Advertising Culture and Translation

From Colonial to Global

Edited by **Renato Tomei**

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PREFACE

This book grew out of discussions, seminars and classes which spanned more than a decade. In particular, it reflects the editor's experience with postgraduate students and doctoral students in only apparently distant domains and courses such as advertising and international relations. The bridge between the two disciplines is built by translation, and the fertile terrain where advertising and translation occur is that of colonial, postcolonial and global contexts. Such an approach came from the recognition of the lack of such a transdisciplinary vision that filled the interstices and sub-themes of ethnicity and racism, which are unfortunately on the rise, and the happier topic of Made in Italy. The supportive and stimulating background of the University for Foreigners provided a testing ground for many of our materials, where we could see for ourselves that there was a consistent differentiation in the perception of the setbacks of advertising vis-à-vis successful communication.

No study existed that encompassed advertising as a colonial and global phenomenon, nor was there one focusing on the cultural dynamics impacting language, stereotyping, and translation. The fact that English has become the de facto lingua franca of advertising (AELF) problematises translatability, and critically highlights the implications of standardisation, copy-adaptation, and, in translational terms, "domestication" vs. "foreignization" with a ubiquitous presence of English.

The first chapter ("Culture in Translation: British and American Brands in Literature" - Masiola) is on the interrelation of literature and advertising and their reciprocity. What is perhaps not widely known is the fact that brand names were often banned and deleted, and not only during the years of Fascism in Italy. Before the 1970s and the impulse of the juvenile movements, brand names were wholly absent in Western literature. Books adapted into films followed a more intricate and oblique procedure concerning copyrights and "product placement," also introducing the problem of adaptation from books and luxury brands, as well as Made in Italy, discussed in more detail later in the book.

The second chapter ("Colonial, Postcolonial and Global Advertising" - Tomei) features the question of commodification and the theme of the centre versus the periphery in the advertising of colonial products. The cohesion of the theme is given by colonial products and their ideological exploitation as markers of identity. The topic of beverages (lime and teas) is analysed as seen from advertising from the "centre" to the periphery and contexualised in Commonwealth countries (Australia).

The third chapter ("Extended Periphery: A Commonwealth of Commodities" - Tomei) delves into products that are internationally recognised as markers of an emerging postcolonial identity in Africa and the West Indies (where field research has been conducted thanks to the invitation of hosting universities in South Africa, CPUT, and Jamaica, UWI). The case study is on the question of decentring advertising as a cultural phenomenon.

The fourth chapter ("Translational Issues: From English to English" - Tomei) is on language issues and cross-cultural translation, aimed at focusing on what can constitute a clash and discrepancy in meaning in global advertising and international communication.

The cultural issues are further considered in dealing with ethnicity in the fifth chapter ("Stigma Stereotyping and 'Made in Italy'" - Baraldo). This last chapter sheds light on the diachronic development in the construction of racism through propaganda, ideology, and minority issues. The case study of Italy is emblematic of the multifaceted and contrasting aspects of stereotyping when Italian migrants were depicted in deformed shapes in xenophobic campaigns in the US. This is presented in contrast to a campaign of racism during the decades of Fascism and the Italo-Ethiopian war. The vicious stereotyping in cartoons and vignettes of Blacks and Italians show the changing attitudes and trends in advertising high-end products and the luxury branding of Made in Italy. The favourite stereotype derived from mafia films, albeit jocular, always seems to be a source of inspiration: funny maybe for advertisers and the audience, not so funny for the generations of people who are descendants of migrants who crossed the Atlantic to the fatal shores of New York and Ellis Island.

Migration, diaspora, and ethnic prejudice unfortunately constitute a tragic and dramatic reality today. If the past is something to go by, international communication in the deployment of complex functions and interactions should account for this and be creatively responsible and aware that if someone finds something "entertaining" then there may be segments of the market affected in a not-so-positive way, as in the Belgian commercial

portraying Italians as pigs driving a Fiat 500. We would prefer the Fiat 500 and the Super Bowl commercials.

Greenwich, Shashamane and Perugia
September 2016
Renato Tomei.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURE IN TRANSLATION: BRITISH AND AMERICAN BRANDS IN LITERATURE

ROSANNA MASIOLA

Abstract

This chapter introduces the main topic of the study: the importance of advertising and translation in defining culture and identity, and the way the two disciplines interrelate. The question of brands in literature and literature in advertising is cross-culturally examined, highlighting the dynamics of localisation and translatability into other languages. Great Britain and the US have paved the way to the global advertising culture. Selected case studies based on brands and products are thematically compared (coffee, chocolate, Coca-Cola, hamburgers) in original texts and translations. The impacting factors and circumstances are analysed in terms of cultural translatability. There is a correlation between aspects of "translatability" and "advertisability," a key factor determining the freedom of expression in a free market. Translatability broadly extends to intertextual and multimodal aspects, such as film adaptations and product placement. Most importantly, it sheds light on deletion, manipulation, and censorship. Items selected feature British lifestyles and literary icons (London, James Bond, and Willie Wonka) juxtaposed with the American iconography of advertising in literature and films (Texas, California, New York, Alabama, Mississippi, the West, etc.). It also contextualises the use of brand names in literature, film adaptation, and product placement and features diachronic variation in translation and advertising in literature and films (i.e. Fascism in Italy) and Italian product placement in Hollywood. Translation and advertising studies have for a long time been denied academic status, but the integration of the two areas is a vital link to

monitor and survey the dynamics of cross-cultural communication and globalisation.

Keywords: brand names in literature, translation, product placement, localisation of culture, place and identity

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the use of brands and advertising in literary descriptions and their possible censorship or deletion in translation, adaptation, and product placement. The corpus has been selected to highlight the opposing factors in the shaping of cultural identity within the English-speaking world, i.e. Britain and America from postcolonialism to globalisation. Special attention is devoted to American authors and their translations into Italian during the years of Fascism and the 1950s. The importance of the written text regarding language accounts for a selection of literary case studies and adaptations, from ads to literature, literature to product placement, and films. The corpus of examples is thematised on identity, nation, and culture. It comprises the distinctiveness of "Britishness" as in the James Bond films directed by Terence Young (1915–94) and children's narratives, juxtaposing London and its centrality versus US products and the advertising of California, and the "American Dream." The sense of localised and contextualised Britishness in brands is exemplified in the first section covering the James Bond novels and films, whereas in the second section it extends to British chocolate and brands in children's literature. American identity as expressed in advertising and the relatively recent trend of citing brands in literature are expounded in the section "Made in the USA" from a diachronic viewpoint. The years of the Great Depression in America were also the years of advertising for the mass market. This part also introduces an observation on the treatment of such brands in literature and adaptation, furthering analysis of the intricacy of advertising and brand names in literature and films in the years of censorship during Fascism in Italy. This new area of study has not been adequately covered by the recent existing literature on advertising and translation, and has lately been picking up steam (Chuansheng and Xiao 2003; Bell 2011; Lim and Loi 2015).

The periods considered cover the significance of the war and post-war decades for international branding and globalisation. The rationale behind this approach is to frame the written part of the advertising text and its consequent role in the national cultural context, and pinpoint the factors that have determined its representation and reception in different language

areas. The evidence shows that the ban of brand names was determined by either ideological reasons or cultural inadequacies. Conversely, brands not mentioned in the original written form are added to film scripts. In either case, the importance of advertising in literature and translation has been largely underrated and overshadowed. Linguistic hybridisation and cross-cultural communication present in advertising transform it in a most powerful way, creating tool-abating barriers that prevent media access. Diversity and the desire for the "exotic" with the quest for "otherness" are the impacting factors in a free market, as dynamics of desire and prestige emulation are a driving force in the volatile market of tastes, fads, and freedom of choice. What was looked down upon in the early times of Italian migration to Anglophone countries is now considered trendy, or *tendenza*. London Summers have brochures (2012–16) featuring Frankie and Benny's New York Italian Deli, where you can have *panini*. The total paradox is that it's a New York thing. At Ponti's "Mangiare bene" you can enjoy "An English classic made with Italian flair." Conversely, in Europe and in general, in the global free trade world, from the West to the East, languages abound with English terms in code-switching and code-mixed ads. In the not-so-distant past, however, the deletion of culture-specific terms and proscription of brands in literature was the result of prescriptive language planning policies (LPP). Besides any ethical consideration as to the inherent freedom of advertising and translation, such practices would be unacceptable and in their lesser form considered obsolete "domestication" against the prevailing ethics of preserving difference (Venuti 1995; 1998). The last conclusive section to this chapter sums up the importance of the dialogic discourse between advertising and British and American literature, considering the emergence of diasporic communities and brand names as symbols of identity, and highlights the upturn of Hollywood film stars in connection with Italian luxury brands, a topic which is taken up again in the last chapter.

Brands, national identity, and icons: Gentlemen and Cowboys

Britishness vs. "Born in the USA": Patriotism and Pride

If there is anything that sums up the history of world advertising, even in the remotest corners of the earth, this is Coca-Cola, followed by Pepsi and chewing-gum. Advertising, in this case, has been inextricably linked to its production and diffusion to overseas markets for over one hundred years. It is the history of the "American Dream" and family values. With Levi's

jeans and popcorn they have sometimes been looked down on as part of America's identity. It is such products, with their advertisements and visibility, that caused the breach in the wall between former Eastern countries. Brands and ads were visible as product placement in films and media and on billboards, impacting the younger generations. The lure of pop songs, divas and celebrities, Hollywood glamour, transgression, and rebellious attitudes paved the way to the freedom of emulation and imitative behaviours based on the idea of prestige. English was the language and the model was re-fashioned as "born in the USA." Older Europeans may remember the first influx of Anglo-American products with the First World War, and more pervasively in the decades following the Second World War, in France, Germany, and Italy (see chapter four). Even if the brands featured British and Commonwealth products, in the perception of consumers it was an all-American thing. Western films enhanced and pitched this effect. Whiskey was the favourite drink of cowboys, and Max Factor was the magician who turned plain girls into divas. The combined forces of advertising, media, soap operas, and musicals from the US conquered the old Continent. It was the "old Western world" going wild for the American west. Yet, then as now, Great Britain flaunted a tradition of Englishness against the world of "rebels without a cause." Loyalty and royalty are functional to imperial discursive rhetoric. European monarchies have always conferred warrants of appointments, from Marie Antoinette of France to the Italian monarchy of Savoia listing among its many brands Prada and Martini-Rossi (up to 1948). The Royal House of Belgium extended patronage to Armani (the former Queen Paola is Italian). There are Royal Seals of Approval to the Royal Family, standing firm above any logotype and defying international "crocs" and apples:

> By Appointment to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II
> Tea & Coffee Merchants R. Twining and Company Limited. London

The earliest recorded British royal charter was granted to the Weavers' Company in 1155 by Henry II of England. Food and drinks suppliers have always been some of the most important warrant holders to the palace. One of the first monarchs to grant a warrant was King George IV.[1] There is also the Royal Warrant Holders Association. Its secretary, Richard Peck, is a former submarine commander.

The above reference is evocative of the literary James Bond, Royal Navy Commander, son of a Scottish father, and of the Bond brands mentioned in the *007* stories. The original literary highlight of British products has been

further switched to other products in film adaptations, as the more-recent Bond movies display a phantasmagoria of global brands. Brands pay for the privilege of a Bond movie to the detriment of the original identity in the Fleming stories. There are websites in the form of advertorials featuring Bond dress wear citing what Fleming wrote, passages from Bond's books, details of what was worn onscreen, name of manufacturers, and current availability. This is an example of multiple online advertising developed around the centrality of London as a capital of "Gentlemen's Wear." *American Gigolo* and Armani some three decades later would have challenged the supremacy of the British style in menswear product placement in the US. The following citation from *BBC Culture* online is on the massive influx of product placement and brands that do not seem to contextualise and relate to the literary Bond:[2]

> There are a few moments in the Bond films which even the most forgiving 007 fans can't recall without wincing … And, up there with the worst of them, there's the *Casino Royale* scene in which Eva Green asks Daniel Craig if his watch is a Rolex. "Omega," he replies. "Beautiful," purrs Green. "Eurgghh," groans everyone in the cinema. Product placement is integral to the Bond formula; all those less-than-subtle corporate logos pop up as regularly as dinner suits, megalomaniac villains, and women with double entendres instead of names. But there are times when a *Bond movie stops being a Bond movie and starts being an advert*. (Barber 2015; emphasis added)[3]

Wristwatches are extreme luxury brands (Oakeley 2015). British weeklies feature display ads with watches and literary quotes mentioning brands, such as the exclusive Patek-Philippe. Rolex is currently one of the world's most powerful brands. The company was founded in London in 1905 and has since moved to Geneva. The only Rolex cited and worn by Fleming is the 1016 Explorer (*On Her Majesty's Service* 1963). Suspense peaks, however, in the opening lines of *From Russia With Love* (1957) with an exclusive Girard Perregaux worn on an apparently dead body as a key clue in a crime scene, alongside other luxury brands like a Dunhill lighter (London 1893) and a Fabergé cigarette case. Fabergé was established in St. Petersburg in 1842, relocating to Paris and then London. Rolex and Dunhill are linked with championship golf events:

> **ST a**: To judge by the glittering pile, this had been, or was, a rich man. It contained the typical membership badges of the rich man's club … a well-used gold *Dunhill* lighter, an oval gold cigarette case with the wavy ridges and discreet turquoise button that means *Fabergé*. There was also a bulky gold wristwatch on a well-used crocodile strap. It was a *Girard Perregaux* model designed for people who like gadgets, and it had a sweep second-

> hand and two little windows in the face to tell the day of the month, and the month, and the phase of the moon. The story it now told was 2:30 on June 10th with the moon three quarters full. (Fleming 1957, 5; emphasis added)

There is a sense of the past and history that goes amiss in films. This occurs with Bond's breakfast with his Scottish Nanny, and in the description of Player's Navy Cut. Nothing could be more distant than an English breakfast compared to the thrifty Italian *colazione* in the 1950s and '60s. In the prevailing negative attitude to "foreignising" in translation (Venuti 1995; 1998) and the ban on brands, it is not surprising to find culture-specific referents omitted, when not mixed up (Masiola 2009, 215-18). The glory of breakfast brands and "mess-desk" advertising is thus diluted. The following passage features the breakfast scene, and in parallel the second Italian translation of *From Russia With Love* published after the international movie hit in 1964.

