at a lower, flat monthly fee than you'll find just about anywhere else - part of CS CO-OP's commitment to keep service fees below the average charged by other financial institutions.

Choose the level of PrestoMagic that's right for you and you'll get the services you need - with no surprises.

PrestoMagic - More choices, lower, flat monthly fees. One more perk of membership.

To switch to PrestoMagic Bronze, Silver, or Gold or for more information, call or visit your branch.

(613) 560-6375

Building A Lifetime Partnership

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features/PrestoMagic</th>
<th>Low Monthly Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Cash Withdrawal</td>
<td>Bronze $9.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travellers Cheques</td>
<td>Silver $14.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certified Cheques</td>
<td>Bronze $19.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Currency Drafts</td>
<td>Silver $24.95</td>
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<td>Toll Free Access</td>
<td>Gold $29.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magic Touch Cheques</td>
<td>Bronze $34.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet* Direct Payment</td>
<td>Bronze $39.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personalized Cheques</td>
<td>Silver $44.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S. Dollar Account</td>
<td>Gold $49.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Automated Bill Payment</td>
<td>Bronze $54.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom ATM Withdrawal Limit</td>
<td>Silver $59.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet* ATM Access</td>
<td>Gold $64.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CS CO-OP Pamphlet: English Source Text
Trois nouveaux échelons de services

PrestoMagique™
Trois nouvelles façons d'économiser

La CS CO-OP vous offre encore plus de possibilités dans le choix d'un compte grâce aux trois échelons du compte PrestoMagique : Or, Argent et Bronze.

Chaque compte vous offre plus de services à des frais mensuels fixés plus bas que presque partout ailleurs. La CS CO-OP s'engage à maintenir ces frais au-dessous de la moyenne des frais exigés par les autres institutions financières.

Vous n'avez qu'à choisir l'échelon du compte PrestoMagique qui vous convient et vous obtiendrez les services dont vous avez besoin, sans mauvaises surprises!

PrestoMagique : Bien plus de choix, à des frais fixes peu élevés. Voilà un des avantages certains d'être sociétaire de la CS CO-OP.

Pour changer au compte PrestoMagique Bronze, Argent ou Or, ou pour plus de renseignements, téléphonez-nous ou rendez-vous dans une de nos succursales.

CS CO-OP
(613) 560-6375
1 888 226 1400, à l'extérieur d'Ottawa

Bâtir un partenariat à vie
BIRKS Summer Sale. 30%-60% off selected designer watches and dinnerware including items by Robert Haviland & C. Parlon. Plus fine jewellery, gifts and crystal by Royales de Champagne.

BIRKS
JEWELLERS SINCE 1879

ONLY AT 1340 PHILLIPS SQUARE 397-2311

BIRKS
JEWELLERS SINCE 1879

SEULEMENET AU 1340, SQUARE PHILLIPS 397-2311

BIRKS Print Ad: English Source Text and French Target Text
Votre ligne de téléphone est congestionnée ?

Est-ce que votre téléphone est toujours lié ?
Avec une deuxième ligne de téléphone, les communications circulent librement!

A l'époque où les lignes téléphoniques ne servaient qu'aux appels, une seule ligne par maison suffisait amplement. Mais aujourd'hui, les lignes résidentielles sont occupées plus que jamais avec :

- la navigation sur Internet
- les transmissions par télécopie ou par modem
- le télemédecine
- les transactions bancaires...

Et cela ne fait que commencer, car de plus en plus d'opérations quotidiennes sont appelées à se régler par téléphone. Comment profiter de ces nouvelles possibilités tout en restant accessible pour vos appels courants ? La réponse est simple : en optant pour une deuxième ligne résidentielle.

Fiez sur Internet tout en ayant le feu vert pour vos appels.

Avec une deuxième ligne de téléphone, vous pouvez passer tout le temps voulu à parcourir le Net en laissant votre ligne principale libre pour faire ou recevoir d'autres appels.

N'arrêtez plus, surtout pour les appels importants.

Vous souhaitez transmettre une télécopie ou communiquer par modem ? Faites-le sur-le-champ à l'aide de votre deuxième ligne, peu importe que vous attendiez un appel important ou non sur la première.

Roulez en paix quand on vous bloque la voie.

Si un membre de la famille vous appelle, le téléphone — pour passer ou préparer un examen avec un copain par exemple —, vous n'avez qu'à utiliser votre deuxième ligne pour faire vos appels. Et fichez-leurs la paix.

Faites-vous cadeau d'une deuxième ligne !

Les frais de branchement d'une deuxième ligne de résidence sont de 69 $. Une fois installée, elle vous sera facturée au même taux mensuel que celui de votre ligne principale.

Vous pouvez aussi profiter de notre offre spéciale sur les services Étoiles de Bell de votre choix. Pour les détails, rendez-vous sur le site Bell de votre choix.
A second telephone line keeps the channels of communication open!

Back when telephones were only for making calls, families could get by with a single line. Nowadays, though, residential lines are busier than ever, as people...

- surf the Internet
- send faxes and use modems
- shop
- conduct bank transactions

And that's just a start. As time goes by, more and more things will be done over the phone. How can you enjoy all these new conveniences while remaining available for people to call you? It's easy—just add a second residential line.

Surf the Internet while catching every wave of incoming calls.

With a second telephone line, you can spend as much time as you want exploring the Internet and still leave your main line free for making or receiving other calls.

Don't get all in a knot about important calls.

Do you have a fax to send or something to transmit by modem? Don't get caught with your second line, even if you're waiting for an important call.

Keep the lines of communication open.

If someone's always tying up the phone at your house—chatting, discussing school work with friends, or whatever—don't get so plugged in that you use your second phone and keep the lines of communication open!

Treat yourself to a second line!

Hookup charges for a second residential line are $69. After that point on, the second line will be billed at the same monthly rate as your main line.

You can also take advantage of our offer on the Bell SmartTouch™ services of your choice. See back for details.

Bell Canada Pamphlet (inside): English Target Text
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**List of Dictionaries and Reference Works Consulted**