> Breakfast was Bond's favourite meal of the day. When he was stationed in London it was always the same. It consisted of very strong coffee, from *De Bry in New Oxford Street*, brewed in an *American Chemex* … Then there were two thick slices of whole wheat toast, a large *pat of deep yellow Jersey butter* and three square glass jars *containing Tiptree "Little Scarlet" strawberry jam*; *Cooper's Vintage Oxford Marmalade* and *Norwegian Heather Honey from Fortnum's*. The coffee pot and the *silver on the tray* were *Queen Anne*, and the *china was Minton*, of the same dark blue and gold and white as the egg-cup. (Fleming 1957, 79–80; emphasis added)

> La colazione del mattino era il pasto favorito di Bond. Quando egli si trovava a Londra, prendeva sempre le stesse cose. Caffè fortissimo, della qualità che vendeva *De Bry* nella *New Oxford street,* preparato in una *Chemex americana* … Poi c'erano due grandi fette di pane integrale tostato, un grosso pezzo di *burro del Jersey*, di color giallo intenso, e tre tozzi barattoli di vetro che contenevano marmellata di fragole marca Tiptree *"Little Scarlet";* marmellata *Cooper's Vintage Oxford* e miele norvegese *Heather di Fortnum*. La caffettiera e l'argenteria erano di stile Regina Anna e il servizio di porcellana, decorato *in azzurro e* oro come il portauovo, era marcato Minton. (Trans. Cicogna 1986 [1965], 79)[4]

The translation does not make a distinction between "marmalade" and "jam." Italian has possible hyponyms (*marmellata, composta*, *conserva*, *confettura*), but "marmalade" was registered as a license to *Cooper's*. In the translation there is a loss in cohesion relevant to British identity. Over the last decade, due to the recognition of food studies and the cultural history of food as an academic discipline, there has been a flurry of vintage products that can be accessed online. What the description

showcases are registered brand names dating back two centuries which are currently produced and marketed online. At the time of the first Bond translations, direct access to information and a lack of lexicographic tools were the plague of translators. Britain was not even part of the EU or the Common Market, which may partly account for ignorance of reciprocal lifestyles.[5] The brands Fleming cites had been established in the nineteenth century; this was the age of patents, charters, Royal warrants, and claims to being "sole" producers and importers.

DE BRY de Paris, located at 64 New Oxford Street, is the only niche name which no longer exists. An advertorial in the *Journal of Taste* (1910) claimed that: "Chocolates and sweets of exquisite flavour and quality, with jams, cocoa, and chocolate powder, etc., formed the exhibit of M. A. E. Marious de Bry of 64, New Oxford Street, whose manufactures we would specially commend to our reader's attention." During the war times, supplies ran short like many other commodities, and an advertisement informed that: "Therefore the many, who in the past delighted in the enjoyment of the De Bry quality, must of necessity be reduced to the fortunate few who can obtain them."[6] Jamaican Blue Mountain coffee also was one of Fleming's favourites, possibly from De Bry. Italian coffee brands were not common in London teahouses and coffee shops, as coffee was sold with chocolates. De Bry was a chocolatier from Paris. Eventually, De Bry had to give over to Starbucks, Nero, Costa, and all other London cafés and their ubiquitous ads.

Chemex is a glass coffee maker. It is the only Made in USA product on Bond's breakfast table, and was the fad of the day, the American answer to the Italian Napoletana (1941). At the time of Fleming's stories (1958) it was rated as one of the best-designed products and is currently on display at the MoMa in New York. The Chemex launch was featured in brilliant comedies and films of the 1950s like *Sabrina* and *Pillow Talk*.

Jersey Butter is a place name and a trademarked brand. The Jersey Dairy butter is made from the legendary rich milk of a small breed of Jersey cattle. The Jersey Dairy (Jersey, Channel Islands), has been in operation since 1673. The Italian translation has a "big slice," whereas a dap is the usual half-inch or teaspoon. The translator simply identified it as a place name and not a brand name. It can be salted and unsalted. Some even report it being sugary if combined with orange marmalade.

Wilkin's is a family and brand name, Tiptree is a place name, and "Little Scarlet" is the name of a variety of strawberries. Tiptree is a small town in

Essex in the English countryside where the Wilkins ran a farm back in the eighteenth century. As a result of technical innovation in fruit preservation, Arthur Charles Wilkin started producing industrial marmalades, jams, and preserves, and sold them to a merchant who shipped staggering quantities over to Australia. It was Prime Minister Gladstone who commended fruit preserving to the British population, and in 1885 Wilkin founded the Britannia Fruit Preserving Company. Little Scarlet is an American variety of strawberry, the *Fragaria virginiana*, introduced to Britain by Charles Wilkin after visiting the United States. Wilkin & Sons has the claim of being the sole commercial cultivator of Little Scarlet in the world. Wilkin & Sons Limited continues to make jams and marmalades as well as related products that can be found on the shelves of groceries stores all over Europe and the Commonwealth countries to this day.[7]

Frank Cooper's is also a real person's name, and is that of a High Street shopkeeper in Oxford. The story goes back to 1867 when Frank Cooper inherited his father's grocery (originally a hatter and hosier) and established it as a brand in 1874. The turning point came with his wife producing considerable amounts of marmalade from her recipe using orange peel, giving the distinction of "marmalade" and "jam" in English. "Oxford conserve" is used for strawberries and "marmalade" for orange. As the brand was manufactured under a Royal Warrant, the distinctive term was protected. Fleming is evocative of traditions and memories, as the marmalade was distinctively labelled "Oxford marmalade" and the letters were in Oxford blue. A jar was found buried in the ice many years after the Robert Falcon Scott's last expedition to Antarctica (1910–12). It was also cited in a children's book in the 1940s, becoming a buzzword when comparing Oxford and Cambridge lifestyles.[8]

Norwegian Heather Honey: This time, Bond prefers to cite a legendary delicatessen store in Piccadilly. Fortnum and Mason has been a familiar name since 1707 for the lovers of London and here is shortened to the first name. The translator misses the flower reference and the whole city-space. Heather in Norway is like heather in Scotland. Norway had a glorious history of resistance in the Second World War, and Fleming patriotically pays a tribute to Norway in his choice of honey when he could have had other varieties like Yorkshire heather honey.

Minton is a historic brand of manufacturers of fine bone china, founded by Thomas Minton in Stratfordshire in 1796. It is world renowned for its distinctive floral patterns and Chinese blue and gold decorations. The firm

partnered with the Doulton tableware group who added the adjective "Royal" in 1891, part of a glorious tradition of pottery with Wedgwood and Crown Derby. If the original text is "dark blue" there is no plausible reason why the translation should be *azzurro*, which is "light blue." The "white" is omitted.

Queen Anne is a style and a brand. It dates back to 1702 when the monarch ascended the throne, and connoted an age of simple and refined design, especially for elegant chocolate pots. The translator interprets it as a whole set of silver tableware, not a brand name. Some two centuries later, Queen Anne was established in Birmingham (1919), thus becoming a leader for its core product of silver-plated tableware and giftware. It has the talent and perfectionism of English Silversmiths and still exists (as Queen Anne Tableware Ltd.).

With the revivalism of Fleming's novels and access to data available on the internet, interest has mounted and titles like *From Russia With Love* have been retranslated. The cited translation (by Enrico Cicogna, 1964) was made ten years after the English edition and had several reprints. It was followed by a new version by Eva Kaupmann (2006) and the current anniversary edition by Massimo Bocchiola (2015). Bond's brand names in fiction and films have boosted pervasive marketing advertisement, enhanced by memorabilia and ephemera. This is a recent comment on the literary Bond brands that appeared on Fleming's birthday (May 28, 1908):

> Fleming outfitted Bond with a wide, flat gunmetal cigarette case, typically kept in a hip pocket, with fifty cigarettes of a custom Balkan-Turkish tobacco blend. The cigarettes were made for him by Morlands of Grosvenor Street in London, and they are casually referred to as "*Morland Specials.*" Each cigarette has three gold bands near the tip, signifying Bond's RNVR rank of Commander. He carries a black oxidized *Ronson* lighter that takes some abuse—increasingly described by Fleming as "battered"—but consistently works to support Bond's sixty-a-day habit. (May 28, 2014; emphasis added) [9]

If Fleming used cigarette brands to pitch the emotional sphere, the patriotic idealisation of the sailor on Player's Navy Cut Senior Service is masterly embedded in the plot. In *Thunderball* (chapter 15, "A Card-board Hero"), the female protagonist Domino tells her story about the man of her dreams, the sailor on the cigarette label. To coincide with the movie release in 1965 directed by Terence Young, the publisher issued a special edition featuring a pull-out promotional item for the cigarettes. Later packaging and advertising omitted the portrait of the sailor, the seascape,

and the navy codes of reference, as the message targeted female smokers and encouraged smoking with their male friends (see also Garzone 2011). The well-cited slogan of the 1960s *Players Please*! has featured in countless publications on advertising and slogans (see chapter three). Notwithstanding theories of grammar transformation and studies on stress and phrasal intonation, the advert has lost its former cultural connotation and significance embedded in a system of shared values. Fleming would have never used that kind of tagline and package. It was a standardisation aimed at gender-oriented social ease (Tinkler 2011).

Bond's breakfast ritual of tea, jam, and eggs, with the description of chinaware, is heavily connoted in terms of localisation. As observed, in the case of a "mainstream" narrative, translation was standardised and subservient to national ideology and literary canons, publishing protocols, and guidelines. Furthermore, most brands were unknown to European readers and consumers. Contextualising the discourse of advertising for Sean Connery's Bond as stemming from Piccadilly posh with Jermyn Street, Oxford Street, Savile Row, and a fashionable cityscape was a challenging task for the translator. The taste of the 1950s is irretrievably gone with the past century, and is even more blurred and obfuscated by the stockpile of global product placement not matched by Fleming's creation of imagined identity. Yet, much as we fan Italian perfectionism in gentlemen's tailoring, Brioni for Pierce Brosnan's Bond would have been better substituted by a British brand.

Chocolate in London: Can't Beat that Feeling!

Roald Dahl's *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* was inspired by the American philanthropist Milton Hershey. Dahl's autobiography mentions Prestat as "the great chocolatiers of Oxford Street," and in his recipe book he wrote, "I also adore the so-called truffles as Prestat makes them." This did not go unnoticed by Prestat. Today, an elegant and posh Prestat box, with the Royal Warrant in gilt letters, reads: "Prestat—Yuzu Sake Truffles. Citrus Bursting Yuzu Splashed with Zen Fresh Sake." Zen is another name for green tea and evokes worlds of well-being and luscious harmony. This side of the box has Japanese writing and a bonsai tree symbol. The other sides of the square green and pink box testify to their lineage: "Prestat are true experts in truffles thanks to their founding family, the Dufours, who in 1895 created the first chocolate truffles."[10] The language used expands the rhetoric of exclusivity and uniqueness:

> *Prestat* chocolates have been enjoyed by royalty and nobility as well by stars of stage and screen. Indeed by anyone who delights in the pleasures which only the finest chocolate brings. As Roald Dahl, author of *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* and creator of Willie Wonka wrote: "I do so love chocolate truffles as Prestat makes them."

Fair trade follows the claim to luxury, which is mandatory for UK-based colonial foodstuffs and products: "Committed to Trading Fairly, *Prestat* supports cocoa farmers in Ghana by sponsoring them with SMS texts providing weather information and agricultural tips …" The distributor is Princes Arcade Piccadilly, named as one of the world's finest chocolate shops by *The Economist* (2003).

Made in the UK: Still Delicious in Translation?

The history of advertising is also the history of chocolate brands in Europe and America, and of musicals and filmmaking. In the wake of the popularity of Dahl's children's books, there were musicals and films inspired by many of his stories; some of his characters have also been used in British advertising, like in the "James and the Giant Savings" campaign for National Rail in the UK.[11] *Willie Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* was adapted into two films, *Willie Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (1971, directed by Mel Suart) and *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (2005, directed by Tim Burton), and a London musical (2013). The Drury Lane London musical combined the launch of new chocolate bars, reviving old lines of production and giving new life to the book. There are no advertisements in the original and its adaptations, but the Wonka chocolate bars, with their deep violet and gold wrapping paper, recall Cadbury's. With the innovative techniques in production invented by philanthropists like Cadbury and Hershey, chocolate was no longer an expensive luxury product and targeted children as the main consumers. It was the Quaker families of the Cadburys of Bourneville who drove prices and accessibility to the level of the mass market, and the Mennonite philanthropist Milton Snavely Hershey was the American entrepreneur who founded the company (1894) and inspired Dahl. His:

> benevolence as employer was exceeded only by his munificence as a public benefactor and his genius as a businessman. The full effects of the business he launched were not felt for nearly a century after the first bars emerged from his assembly lines. In the Second World War Hershey bars were modified to resist tropical temperatures and were issued as rations to help Americans fight successful campaigns in tropical environments. (Fernàndez Armesto 2001, 225)

Today, on the company homepage (Summer 2016) there is a new line of "S'mores" (der. "some more"), a traditional American recipe with marshmallow that has become a name for Hershey's new chocolate ideas. Thanks to the global diffusion of English, the name which sounds like a tagline in itself can be universally understood, although it has an extra meaning to Americans.

The examples which follow underscore the cultural and linguistic distance in the reception and translation of brands in Italian editions. The selected passages date to the decades of Fascism, where English culture and language were banned from education, and translations were controlled by the Ministry of Popular Culture (Minculpop 1937–1944). Such language-planning policies were detrimental to a whole generation and beyond. *The Wind in the Willows* (1908) by Kenneth Grahame as a children's book has never been a bestseller in Italy compared to the success of *Alice in Wonderland* or *Peter Pan*, thanks also to the Walt Disney adaptations to cartoon movies. The translation of Grahame's story by Italian writer Beppe Fenoglio (1922–63) was made during the years of war, and posthumously published in a revised edition only in 1982. As a consequence, two generations of children were prevented from reading it. There have also been countless adaptations, the latest being the London musical (2015) where the gypsy wagon on stage is a box of Colman's mustard. The passage featuring brand names is a celebration of winter festivities by the little creatures Mr. Badger, Ratty, Mole, and Mr. Toad, who all live in the Wild Wood along the riverbank. There is a shopping list for Christmas dinner, with the recommendation to buy fresh stuff (Masiola 2004, 517–26), and instructions on how to use ingredients and "mull ale." The integration of advertising and instructions into a children's narrative is a hallmark of world literature, as "even for a Mole and a Water Rat brands are important" (Rivkin and Sutherland 2004, 20), and the claims are mandatory: fresh, homemade, the best, no tinned stuff. (ST source text; TT translated text)

> **ST a**: Fresh, mind!—no, a pound of that will do—see you get *Buggins's*, for I won't have any other—no only the best—if you can't get it there, try somewhere else—yes, of course, *home-made, no tinned stuff*—well then, do the best you can! (Grahame 1992 [1908], 56; emphasis added)

> **TT a**: Allora, fai le cose da sensato, eh? No, una libbra basterà …Vedi di fartene servire di *marca Buggins*, l'altra fa schifo … no, solo del migliore … se in un posto non la trovi, cercala in un altro …sì, naturale, fatta in casa, non robaccia in iscatola … beh, fai tutto a dovere! (Trans. Fenoglio 1982, 88)

> **ST b**: The Rat, meanwhile, was busy examining the label on one of the beer-bottles. "I perceive this to be *Old Burton*," he remarked approvingly. "Sensible Mole!" The very thing! Now we shall be able to *mull some ale*! Get the things ready, Mole, while I draw the corks." It did not take long to prepare *the brew* and thrust the tin heater well into the red heart of the fire; and soon every field-mouse was sipping and coughing and choking (for a little mulled ale goes a long way) and wiping his eyes … (Grahame 1992 [1908], 52)

> **TL b**: E il Topo era in faccende a esaminare l'etichetta su una bottiglia di birra.—Vedo che questa è *Old Burton*, —osservò con approvazione—Sei intenditore Talpa! Poffare! Ora dovremmo *drogare un po' di birra*! Prepara l'occorrente, Talpa, mentre lo sturo.—Non impiegarono molto a *ottener la birra* e collocare il crogiolo nel cuore della vampa: e poco dopo ogni sorcetto campagnolo centellinava e tossiva e s'ingorgava (ché un goccio di birra drogata dura molto) e si stropicciava gli occhi. (Trans. Fenoglio 1982, 82; emphasis added)

Intratextual cohesion intertwines with advertising discourse and the familiarity of British brand names. The expansion of spoken interaction enhanced by creative emphasis upgrades readability, as in the exclamations and marking effects: "I won't have any other—no only the best" is permuted into "the other one sucks!" ("l'altra fa schifo!"). But apart from linguistic additions, expansions, permutations, modulations, and inevitable lexical constraints, there is cultural divergence thematised on beer drinking, brewing, and preparation. Continental Europe (Germany, France, Italy) has a tradition of mulled wine (*Glühwein*, *vin brulé*) and mulled beer was not common at the time, whereas today there are countless websites giving instructions on how to mull beer: "mull" is possibly a derivation from the Dutch /*mol*/ (or the Flemish /*molle*/), denoting a kind of white, sweet beer, and from the seventeenth century denoting an action (mulled, mulling) to "sweeten, spice and heat a drink."[12] *Burton* is a site and also a quality of ale (Halley 1996, 89):

Burton Ale is from Burton, a brewing town because of its water. It was revived in the International Homebrew Project: "Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, is so identified with the development in the 19th century of India Pale Ale and its domestic spin-off, pale ale, that we tend to overlook the fact that the town was famous for beer for several centuries before the arrival of IPA" (Protz 2011). The town has a glorious story of resistance to the Napoleonic blockade of exports, as brewers exported to Russia. Several brewers claim to produce the real Old Burton, such as Fuller's (1845) with a claim to have saved the Past Masters Heritage: "Loved, lost and seemingly confined to the history books, Old Burton Extra was first

brewed at Fuller's in 1931. Now it's back as part of our Past Masters series—and we're using the original recipe to recreate those big, bold Burton malt flavours." Pride and heritage are iterated: "For 20 years it was one of our most popular pints until the fickle nature of brewing saw the style fade out … It's our belief that no great beer should ever be lost for long though, so we've delved into the Brew Book and recovered the recipe for a whole new generation."[13] This beats the American brewery who had Prohibition laws when the Old Burton Extra was introduced (1931).

"Ale" has no direct continental terms and is typically English, with no hop fermentation process. Also, "lager stout" and "ginger ale" as quality products are culturally specific items and have no adequate lexical correspondence in the southern part of Europe (see Swinnen 2011). Localisation constraints restrict translatability yet enhance attention from the reader as the identity of brand and origin of products are ethically (and legally) binding. The case of the children's narrative is a very specific instance, as in most cases the book is read aloud by an older person. In *The Wind in the Willows*, brand identity is integrated into the geographic area referred to (the water and the river) and blended with a genre demanding localisation and consequent "foreignisation" against domesticating procedures diluting the sense of space and place (Masiola 2004, 524–30).[14] During the 1940s and 50s, such filters and factors were committed to the mercy of editorial canons and heavily conditioned by nationalistic attitudes and political ideology. Another reason why this translation was not published until very late is that Fenoglio was also a partisan during the Second World War.

Made in the USA: Hometown America and the Wild Frontiers

Going West: The Promised Land and the Great Depression

There are few manuals, essays, or courses on advertising that can ignore Coca-Cola. A quick browse of publications on marketing, advertising, brand management, graphics, visual strategies, and the history of advertising is unlikely to lack a reference to Coca-Cola as a case study. Students in advertising degrees will always ask to include it among their favourite topics. This choice is possibly determined by affectionate memories of childhood and the environment as they have always known the product from their earliest years, and are still consumers. They have seen the commercials and remember how campaigns have changed over time with

memorable slogans. European students and those from more remote regions will always ask for this topic. Every season and every world event has their Coke commercials, slogans, and songs. From the Beijing Olympics (2008), to Piccadilly Circus' gigantic digital walls (2012) and "Taste the Feeling" in Rio de Janeiro accompanying the Olympic flame (2016), the campaigns have signposted innovative digital technology. Campaigns either tailor themselves to global standards or can be diversified and adapted to the specifics of language and culture. Alliance with MacDonald's massively boosted what was already a colossal enterprise in the media and film industry with Columbia pictures. American culture, arts, and movies are made by Coca-Cola, which has become a milestone in famous literary passages and intertextual citations (e.g. Marilyn Monroe). The description of posters in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) is emblematic of the power of persuasion and the illusion of the "orange rush" (Sackman Cazaux 2005), and yet, beyond any metaphor, there is the appeal of the real (Lears 2005; Marchand 1985). The beverage is available to and affordable for all Americans, even those "damn Oakies" on Route 66 migrating to California. The Steinbeck description stands as documentary evidence of products and items of the American Depression which were destined to flood the world from the Second World War, first in Europe and later on a global scale. Hamburgers, candy, chewing gum, and blue jeans are the hyper symbols and signals of the American highway, conducted to the cityscapes and their neon and LED skylines. Could you imagine a novel or a movie located in Las Vegas and Los Angeles with no signs or neon lights advertising brands? It is part of the American cityscape in media culture and topophilic literature and film iconography. John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* thematises the biblical exodus of farming families to California, the "promised land" at the time of the Dust Bowl, the worst ecological catastrophe of the decade (1930–40). Advertising looms over the destiny of America, small-town and metropolis alike (e.g. the *Superman* comics); yet, it was only in the 1970s that it was accepted in literary texts and written fiction.

There are numerous examples through the spaces and places of advertising that denote a diachronic shift in the representation of the environment impacting on behaviours and, ultimately, urban and suburban culture, language and forms of expression, and soundscapes with jingles and commercials. Nothing more than burger joints and drive-ins have impacted social behaviour in small-town America and gone global. Movies like *American Graffiti* (1973, George Lucas), *Pleasantville* (1998, Gary Ross), and *Back to the Future* (1984, Bob Zemeckis) may be nostalgic

recollections or idyllic parodies of the 1950s and '60s, yet they are the typical language of American advertising in films, whether product placement is real or only hinted at through items without a name. *Back to the Future* is illustrative of full-range placement with Pepsi and Nike. The way products and American "adscapes" have changed over the years shows Pizza Hut and Texaco in small-town America (Hill Valley, California) as it changes through flash-forward and flashback. However, if product placement existed in movies from the 1930s, it was only after the 1970s that brand names acquired full literary status, notwithstanding the Joycean case. Advertising lights and shop signs are part of the cultural identity and heritage of small-town America as well as the big cities, and play a role in defining the development of American iconography as "adland," with its cityscapes and skylines. There is a polarity in the flow of advertising communication from the "real" advertisement, as in everyday life, to the constant flow of media aired as fresh news and sports updates (i.e. golf or tennis and their sponsoring partners). There is a circularity of sounds, images, and words from a heterotopic and shared space of a community ebbing into a utopic space thriving on individual illusions and the creation of dreams. The California landscape and advertising of oranges are examples of the binary polarity of the "real" signals and symbols and the symptomatic creation of great illusions and metaphors. The orange industry, as Doug Cazaux Sackman argues in *Orange Empire* (2007), "put up billboards in cities across the nation and placed enticing pictures of sun-kissed fruits into nearly every American's home. It convinced Americans that oranges could be consumed as embodiments of pure nature and talismans of good health,"[15] as in the persuasive tagline from the Uncle Sam, "I Grow These Myself in California," for the *Riverside Navel Orange Company*, and the promotional brochure of the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles. John Fante's literary description of Los Angeles (*The Road to Los Angeles*, 1936) and reference to an all-orange diet are chronologically parallel to the years of Steinbeck's description of the Sun Kissed Valley (1937–8). Antonio Bandini, the Italian American protagonist of Fante's saga, is sick from eating oranges and almost starving. The myth of the Edenic country is called into doubt. Bandini, the aspiring novelist, daydreams as he walks past the shop windows where golf apparel and tennis suits are on display (Spalding). This is a short descriptive passage from *Ask the Dust* (1939) in LA, where there is no overtly visible Dust Bowl effect, no desertification, and no lack of water supply. There are just new lifestyles and brands, as advertised on billboards, alluring newcomers:

> I have seen houses in *Bel-Air* with cool lawns and green swimming pools. I have wanted women whose very shoes are worth all I have ever possessed. I have *seen golf clubs on Sixth Street in the Spalding window* that make me hungry just to grip them. *I have grieved for a necktie like a holy man for indulgences*. I have admired hats in *Robinson's* the way critics gasp at Michelangelo. (Fante 2002 [1939], 14; emphasis added)

Again, as in the case of works published in Italy during Fascism and even after, there have been re-translations. Either of the two versions below are, however, inadequate in the treatment of brand names and the descriptions of LA. Inadequacy is further exposed if literary description is challenged by movie adaptation. Both film adaptation and translation seem to have missed the cross-cultural references that are present in Fante and correlate his Italian American identity (indulgences, Michelangelo) to Edward Hoppers' (1882–1967) representations of cityscapes and cafés, especially in the mapping of lights and shop signs.[16] The first Italian translation is by Communist writer Elio Vittorini (1941). The title *Il cammino nella polvere* (*The Journey*/*Walk in the Dust*) subverts the original and its biblical connotation, as "polvere" has no geographical correlation to the California Mojave Desert and is merely suggestive of a dusty track.

> **TT a 1**: Sì, è vero, ho visto delle case con prati freschi e piscine di acqua verde. Ho desiderato donne calzate di scarpe che costavan più di quanto avessi mai posseduto in vita mia. Ho ammirato dei cappelli *dinanzi alle vetrine di Robinson* come i critici d'arte ammirano le statue di Michelangelo. (Trans. Vittorini 1971 [1941], 16; emphasis added)

> **TT a 2**: Sì, è vero, ma ho visto delle case a *Bel-Air,* con prati freschi e piscine di acqua verde. Ho sempre desiderato le donne le cui scarpe valevano tutto quello che ho mai posseduto. Ho visto delle mazze da golf nella *vetrina di Spalding*, *nella Sesta Strada*, che mi fanno morire dalla voglia di afferrarle. *Ho spasimato per una cravatta come un devoto fa per le indulgenze*. Ho ammirato i cappelli esposti *da Robinson* come un critico d'arte ammira *una statua di* Michelangelo. (Trans. Castagnone 2003 [1979], 17; emphasis added)

This translation has many deletions, one addition, and omissions and yet was reprinted in 1972. In particular, the names *Spalding* and *Bel-Air* have been deleted as well as the golf clubs on Sixth Street, ties in a shop window, and the reference to Catholic indulgence. Such deletions are to the detriment not only of localization but also, and even more damaging, to the protagonist's controversial two-fold identity of American Italian and Catholic Communist (see also Masiola 2009, 254–64). In terms of literary recognition Fante personally payed for this, either as Fante or Bandini:

Robinson's: In both translations, Robinson's seems to be a hat shop, whereas Robinson's in Los Angeles is a flagship department store on Seventh Street, slightly off the Broadway retail corridor, and which still exists. In 1934, exactly at the time of Fante's description, the building was remodelled in an Art-Deco style.[17]

Spalding is an American legend, not only as a baseball pitcher (for the Boston Red Sox). Spalding is more than the shop window that is described, as at the time it was at the peak of its fame. The company was founded by the sportsman and baseball champion Albert Goodwill Spalding around 1880. Spalding introduced significant changes in the rules of games, the equipment, and the instruments, and also produced the first tennis ball, football, golf ball, baseball, baseball bats, and basketball (1885). During the Second World War it contributed to the production of Browning Rifles. Outfits and sporting items are currently available online and in elegant stores all over the world. Spalding is the official ball provider for league associations. It has deals for exclusive agreements with sport celebrities and athletes. There are legendary taglines, like "From the Beginning it was all about Being the Best" and "True to the Game." As Bandini in another novel aspires to be a baseball celebrity, Spalding has a special meaning to the protagonist of Fante's books. The Italian translation should have specified the article for Spalding ("della Spalding" → feminine, for /business enterprise/); otherwise, it can be taken as a hatter's shop and not a company flagship store in Broadway.

The first Italian translation of the novel was published in 1941 during the crucial years of Fascism and the war, as already noted. John Fante was never to achieve literary recognition in his lifetime, notwithstanding his innovations in descriptive techniques and counter-narrative style. His novels had a precise mapping of Los Angeles and Bunker Hill in 1934–8, with bars, theatres, dancehalls, and shops. His walking and wandering through LA's downtown, staring into shop windows and bars, have a far more famous antecedent: James Joyce's *Ulysses*, wherein Leopold Bloom makes his living as a billboard advertiser (1920). In any case, the translations and film adaptation do not convey the sense of LA's city mapping as "adland," which *Ask the Dust* and *The Road to Los Angeles* contextualise. The Latinos Café, with its unbranded coffee and coffee cups, is however present with all its current juxtaposition with yuppies and the NY Starbucks, as in *You've Got Mail*. Fante's café in LA is some 20 years before Fleming's Oxford Street and Bond's coffee. Once more, LA is the "promised city" of the "promised land" during the years of the Great Depression. The novel was published in 1939, the same year as

Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*. Why most brands had not been translated by the time of Steinbeck's first translation in Italy and Europe, and were destined to become famous only a few years later, are only partial evidence of the conflicting aspects of translation and advertising. The whole paradigm and its shift are embedded in the history of post-war Europe, its controversial relation to the American cultural debate, censorship, media control, and access to the free trade market of professional translation and advertising.

The California Coca-Cola girl in her white bathing suit described by Steinbeck would have inspired models and film stars and turned into a Hollywood symbol, like Marilyn Monroe in her iconic white summer dress of *The Seven Year Itch* (directed by Billy Wilder,1954), who is also an aspiring model for television commercials. Below is the description of the American burger joint, where hamburgers and a bottle of Coca-Cola are part of the Promised Land with its big-breasted bathing blondes:

> **(1) ST a**: The wall decorated with *posters*, *bathing girls*, blondes with *big breasts* and slender hips and *waxen faces*, in *white bathing suits*, and holding a *bottle of Coca-Cola*. And smiling—see what you get with a Coca-Cola … *And little piles of Post Toasties, corn flakes*. (Steinbeck 1967 [1939], 140; emphasis added)
>
> **TT a 1**: I muri tapezzati di *cartelloni pubblicitari*, splendide figliole in tenuta da bagno, *forti di petto*, snelle di fianchi e con *facce da bambole*. Han tutte in mano la *fiaschetta di Coca* Cola e sorridono come per dire "Ecco i mirabili effetti *del Coca Cola* …" OMITTED. (Trans. Coardi 1941, 184; emphasis added)
>
> **TT a 2**: I muri tappezzati di *cartelloni pubblicitari*, splendide figliole in costume da bagno, *seni provocanti*, snelle di fianchi e con facce da bambole. Han tutte in mano la *bottiglietta della Coca-Cola* e sorridono come per dire "Ecco i mirabili effetti *della Coca-Cola* … OMITTED. (Trans. rev. Coardi 2002 [1941], 169; emphasis added)

There are two Italian translations, one published during the war (1941), and an anonymously revised version (2000). The description of the burger joint has several inconsistencies due to the stubborn rejection of English international terms, such as hamburgers, posters, and all items related to advertising (Masiola 2009, 251–4). The Italian "transleme" or equivalent word for "poster" in the 2002 version denotes big highway billboards incoherently outsized on a "wall" inside a café. In any case, it is not the real thing, as can now be checked online with vintage Coca-Cola posters. The amended version is in some ways more arbitrary than the former. The

words deleted from the three lines are: twelve followed by a complete period (2002), and nine (1941). *Cornflakes* and the *Post Toasties* are cancelled items in both versions, and the word *hamburger* is substituted with "steak." *Java coffee*, usually denoting a strong blend, is not a trademark brand and refers to coffee beans produced on the island of Java, and has been maintained.[18] "Java" currently refers to a computer programming language featuring the little cup icon. As the regime imposed autarchy, a translator was hardly likely to be familiar with the now vintage bottles of Coke. Moreover, there was censorship and control on dictionaries, and bilingual dictionaries were generally not available.[19] The translator skips and deletes passages where brands are mentioned, reinventing food and domesticating anything that is reputed to be "wild" and American. The literary style resounds with traits of the martial rhetoric of the age (Masiola 2004, 226–8). There is one descriptive incoherence at the macro-level: how can you technically flip over a bone-steak? This was done to avoid the term "hamburger" which was a forbidden loanword and had to be "domesticated" to nonsense. *Spam* as a brand name was banned. Spam is canned ham and pork, produced by the Hormel Foods Corporation since 1937, the year when Fante and Steinbeck were writing their books. This passage has also been arbitrarily manipulated, as the translator permuted a similitude and deleted two terms (*Spam* and "a piece of pie"). In some nine lines there are three deletions, two arbitrary additions and expansions, and one under-translation. If in the mind of the translator this is compensation, it totally erases the American setting and iconography of Route 66:

> **TT b 1 Three deletions**: Spam; pickle; a piece of pie
>
> **One addition and manipulation**: "canned meat manufactured in series like the spare parts of an engine" (backversion)
>
> **One addition and expansion**: "triangles of cheese wrapped in tinfoil paper" (backversion)
>
> **Domestication/adaptation**: "sandwich" → "stuffed panini" (backversion)

In the revised version the word "sandwich" has been replaced and inventions have been removed, yet still the omission of *Spam* is unjustified, as *Spam* had been known by Italians since 1945 (see chapter three). The language prescriptions and proscription of English enacted by publishers affected brand names and other internationalisms well after the decades of Fascism. The publications of American writers elicited outrage from critics in line with the linguistic cleansing policy. The foremost literary critic of the decade, Emilio Cecchi, in his writings on English and

American writers (1934), argued that through translation as a work of art the "exotic poisons" are lost, but not the risk of foreign influence causing viral "imitation like an epidemic of measles" (in Masiola 2004, 226).

> **(2) ST b**: At noon the tractor driver stopped sometimes near a tenant house and opened his lunch; *sandwiches* wrapped in waxed paper, white bread, pickle, cheese, *Spam,* a piece of pie branded like an engine part. (Steinbeck 1967 [1939], 35; emphasis added)
>
> **TT b 1**: A mezzodì il conducente fermava la trattrice talora nei pressi di una cascina e apriva il pacco della colazione: *panini imbottiti* ravvolti in carta oliata, *triangoli di formaggio rivestiti di stagnola*, *scatolette di carne fabbricate in serie come il pezzo di ricambio di una macchina.* (Rev. trans. Coardi 2002 [1941], 46; emphasis added)
>
> **TT b 2**: A mezzodì il conducente fermava la trattrice talora nei pressi d'una cascina e apriva il pacco della colazione: *sandwich ravvolti* in carta oleata, carne in scatola, sottaceti, *formaggini*, *una fetta di torta marchiata come il pezzo di ricambio di una macchina.* (Rev. trans. Coardi 2002 [1941], 45; emphasis added)

Spam was a product that the American soldiers brought over to occupied Europe, and it fed soldiers and starving civilians alike. Film director John Ford, who served with the American navy during the Second World War, knew this when he directed *The Grapes of Wrath* in 1940, before the Pearl Harbor attack. In any case, the film was banned in Italy and could not be shown before 1947. In the words of Felipe Fernàndez-Armesto:

> There are forces capable of penetrating cultural barriers and internationalizing food. These include war … hunger of course or some analogous emergency such as war can dispose people to accept food which in other circumstances they might reject as foreign … Taste for Spam outlasted the Second World War in Britain: it was introduced as American food aid. (2001, 157)

Spam was also described in a famous novel set in Naples in 1944, *The Skin* (1949), by Italian writer Curzio Malaparte.[20] If only the committee on censorship could have foreseen how the word *Spam* has become global! If only one could see the future and imagine the ubiquitous word used as noun, verb and metaphor in internet language. If the term 'Spam' had been censored in the Italian translation of The *Grapes of Wrath* in 1942, only a couple of years later it would have turned into the staple diet for the nation. This is the English translation of the novel, as the Neapolitan waiters attending the banquet have expressions of disgust on their faces:

> **TT**: After the soup, which consisted of cream of carrots seasoned with Vitamin D and disinfected with a two per cent solution of chlorine came *Spam*. It lay in purple slices on a thick carpet of boiled corn. … Fried *Spam* and boiled corn! The waiters supported the trays with their two hands; each averted his face as though he were serving up a Gorgon's head. The reddish violet hue of the *Spam*, which frying had, as always, made a rather dark color … The waiters lowered their trays and offered them to the guests … Fried *Spam* and boiled corn! (Trans. Moore 1997, 193; emphasis added)

If other brand names were deleted in translations as having no correspondence to any items or because of ignorance, Spam as an acronym outlived the canned "spiced ham" and was a total success in advertising. Soon after the war, a troupe of former servicewomen was assembled by Hormel Foods to promote Spam across the nation (1946). The "Hormel Girls" associated Spam with being patriotic.[21]

American brands were a stumbling block and clashed with linguistic barriers, causing mix ups in textual coherence and seriously affecting readability and logical cohesion, as in cases of tossing t-steaks or pork chops. In the cited description, Coca-Cola's famous green glass bottle is turned into a "flask," and the gender used is masculine, whereas in Italian "bottle" and "Coca-Cola" are feminine. Steinbeck, who published his novel in 1939, refers to a precise advertisement of the season, with the blonde in a white bathing suit (Masiola 2004, 236–45). Conversely, the translator had no way of getting any reliable source of information on corn flakes and Post Toasties, save that from native informants who would soon be turned into enemies. Post, however, is a family name that has become a brand, like Mars. It was an early American breakfast cereal and, like Kellogg's, named after its founder, C. W. Post. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the image on the package featured a sketch of Elijah the prophet in the company of a raven, the former name being Elijah Manna. The image was, however, removed (1908) following the protests of a religious group. In the Italian translation, the brand is omitted alongside the corn flakes, as it was all part of the "great unknown" of poisonous and barbaric American diversity. Post Toasties are currently on the market, albeit not globally like Kellogg's and Quaker Oats. In later decades, the cereal boxes extended to advertising with Disney characters, Buck Rogers, and real-life actors like John Wayne. It was a totally American thing, like the breakfast table of the television series *Father Knows Best* in the 1950s, and small-town America. The strategic partnering of Coca-Cola and MacDonald's dates back to 1955 and marks the history of global advertising and American lifestyle. The partnership has launched graphic

remakes of the iconic blonde in the white bathing suit on a beach spread suggestive of MacDonald's signs and colours. Today, there are countless websites and brand name information is accessible, yet the question still represents a crucial issue for the translator coping with editing standards and publisher's guidelines.

The Deep South: From Page to Screen

To Kill a Mockingbird

As observed in the above section, Coca-Cola is ubiquitous in product placement today as it has been since the beginning of the Hollywood film industry. There is an emblematic sequence in Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* (1947) where James Stewart is standing at a crossroads deciding which way to go, and there are two Coca-Cola signs outside the drugstore. Either left or right, there is Cola. The film, like Capra's *Mr Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), product-places cigarette brands like Lucky Strike, Camel's, and Chesterfield. In the first decades of the twentieth century, brands were unlikely to have been in the novels from which the scripts were adapted.[22] The two Capra films were distributed by Columbia Pictures. In 1982, Coca-Cola bought the Columbia film company. However, there are also instances where the product is in the novel but not in the film, which is rather unusual, while the inverse is more common. One such case featuring Coca-Cola and the Deep South (Alabama) is in *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee (1960). The film was directed by Robert Mulligan (1961), and Harper Lee contributed to the script. One of the characters in the microcosm of the life of the small community is Mr. Dolphus Raymonds, who just pretends to drink the bottles of whiskey he hides in paper bags, eventually revealing to the children (Dill and Scout) that it is "plain Coca-Cola." This sequence is not in the film (1962), and the character is not present in the screen adaptation. There is another part of the narrative not present in the script. It is the description of a "happy cemetery" where the graves of African Americans are marked with broken glass from Coke bottles. The references to the beverage in the novel suggest a state of segregation. The deletion of such references may in part be justified as negative for the brand traditionally promoting a joyful life. It may also be explained by the prejudice and threats encountered during production, as there were no other brands. The description below is about the cemetery, the courthouse, and Mr. Dolphus Raymond:

> **ST a**: A few graves in the cemetery were marked with crumbling tombstones; newer ones were outlined with *brightly colored glass and broken Coca-Cola bottles* … stumps of burnt-out candles stood at the heads of infant graves. It was a happy cemetery. (Lee 1989 [1960], 119; emphasis added)

> **ST b**: The courthouse square was covered with picnic parties sitting on newspapers, washing down biscuit and syrup with warm milk from fruit jars. Some people were gnawing on cold chicken and cold fried chops. The more affluent chased their food with *drugstore Coca-Cola in bulb-shaped soda glasses*. (Lee 1989, 162; emphasis added)

The above list would have warranted placement had it been in other films, with all the cited foodstuffs and beverage. This is the sequence of "accusation" and "revelation" regarding the make-believe alcoholic Mr. Dolphus Raymond and the bottles in his brown paper bags. Coca-Cola was a beverage for black Americans:

> **ST c**: Jem giggled: "He's got a *Co-Cola bottle* full of whiskey in there. That's so's not to upset the ladies. You'll see him sip it all afternoon, he'll step out for a while and fill it back up. (Lee 1989, 162; emphasis added)

The children are offered "a good sip" and find out that it's nothing but Coca-Cola:

> **ST d**: You little folks won't tell on me now, will you? It'd ruin my reputation if you did."
>
> "You mean all you drink in that sack's *Coca-Cola? Just plain Coca-Cola*?"
>
> "Yes ma'am," Mr. Raymond nodded … "That's all I drink, most of the time." (Lee 1989, 203–4; emphasis added)

The film was directed in 1961 and given many awards. The Italian translation of the book came after the film in 1962. The absence of Coca-Cola is overtly perceived compared to other films on the lives of African Americans. Conversely, in *The Colour Purple* by Alice Walker (1982) there is no Coca-Cola. In the Steven Spielberg film version (1985), Coca-Cola is, however, placed in two sequences. In one central episode there is music in a bar, as Shug (Margaret Avery), the singer and co-protagonist, dedicates her song to Celia (Whoopi Goldberg), the first-person narrator in the book. There are bottles on the table, and even if the label is not seen the vintage Coca-Cola green bottles are clear. In another dramatic sequence there is a violent outburst against a female protagonist (Oprah Winfrey) by

a white male. The setting is rural small-town Georgia: a metal Coca-Cola wall plaque hanging outside a canteen store is clearly visible. Two children are drinking out of Cola bottles with their straws as tension pitches. Coca-Cola has a long history that started in Atlanta, Georgia in 1887, and was originally targeted at African American consumers. Advertising agencies and the film industry made joint efforts and strategies in product placement to a higher and more pervasive level in line with global communication (see chapter two).

Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Cafe

It would be interesting to investigate the correlation of "real" product placement in films and the fictional use of brands, and determine if the author wrote considering a screen adaptation, with copyrights and advertising for the film industry. This could be the case for novels perfectly adapted for the screen where images and sound are interactively combined. As part of a film sequence, commercials, print ads, billboards, neon lights, and outdoor advertising are frequent. One interesting case is with Clint Eastwood's direction of *Invictus* (2009), about the epic Rugby World Cup in South Africa with the Springboks and Nelson Mandela in 1995. The adverts that are clearly visible on the field are those which had sponsored the cup. Among the most famous are Visa, Heineken, Coca-Cola, Xerox. Toyota, and SAA. Gauloises cigarettes have, however, been omitted on the basis of non-smoking regulations (Erik 2010). In other film scripts and placements there are also forms of "real" or "faux" brands when the brand is the central theme of the script, as in the case of films inspired by real stories of corporate companies and their funders and inventors. There are other instances where the product is no longer in production and currently unavailable, but is useful for determining localisation and contextualisation. As it occurs in the written text it is consequently placed in the script to enhance emotions and feelings for the past and advertising topophilia, i.e. the love of place and space that contain advertising memories. Brands can increase local pride and trigger memories of things gone by, being emotionally connected to the past. On the other hand, local and regional brands may be unfamiliar to a global audience, or may even be fictitious and "faux," invented for entertainment. The film *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* features Dapper Dan pomade, as the whole script is a parody of the Deep South inspired by real characters (see below), but may also be perceived as fictional outside the United States. Fannie Flagg's *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* (1987) is a case-study *per se*, as the names of brands and products chronicle the

events of the small community across time. New inventions and brands are added as old brands go out of production, or, as for many products of the Old South, there is pride in preparation and tradition. Some brands in the book of *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* are not in the film, whereas some not in the book are added to the screen adaptation. The task of the translator was a real challenge due to the cultural barriers and the semantic load of the Dixie brands in any language. In the greater part of the novel there is constant reference to homemade products and Alabama specialties, i.e. below the Mason-Dixon line. Each brand and specialty is time related, as names and lifestyle change in the backwards and forwards flashes of the novel. As in other publications by Fannie Flagg, the semantic load is determined by local specificity, and standardisation would entirely subvert the focus on identity expressed in the taglines of a typically Southern product typifying attitudes and beliefs. However, brands cited in literature do not always correspond to product placement, as scriptwriting is a multimodal adaptation of descriptions and narration (see Stam and Raengo 2005; Makino 2006). There are budgets and agreement conditions with the advertising agencies, as the brands are added to the screenplay and contextualised to match action and roles. In the case of a screen adaptation of a novel, there might be entire chapters and episodes deleted according to budget and copy clearance. The film *Fried Green Tomatoes*, directed by Jon Avnet (1991), was scripted by the author of the book, Fannie Flagg, and received Academy Award nominations. An episode which was deleted referred to the bleaching cream for black people used in the South. On the contrary, a shopping sequence at a store was dramatised and climaxes in a trolley sequence in the parking lot of a shopping centre. Depending on the production, a screenplay can have brands that are not in the book or the omission of brands but maintaining the product, or can alter brands and products. Translation works on a two-phase model in this case, as it may either follow the book and its translation or the script version, or act independently and recreate, as in the case of page to stage adaptations, when translation is free from the close-up of the dubbing and visualisation of brands. In the *Fried Green Tomatoes* film adaptation, the global products alternate with the local products advertised on shop signs and posters, and with the music and sound of the rattling train they give an "Alabama effect." The structure of the book is based on notes and journals citing local and national events, food and drinks, songs, and films that were popular in that very precise season and year. The opening sequence frames the decayed café, as Frostie Root Beer (local) and Camel signs are zoomed in on at the entrance. There are hyper-global products placed for several

seconds, like Budweiser, Converse All-Stars, and Lucky Strike, along with other American brands (Krispy Kreme Doughnuts). When the sequence refers to the past it is signalled by old ads, like the local Piedmont Tobacco and the rusted signs of 7-Up, Sky, Tea Berry, and Lime Crush. The cigarette brand and package defines identity and social context:

> They had not had anything to eat that day except for a *can of Vienna sausages* and some stale crackers. He was smoking a *Lucky Strike he had found mashed in a cigarette package someone had thrown away* … (Flagg 1987, 104; emphasis added)

This placement has been changed into another scene, as the packet of cigarettes is seen in the hands of Idgie (the leading character), who is smoking. Screen placement can be visual or in dialogues or voiceovers, and plot placement can thematise the product in a dedicated sequence or be the core of the plot. Placement can combine several products and be multi-product placement (Makino 2006; Galician 2004), and can be a problem in adaptation as homogeneity in market segmentation is subject to variation. In *Fried Green Tomatoes*, Mary Kay cosmetics are an example of correspondence in adaptation. Mary Kay, established in Dallas in 1963, is now a global brand with 35 markets in five continents. It was originally based on the principle of direct sales, where each customer sells to other customers from the kit. This method accounts for the social interaction within the small community. The founder of the corporation brought one of the first Pink Cadillacs, and Cadillac car bonuses are awarded to top sellers.[23] This is the American Dream for the ladies of the South in a rural area. Mary Kay is mentioned four times in the book, as well as the success of a local neighbour:

> Well, it's true. You don't have a wrinkle on you. I also told Mrs Otis that I thought you ought to think about selling some of that *Mary Kay cosmetics*. With your skin and personality, why I bet you could get yourself *a pink Cadillac* in no time. My neighbour Mrs Hartman has a niece who sells it and she made a bundle, and *Mary Kay* gave her a pink *Cadillac* as a bonus. And she's not half as pretty as you are! (Flagg 1987, 162; emphasis added)

In the film there is only one memorable sequence featuring the co-protagonists' revenge (Evelyn, played by Katy Bates), cars (Chevrolets, Fords, etc.), and a Pink Cadillac Sedan. The sequence triggers Evelyn's self-assertiveness and rebellion against unfair parking. As a felicitous consequence, Mary Kay added an advertising campaign based on the *Green Tomatoes* film, and featurettes directed at store retailers (2007). Fannie Flagg subsequently wrote and published other novels plus an

Original Whistle Stop Cafe Cookbook, Featuring: Fried Green Tomatoes, Southern Barbecue, Banana Split Cake, and Many Other Great Recipes (1995). Curiously, Coca-Cola is cited in the book seven times, referring to community gatherings and dialogues, but not once does it appear on screen. Another brand cited in a dramatic passage related to the shame of being a black girl is a spin-off of a brand name. The narrative features an American perfume for American ladies, a luxurious and expensive jasmine essence. It was launched in 1940 by Evyan to challenge French perfumes like Shalimar, created in 1921 by Jacques Guerlain. The related episode is dated May 24, 1949. The focus is on a young black girl, Clarissa, who appears to be deceptively white:

> The beautiful woman in the royal blue wool dress behind the counter was so considerate and polite to Clarissa. "Have you ever tried *White Shoulders*?" "No ma'am, I don't think so." She bent down under the counter for the display bottle. "Try a little of this. *Shalimar* is very popular, but I think it's going to be a little too heavy for you, with your fair skin and all … A Blackman wearing a checked hat and coat had been staring at Clarissa. He remembered a picture in the paper. (Flagg 187, 213; emphasis added)

Another ethnically relevant brand that is mentioned is that of Fred Palmer skin whitening or bleaching: "Skin Too Dark? Want to have a complexion that charms? Then try *Dr Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener*" (304). This cream is real and currently marketed online as Fred Summit Palmer "skin whitener tone and bleach cream" with similar whitening and bleaching creams (for nipples and more private parts), and is also featured in instructional demonstrations on YouTube (Summer 2016).

O Brother, Where Art Thou?

Another example from the current corpus of advertising and films set in the South is the movie *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*, directed by Joel and Ethan Cohen (2000). In this case, the script is not based on an existing book and it develops from an intertextual parody echoing the Bible and Homer's *Odyssey*, as figures of myth are transformed into local characters. The script has two original instances of advertising as plot placement that are functional to the plot. It also has an example of "faux" product placement with an invented brand, Fop, enforced by "reverse placement" and now marketed under this name. The rural setting is Mississippi in 1937, the same year as the events narrated by Fante and Steinbeck. One product, the real Dapper Dan Pomade, is featured in a hilarious episode of a manhunt where the hounds smell the pomade and eat it from the tin. The

other product is also real Pappy O' Daniel Flour, advertised with folk songs in a pioneering radio commercial. The Dapper Dan episode also cites the invented pomade Fop. The protagonist, Ulysses Everett McGill (George Clooney), asks for his first-choice pomade, Dapper Dan. The pomade vendor only has Fop:

> Ulysses Everett McGill: Hold on, I don't want this pomade. I want Dapper Dan.
>
> Pomade Vendor: I don't carry Dapper Dan, I carry Fop.
>
> Ulysses Everett McGill: Well, I don't want Fop, goddam it! I'm a Dapper Dan man!
>
> Pomade Vendor: Watch your language, young feller, this is a public market. Now if you want Dapper Dan, I can order it for you, have it in a couple of weeks.
>
> Ulysses Everett McGill: Well, ain't this place a geographical oddity? Two week from everywhere!

The Dapper Dan pomade is fatal to Ulysses, who falls victim to his haircare vanity, as it will be sniffed out by the police hounds. The Fop fake brand may well epitomise the unpredictable effects of product placement and the creation of new brands on the market. The Dapper Dan pomade had been in production in the 1930s and 40s, but the visibility and resonance of the film were such that a British company of grooming products named itself Dapper Dan: "Dapper Dan was founded in Sheffield, England, in 2011; born of frustration with the less than adequate products available to gentlemen to fulfil their styling needs." The Fop pomade, which never existed, has inspired production with the Pomade Shop, based in Munich, selling pomade and advertising vintage hillbilly style shirts stating, "Yes Ma'm! It's Dapper Dan!" Their banner and home page are totally styled to the commercials and graphics of the 1930s: "Original lifestyle of the 1930s–1950s" and "Be a man, stop using greasy hair pomades, Buy Fop! It has the cheapest," with the slogan "Hop on Fop." Fop is e-marketed. Advertising is one of the main themes of *O Brother, Where Art Thou?*, where sponsored radio commercials and hillbilly music turn out to be a total win in the 1930s. The sponsor, Pappy O'Daniel, after the success of commercials for his Pappy O'Daniel Flour and Pappy O' Daniel Biscuits with the hit hillbilly singers the Soggy Bottom Boys, launches a political campaign as he runs for Governor of Mississippi. Fictive and hilarious as it may appear on screen, the story and the people are real. Airing advertisements and voting propaganda with

music was a feature of rural America. In the case of Pappy O'Daniel, the character did exist, and so did the commercials. Wilbert Lee O'Daniel (1890–1969) was a Texan businessman who had discovered the power of radio ads and launched music and jingles. He also launched musical shows (Light Crust Doughboys) in support of his radio homilies extolling family and religious values in line with his political campaign during the Texas Depression (1938), all with a view to increasing sales of his flour and biscuits. The captions for the flour written on plaques claimed that it was "naturally pure and wholesome," and his theme song was "Please Pass the Biscuits Pappy." The full consensus and his popularity relied on his sponsoring hillbilly bands and his performance with the group as he sang oldies. O'Daniel eventually became Texas governor, beating L. B. Johnson in the race.

Exporting Identity: Brand Names in Films

Editors and translators shunned brand names and refrained from advertising in literature until the 1970s. As Steve Rifkin and Fraser Sutherland observe in *The Making of a Name, The Inside Story of the Brands We Buy* (2004), it was only after the 1970s that brand names were accepted in literature:

> The use of brand names in fiction accelerated in the second half of the twentieth century, especially from the 1970s onward. Coca-Cola turned up often, as did Cadillac, Ford, Buick, Chevrolet, and Levi's. Chick-lit, a fiction subgenre pioneered by Helen Fielding's novel *Bridget Jones's Diary*, is splashed with brand names. (2004, 5)[24]

It is not only splashed with brand names, but also has a hilarious episode on advertising and Bridget's mother's fiancé as a shopping channel presenter. The international best-selling *American Psycho* by Brest Easton Ellis (1991) is hysterical with fashion brand names as they are obsessively recorded in the mind of the serial killer protagonist. Ralph Lauren evokes a taste of New York; and London is typified by Manolo Blahnik. Manolo (OBE) recently designed a Campari pump stiletto, and is recurrent in the *Fifty Shades* trilogy by E. L. James. In *American Psycho*, however, the Wall Street favourites are challenged by the more classic Italian names like Zegna, Rossetti, Gucci, Armani, and Missoni (see chapter five). This sets the New York literary trend of the high-end fashion style inaugurated by the *Sex and the City* sequels in book form by Candance Bushnell (1997). The combined power of luxury brands and the prestige of advertising has lifted the ban on brands in literature and translation. Brand

names are hot buttons that have to be pressed to ignite acclaim and applause from the readership and expanding entertainment industry in the digital era (Lehu 2009). The illusion of its non-existence as a mere subconscious influence is no longer necessary. This is not the 1950s of the past century where dress wear items based on trademarks were deleted in translation or even misinterpreted (Masiola 2009). The consumers' drive to fashion and luxury brands have been viral in the former Communist countries and the emerging markets from the 1990s onwards. The case of Starbucks is symptomatic, the buzzword being "advertainment" (Tungate 2007, 118), where advertising combines with entertainment. In the 1990s, Starbucks and its pilot internet cafés in Philadelphia and New York targeted a segment of early-birds students and urban professionals, as it also foregrounded the combined advertising of personal computers (Apple, Macintosh, Ibm), and the Starbucks paper cup coffee in *You've Got Mail* (1998). Resulting from a deal with AOL and Warner Bros., the film is reputed to represent the biggest product-placement arrangement in history.

The movie is a remake of *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940), in turn an adaptation of *Parfumerie* (1937), a Hungarian comedy.[25] Sequences and shots showcase the Upper West Side of New York City in its dynamic lifestyle made of laptops, shops, cafés, and even pharmaceuticals (Valium), as director Nora Ephron and co-author of the screenplay Delia Ephron worked out product placement along the lines of "ads and the city." All the products advertised are more than familiar to the international audience, as in those years Starbucks was working its way out through advertorials to continental Europe, challenging old cafés. Starbuck's partnership with first-class advertising agency William Morris turned out to be a success. The result is "advertainment" of the highest order, expanding the American dream in the age of the internet, offering complete information as to size and price, as featured in this memorable sequence of Joe Fox's (Tom Hanks) voiceover inside Starbucks, 2252 Broadway in 1998:

> The whole purpose of places like *Starbucks* is for people with no decision-making ability whatsoever to make six decisions just to buy one cup of coffee. *Short, tall, light, dark, caf, decaf, low-fat, non-fat,* etc. So people who don't know what the hell they're doing or who on earth they are can, *for only $2.95, get not just a cup of coffee but an absolutely defining sense of self*: *Tall. Decaf. Cappuccino*. (emphasis added)

With Italian-sounding words coined for Starbucks coffee—mochaccino, frappuccino, babycchino—it seems like ages since James Bond had only unbranded coffee from De Bry's, and when Fleming's Italian translator

censured the term "mackintosh." The "Mac" (der. the Macintosh apple variety) brand and the "spam action" are used universally beyond computer language. The way foreign brands and words are adopted within a language system, or, on the contrary, deleted and banned, is more than revelatory as to the degree of a community's cultural permeability and inclusiveness. If monitored on a diachronic scale, it is an indicator of how communication is impacted. The deletion and abstinence from advertising in the literary canon in the 1960s has been contrasted by the outpouring of product placement in the new media and the "advertainment" industry beyond language barriers and proscription. Bans on lexicalized brands and prescriptive editorial paradigms and protocols clash with the concept of ethics of translation and the free market. The energy and dynamics of brand are in their easy conversion into lexical forms. A brand can become a verb and shift meaning. This, from Urbandictionary.com (2006), refers to the verb "to martinize," from the Italian *Martini* (1898), an evergreen upmarket cocktail Martini & Rossi:[26]

> The act of making a faux pas, or making a complete ass of oneself due to heavy intoxication via brandy, black label, or dos xx but must be combined with a cigar for it to be an authentic *martinization*. Often very hilarious.
>
> "But then I started *martinizing* at the table, and they threw me out. Again." (emphasis added)

Advertising in Literature: Watches and Luxury

Advertising in literature and literary citation in advertising heavily rely on intertextuality and multimedia representation as in print ads and films, and more recently digital marketing and social platforms. If advertising is seen in a sociocultural perspective either through the diffusion or proscription of brands, what seems to be a salient trait with wristwatches is the idea of luxury and identity. Needless to say, the present frontier is with ads and smartwatches. In the domain of translation and brands, substituting a luxury brand with a superordinate (or hyperordinate) that generalises the "item" will taint principles of textual coherence and foreground strategies. If luxury (or cheap, or trendy) is embedded in the theme of a novel, a translation with the generic "expensive wristwatch" is inadequate to define exclusivity and localisation. As noted, the Bond translations of the 1950s shed light on this issue. The description of the Girard Perregaux in *From Russia With Love* in the riveting opening lines of a possible "crime scene" measures up to the Italian translation very modestly. Yet, the item is an important clue. Other recurrent brands, connected with crimes, are the

wristwatches described by Bret Easton Ellis in *American Psycho* tagged as a Wall Street status symbol (Rolex).

If the use of brand names has now become a canonised element in the definition of identity in global literature, there are still literary references, citations, and slogans sometimes uttered by endorsers with their handwriting to enhance trust. There are, however, risks. Tag-Heuer and Rolex endorsements by sports celebrities are always a risk that adds to their exorbitant contracts, as their professional profile can rapidly wear out because of scandals, legal suits, flops, and loss of ranking position. Injury and death can add to the risk (Fortunato 2013). Maria Sharapova, with her "what are you made of?" (Tag Heuer), Michael Schumacher (Omega), and Tiger Woods (dismissed by Tag Hauer and now with Rolex) are current and recent examples. Historical figures are safer investments, as some examples from our corpus demonstrate. Back covers of British and American magazines have thematic sequels of display ads featuring prominent protagonists from history, like Napoleon, President Kennedy, and Winston Churchill. *The Economist* (August 19, 2000) had John F. Kennedy's quote "we choose to go to the moon" for Omega, "the first and only watch worn on the moon." *Time* (March 12, 2012) featured British actress Kate Winslet with the tagline, "elegance is an attitude" for Longines' DolceVita. A back-cover advert for Breguet, a Swiss luxury watchmaker, in *Time* (June 14, 2004) cited directly from a bestselling novel, John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969): "He takes out his watch, a Breguet … an instrument from the bench of the greatest of watchmakers." Adapted to the screen by Harold Pinter (1981), the film location is Lyme Regis, Devon, which can be seen on the page. All of these citations and literary references are translation dependent.

To sum up, brand names and advertising used in fiction and adapted to "real" product placement in films can also be themes indexed or expanded in a film or book. The dynamics may be from advertising to literary expressions and citation, or vice versa. The dramatic role played by advertising and the illusion of the American Dream of the 1920s are prophetically suggested in F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1924), with the gigantic billboard in the Valley of Ashes, a derelict area socially distant from Manhattan and Long Island:

> But above the gray land and the spasms of bleak dust which drift endlessly over it, you perceive, after a moment, the eyes of Doctor T. J. Eckleburg. The eyes of Doctor T. J. Eckleburg are blue and gigantic—their irises are one yard high. They look out of no face, but, instead, from a pair of enormous yellow spectacles which pass over a nonexistent nose. *Evidently*

> *some wild wag of an oculist set them there to fatten his practice in the borough of Queens, and then sank down himself into eternal blindness,* or forgot them and moved away. But his eyes, dimmed a little by many paintless days, under sun and rain, brood on over the solemn dumping ground. (Fitzgerald 1974 [1925], 23; emphasis added)

There is no religious symbol to turn to, save these brooding painted eyes upon a gigantic, decayed, weather-beaten billboard. Nothing more than "American dreams" have featured in films on advertising based on legal issues like *Thank You For Smoking* (directed by Jason Reitman, 2005), romantic parodies like *What Women Want* (directed by Nancy Myers, 2000), *The Woman in Red* (directed by Gene Wilder, 1984), and the ironic exposure of the communications and media (*The Devil Wears Prada,* directed by David Frankel 2006; *The Hudsucker Proxy*, directed by Joel Cohen, 1994). *The Quiz Show* (1994) perfectly sums up the "American Dream" of the 1950s (Marchand 1985). The film was directed by Robert Redford, adapted from Richard Goodwin's *Remembering America: A Voice From the Sixties* (1988). At the time, a Congressional investigator unveiled the rip-off in the "Quiz Show 21," and the mystification of television sponsors, advertising, and production. The show was broadcast coast to coast for the first time by NBC, sponsored by Geritol and promoted by a popular MC. It perfectly matched the idea of the "you too can do it," and appealed to minority groups like the real-life protagonist, a Jewish guy from Queens.

Brands are the drive to the construction of a new identity and the attainment of status in the majority group where literature and product placement are combined forces to attain results and hit the market of assimilation. An example is with the Indian community of San Francisco as narrated by American Bengali writer Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni in *The Mistress of Spices*. Luxury and globalisation go to the detriment of the spiritual identity of young girls uprooted from Indian traditions. The theme is not new, but in the current perspective offers a new perspective on the position of Italian brands in the United States and the appeal to Indian Americans. In this text, Gucci has three mentions (shoes, jeans, underwear) more than Calvin Klein: "And so I bless them, my bougainvillea girls. Bless the round bones of their elbows, the glide of their hips beneath the *silky salwaars,* their *Calvin Klein jeans*" (Divakaruni Banerjee 1997, 52; emphasis added). Try and erase these brands in fiction and films, and you have no story and no in-depth characterisation. With no brands there would hardly be any identity in the social construction of characters, and the translation of brands should

follow suit in the case of global brands, if translation is in absolute freedom under no kind of constraint. It also was Nike, Coca-Cola, and Levis that brought down the Berlin wall. It was the choice of the young generation who could only access the market through advertisements seen on billboards and films, and primarily via cable television, as part of a different landscape under the impulse of choosing their own symbols of cultural identity. These were not luxury products, but products with a vision of a new world beyond the wall and youth counter-culture. This interest is also visible, sponsored, and thus advertised, for example in exhibits, conferences, and museum talks like with Clarks or Levi's and the Victoria & Albert Museum.[27] Advertising, as perceived in a multimodal perspective as counter-discourse, goes beyond "marketing" and the business sphere, as well as the blogsphere. If media advertising is identity-centred and localised, cityscapes and city lights, highways, or small-town America "happened" to likewise have an appeal and elicit emulation and imitation stemming from the more or less direct influence of films, and even the visual impact of film billboards. As seen in the above section, advertising as a multimodal discourse can be reproduced, parodied, and adapted in its deconstructed form as a script, body copy, single slogans, or an adaptation. The Coca-Cola phenomenon is one example:

> *Diet Coke* didn't just happen. *Coca-Cola* didn't simply roll it out and hope that people would buy it. … It took a lot of work by both *Coca-Cola* and its agency, the SSCB, to decipher market conditions, position the product, name it, and pull off the whole billion-dollar introduction. (Sullivan 2003, 19; emphasis added)

Graphics and slogans go beyond their advertising matrix as they become literature, inspire new forms of art, and create languages and designs as ads and tags become new forms of expression and "translate" into new languages. Andy Warhol's *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962) are a symptom and signal of the power of translatability and adaptation of advertising broadly considered, and are currently displayed at the MoMa, New York. Umberto Eco's *The Mysterious Fire of Queen Loana* spins off from vintage advertisements, tags, covers, comic strips, jingles, and propaganda that contribute to the reconstruction of the protagonist's lost memory. Translating Eco and brand names is the "mother of all translations," as Eco is a translator and wrote bestselling essays on translation, giving lectures on the topic as in *Experiences of Translation* (2001). His *Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana* is in English a challenging enterprise, as most brands and propaganda billboards go back to the decades of Fascism (1929–44). The novel centres upon a main character who tries to

reconstruct his lost memory through memorabilia and advertising. It is the literary "translation" of Robert Opie's *Search for Throwaway History* and the Museum of Brands, adapted into first-rate literature. Eco liked to work with his translators and contributed to the ranking of translation studies in the range of academic disciplines. The passage below lists a selection of cigarette packages printed in colour on the pages of his book, some with their original English names, others in Italian. It is a carousel of ephemera, functioning as ad therapy to retrieve lost memories:

> **TT**: They were brands I had never heard of—*Mjin Cigarettes*, *Makedonia*, *Turkish Atika*, *Tiedemann's Birds Eyes*, *Calypso*, *Cirene*, *Kef Orientalske Cigaretter*, *Aladdin*, *Armiro Jakobstad*, *Golden West* from Virginia, *El Kalif* from Alexandria, *Stambul*, *Sasja Mild* Russian Blend—in sumptuous cases, with images of pashas and khedives and (as on the *Cigarillos Excélsior de la Abundancia*) Oriental odalisques, or else spiffy English sailors sporting white and blue outfits and King George (V?) beards. And there were also packs I seemed to recognize, as though I had seen them in some gentleman's hands, such as the ivory white *Eva* or the *Serraglio.* (Trans. Brock 2005, 123; emphasis added)

Brands have gender constraints in Italian, and the noun "cigarette" is feminine, *la sigaretta*. This is a list passage of ladies' cigarettes (*Eva*), and contextually cigarettes are in the hands of ladies, "in mano a delle signore" → "*in the hands of [some] ladies*," whereas the English translation has "some gentleman's hand," thus creating a gender ambiguity referring to an enigmatic presence. It is not just cigarettes that give a sense of identity: it is the smoker and the smoking that prop situationality.

A sequence from Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* (1961) is revelatory of interaction and emotional effects. Amerigo Bonasera is one of the most vivid *dramatis personae* in *The Godfather*. "Amerigo Bonasera" is the very first word in the narrative, foregrounding a "thematic" position: "Amerigo Bonasera sat in New York Criminal Court n. 3." As a funeral parlour owner, Bonasera is depicted in domestic scenes while smoking Camels after eating as his wife prepares coffee. His job is to fix corpses. In one of the most dramatic and tense sequences in the novel he will have to fix Sonny Corleone's corpse, as requested by his father. He is seen smoking several Camels. This is no ordinary behaviour, as it benchmarks the level of assimilation of the members of the Italian American community while pledged to the "Family" that has helped his own family. In the opening lines of the book the reader learns that Bonasera has a daughter who has been brutally assaulted, which is the reason why he has sought help from Don Vito Corleone, the Godfather. This Camel cigarette

scene is strategically placed as Bonasera is now asked by Corleone to fix the face and the body of his horribly mangled son. It is a description fraught with overtones of Sicilian and almost Greek tragedy (Sonny's mother does not yet know), as the Camel signposts the exit from a diasporic world about to shatter, through the success of the mortician family enterprise, and the cigarette contraband of the "Families." Before dinner, Bonasera lights a cigarette (possibly contraband, like the whiskey), seeing the flames of his red crystal chandeliers amid the golden statues of the Virgin Mary. The smoke of cigarettes gives way to the impending tragedy, as he stubs out one cigarette to answer a phone call in his apartment and lights another as he enters the funeral parlour:

ST a: Amerigo Bonasera lit a *Camel cigarette* and took a relaxing glass of American whiskey. (Puzo 1978 [1961], 221; emphasis added)

TL a: Bonasera si accese una *sigaretta Carnei* e bevve un distensivo bicchiere di whisky Americano. (Trans. Giardini 1972, 233)

ST b: His wife brought a steaming plate of soup to the table. He indulged himself by smoking *another Camel*. (221)

TL b: La moglie portò in tavola fumanti piatti di minestra. OMITTED (234)

ST c: When he had finished this he drank a cup of coffee and smoked *another Camel cigarette.* (253)

TL c: Quand'ebbe finito, bevve una tazza di caffé e fumò *un'altra sigaretta.* (260)

ST d: His wife never answered it when he was home, so he got up and drained his cup and stubbed out his *cigarette*. (254)

TL d: Appena finito il caffè, squillò il telefono del soggiorno. Sua moglie non rispondeva mai quando lui era in casa, così si alzò, fini di bere e *spense la sigaretta.*

ST e: Bonasera went to the office, sat at his desk and *lit up a Camel*, one of the few times he had ever smoked in this building. Then he waited for Don Corleone. (256)

TL e: Bonasera entrò nell'ufficio, sedette alla scrivania e *accese una Carnei*, cosa che in quel luogo faceva molto di rado. Aspettò Don Corleone. (237)

The narrative tension peaks with the Camel lit and then stubbed out. The proscription on advertising and brand names is evidenced in the invented Italian-sounding brand Carnei, which is totally misleading, as if Italian Americans smoked only Italian cigarettes. The Camel company made history in American advertising with the slogan in *The New Yorker*, "premiums or coupons don't go with Camel" (1915). On screen the brand is visible, although not related to Amerigo Bonasera and the funeral parlour scene. A packet of Camels is strategically placed on a table, with no other products. The camera frames the hand of Michael Corleone getting one and throwing the packet back onto the table. In that context and situation, it explicitly underscores a gendered (male) Italian-American identity with whiskey. This screen placement is worth recording, as it counteracts the company's television code where cigarettes had to suggest positive behaviours and not be in any way associated with violent conduct (see also Galician 2004, 1–8). The *Godfather* is reputed to be the most translated modern novel of all times, thanks to the film adaptation and dubbing, and Don Vito Corleone's voice became viral through emulation (see chapter five). It constituted a turning point in the recognition of Italian American literature. The treatment of brand names as trivia in translation invalidates the social significance of brands and trademarks as a cultural phenomenon and group identity. The tobacco industry of America has gone more global than most other cigarette brands. The tobacco industry has a consistent colonial, postcolonial, and global history, as seen in the Bond novels. There are controversial factors in advertising which are role played in the dynamics of the representation of the Commonwealth, the African Caribbean, and the question of the slavery compounds on the American continent, where colonial produce was grown and thence exported and consumed. This will be examined in chapter three.

Beside the mafia effect, there has also been a Hollywood effect, based in celebrities as trendsetters of fashion and styles. If there is a halo factor in the elegance and fashion design that actually inspires fashion, there are some films based on books where brands are not cited, as observed, but that have been added to the script. In the case of high-end products, such brand names have been enhanced and matched by the profile of leading characters, both on and offstage. It seems to be a paradox that advertising was banned from canonical literature but that it made a great entrance on screen. This is most true with fashion, luxury, and the challenge of Italian fashion brands, as in the case of Italian Miuccia Prada designing for the New York story *The Great Gatsby* with Leonardo DiCaprio, and the emphasis on Italian brands and product placement in the film version of *The Talented Mr Ripley*, directed by Anthony Minghella (1999), where a

legendary Roman tailor like Battistoni is mentioned in the film version (a remake) but is not in the book by Patricia Highsmith, written in 1955 (see chapter four).

From Books to Brands: divas and stars

The 1950s signed the beginning of the Hollywood technicolour and American products and brands became more attractive as reflective of the American lifestyle of screen celebrities. Hollywood divas had a prominent role in the media and contributed to the exportation of the Hollywood dream of glitters and glamour in post-war Europe. The *Seven Year Itch* (1955) is an adaptation of a comedy; advertising is mentioned by the would-be model, Marilyn Monroe. The *Imitation of Life* is a remake of another film (1934), adapted from a novel by Fannie Hurst. In this case, the protagonist, Lana Turner, has a frustrating and humiliating experience with television commercials. *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), also starring Monroe, was adaptated from two stage scripts. The film version placed whole-American brands: Kleenex, Chrysler, Cadillac. At the time, it was a potent highlighter of the New York glitz and glamour (*Harper's Bazaar*), resonant with fame and fortunes (Bergdorf, Rockefeller Centre, Cartier). The protagonist's search for a zillionaire husband has a list of American multinational corporations, many of them unfamiliar to the European filmgoers of the 1950s: Mr. Cadillac (who was not on the directory), Mr. Rockfeller, and Mr. Texaco are mentioned as potential 'victims.' In a pre-global era, popular American brands (Standard Oil Pump, Steinbach Beer) and New York places were virtually unknown. The Italian dubbed version (1954) did not retain the brand names and substituted Mr. Texaco and Chrysler with Mr. Coca-Cola. Today, FCA stands for Fiat-Chrysler Automobiles, an Italian controlled multinational corporation.' Mr. Shell, Tony Curtis' pseudo-identity was retained in dubbed versions of *Some Like It Hot* (1959), evidencing a diachronic cultural shift influenced by the presence of the Anglo-Dutch Shell.

The 1960s and 1970s registered a 'Made-in-the-USA' craze in Italy and the Western world. As film budgets largely depended on placement, there was no way of deleting brand names on any ideological ground. If the investment targeted the international market, deleting or banning brands would have been an act against freedom of expression counteracting cultural specificity. Moreover, fashions and fads Made in the USA hypnotized audiences. The appeal of a New York look or Texan cowboy style had a powerful imitative effect, as American film stars became iconic

in the dresses worn on stage and off-stage, it was like being part of the American Dream, where the brand-name substituted for the name of object. Women would try to have a white Summer dress like Monroe's in *Seventh Year Itch*, or a black dress like Audrey Hepburn's in *Breakfast at Tiffany's.* Conversely, America was lured by Italian products, but this came only some twenty years after. This went well beyond a film set in Italy, like Vespa in *Roman Holiday*. The aim was to launch high-end Italian brands in American films.

At a dramatic moment of protest and rebellion in the American Universities, an unpredictable success came with *The Graduate* (1967), directed by Mike Nichols and starring Dustin Hoffman, where an Alfa car is embedded in the plot highlighting dramatization and social characterization. The book, by Charles Webb (1963), only mentions a 'sports car,' calling it ironically 'the little Italian job.' Alfa had just launched the model (1966), at the time of the film. The sequence of the red Spider Duetto across the San Francisco Bay Bridge is enhanced by the memorable soundtrack of Simon and Garfunkel ('Mrs. Robinson'); it was the Italian challenge to the jumbo sized American cars. The market launch was so successful that the new model was successively advertised as 'The Graduate.' The decade that followed recorded another success in film advertising with Giorgio Armani and *American Gigolo* (1980), directed by Paul Schrader. Fame came almost unheralded, as neither Armani nor Richard Gere (Julian K) then was at the highest peak of fame. The stylish protagonist's wardrobe was seen as an epic tribute to Armani's full range of collection of the season for *American Gigolo*.[28] It was this iconic film that launched Armani's classic colour code 'griege,' a mix of grey and beige. Months before, when Armani had introduced his collections with Barneys New York luxury department store, the acclaim had not been universal. As the movie gave the brand a significant exposure, Bergdorf Goodman Fifth Avenue Store was one of the stores to buy the men's collection, and the name Armani has become ever since the exclusive label for discreet and chic leading movie men. The new Millenium marked the golden age for Italian luxury brands. In 2003, Bergdorf introduced new boutiques for Armani, Gucci, Versace, Loro Piana, Kiton, and Brunello Cucinelli.

Dolce and Gabbana is another example of a script-driven product placement. One example is the white coat tagged D & G that spins off the plot of *Maid in Manhattan* (directed by Wayne Wang, 2002). A hotel chambermaid (Jennifer Lopez) incidentally wears the white D & G coat of

a wealthy hotel guest, and the dress predictably transforms her looks and status. Mention of brand occurs at all times.

Conclusion

The topic of this chapter centred on advertising and translation and examined a selected corpus of brands epitomising British and American identity, also considering their description in literature and placement in films. The ideological intricacy of factors conditioning translation and adaptation have been analysed in opposing places and spaces, the countryside and the big city, London and New York, and described through the use of brand names in literature and films. The sections on products related to the self-fashioning of Britishness and American identity in advertising and literature examined them in the perspective of translation and cultural translatability. The phenomenon has also been analysed considering diachronic variation, ideological filters, and censorship during the decades of Fascism. At the time, the representation of the American Depression notwithstanding, the distaste for anything Anglophone was accepted and even welcomed. Manipulation, censorship, and linguistic inadequacy also acted as barriers to quality and adequacy in translation in the post-war decades of the 1950s and '60s. In this period, complying with protocols and in-house guidelines, there was a ban on advertising and brand names. If trademarks and brand names were present in the original they had to be "adjusted" or omitted. The inadequacy in dealing with culture-bound products and national brands also affected the translations of the great masterpieces of world literature. There has been scarce consideration on the inspirational role played by brand names and products in defining a national and local literature (London, New York). The fact that even famous children's narratives were inspired by companies (*Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* inspired by Hershey) or that invented brands have become real signposts the craze and fad for brands and their literary or film sources. This includes the marketing paraphernalia that followed the *Harry Potter* film series, such as the Bertie Botts Every Flavor Jelly Beans on e-bay, the Wizarding World of Harry Potter at Walt Disney World, and the razzle dazzle of candies and gadgets.

In the case of literature and advertising in translation, cohesion and coherence have challenged readability. Pages that have recognisably marked the modernist era in world literature, referring to street and shop signs, advertising, packaging, and billboards, are a caveat for translators. Editorial policy, bias and linguistic prejudice, inadequate lexicography,

and most of all cultural distance have constituted barriers. The subject areas expounded in this chapter are highly articulate and cross disciplinary. The domain of academic research in translation and advertising studies and the professional field for both disciplines account for a constant segmentation into specialisation, as professional associations and networks are established. Scholarly and academic research and teaching and professional practice interconnect and interact by necessity. The circularity of international trade and globalisation is tantamount to advertising in its cultural aspect and translation alike. Colonial and postcolonial commodification and diasporic and migrant communities condition linguistic choice, and language strategies are the hub for advertising in its cross-cultural dynamics. In the tensions between an extending periphery and the poly-centricity of globalisation, the concept of centrality has imploded (see chapter three), as the Brexit effect indicates. The emergence of local and national varieties of English and the spread of English as the lingua franca of advertising, however, has only been recognised in relatively recent times (see chapter three). The status of world varieties of English and consequent usage can only be understood if correlated to the history of colonial trade and slavery. Propaganda, racism, anti-immigration, anti-abolitionism, censorship, and textual manipulation have been the impacting factors in the dynamics of consolidation and preservation of hegemonic power. In this chapter and throughout the whole volume, translation is considered as an interlinguistic activity, evolving and expanding into an intersemiotic multimodal perspective. This theme will be further dealt with in the following chapters as advertising is critically examined in the framework of postcolonial studies and identity. As we move our analysis from the two hegemonic "adlands" (the United Kingdom and the United States), the next chapters enlarge the field of study to a polycentric Commonwealth (South Africa, Jamaica, and Australia).

Notes

[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_warrant_of_appointment Access 23 Sept 2015.

[2] The correspondence to brands in novels and screen adaptation is not always possible. There are instances of product placement not present in the book form as well as deletions of brands. Literary translations have been subject to the practice of "domestication" and second-hand translation, as the authorised translator often happened to be ignorant in the language and worked with ghost translators (see further sections).

[3] Nicholas Barber, "Does Bond Product Placement Go Too Far?" *BBC Culture*. October 1, 2015. http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20151001-does-bonds-product-placement-go-too-far.

[4] This book translation has several deletions and arbitrary additions. The novel had already been translated in the early 1950s and went totally unnoticed. Only after the films hit did it become a bestseller. On the occasion of its anniversary there have been re-translations. On Cicogna's treatment of fashion in *From Russia With Love* see also Masiola (2004, 190–7; 2009, 215–18).

[5] Britain joined the EEC in 1973 and voted for the Common Market Referendum in 1975. Prior to this, France (De Gaulle) had twice vetoed Britain's application (1967).

[6] http://flemingsbond.com/de-bry-in-new-oxford-street.

[7] The nineteenth century was the age of trademarks and patents for inventions in food processing. Inexact reference in the use of what may seem a mere synonymy can actually determine property right infringement. It was also the age of sole traders and purveyors and holders of licenses and warrants.
http://www.thejamesbonddossier.com/content/food/tiptree-little-scarlet-james-bonds-strawberry-jam.htm.

[8] In *Missee Lee* (1941) a children's book by Arthur Ransome (*Swallows and Amazons*), is this passage which sounds like a real commercial: "We always eat Oxford marmalade at Cambridge. Better scholars, better professors at Cambridge but better marmalade at Oxford … At Oxford the scholarship is poor but the marmalade is very good" (2001, 192). The original edition had "Camblidge" and "velly," a habit of ethnic stereotyping also enacted in advertising commercials (see chapter five).

[9] http://bamfstyle.com/2014/05/28/literary-james-bond.

[10] The French *Dufours* sweets were in Italy in the 1960s. In television commercial jingle, the first syllable of the brand name was sung (Du/du/du: Dufour) to achieve humming and echo effects. "La-la-la" is the usual syllabic iteration for wordless music, yet this (pron. /do/) became a buzz in Italian commercial programming: "*do/do/la/la/ ecco a voi la pubblicità*!" Truffles and pralines are different. "Truffle" was not named after its chocolatier, whereas "praline" owes its name to César de Choiseul, Comte du Pessis-Praslin, a Field Marshal and sugar-industrialist (1598–1675).

[11] The reference is to Roald Dahl's *James and the Giant Peach*. The brochure "a peach of a deal" was for the Family & Friends Railcard (2009).

[12] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=mull.
Mulled wine was traditionally warmed by the immersion of a heated fire poker.

[13] http://www.fullers.co.uk/beer/explore-our-beers/past-masters-old-burton-extra.
Beer was produced in the local abbey before the Norman conquest in 1066.

[14] Compared to complex models and flow charts, Hervey and Higgins in 1992 drafted a very practical schema of textual filter: cultural, formal, semantic, varietal, genre, and relevant features. A body text, a tagline, a claim, and an instructive pamphlet can fall into all of these types of filters (Hervey and Higgins 1992, 345).

[15] The citation is from the book cover.

[16] John Fante's son, Dan, whom we contacted (2007) has no documented evidence of contacts and intention, yet he found our suggested hypothesis plausibly challenging. We thank Dan for his autographed copy of *1933 Was a Bad Year*.

[17] This is the online museum of North America's independent department stores. "The museum holds all sorts of information about classic department stores which either no longer exist or are changed beyond recognition. A few of them are still with us and provide an interesting connection to North America's retail past. The others are presented so that they may be properly remembered as a tangible part of the lives of their customers, shopping destinations where memories were often made." http://www.thedepartmentstoremuseum.org/2010/05/jw-robinson-co-los-angeles.htm.

[18] Java was the new coffee land, "where the Dutch introduced the plant in the 1690s, gradually expanded production during the eighteenth century and, in the nineteenth, fought wars to boost production" (Fernàndez- Armesto 2001, 207). The term "Java" is not reputed as being hostile to the regime and was accepted by censorship.

[19] Andrea de Roever Lysle (1857–1916) was an Italian translator and editor of the two-volume *The Lysle Dictionary*, reprinted many times. It had many inaccuracies and dated back to 1916. The 1940 edition may be the one consulted by the translator, Carlo Coardi. At the time, English was not taught in Italian high schools with the exception of the Maritime Institutes. For a complete historical survey see *International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* (Hausmann et al. 1991, 2974–8).

[20] Norman Lewis wrote his *Naples 1944* (1978) partly inspired by this novel.

[21] The show went on to become a radio program and lasted until 1953. Spam is still produced, and there is also a museum in Austin, Minnesota. By 2003, spam was sold in 41 countries on six continents and trademarked in over one hundred countries. There are several suggestions that may explain the acronym, i.e. Special Army Meat. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spam_%28food%29.

[22] *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* is based on Lewis Foster's *The Gentleman From Montana*. *It's A Wonderful Life* is adapted from Philip Van Doren Stern's *The Greatest Gift* (1939). The latter was rejected by publishers, and the author published it privately and sent it as a Christmas card to friends. Frank Capra was the great director of movies enhancing the American Dream and optimism to counteract depression and war.

[23] Today, the company uses an innovative and sophisticated e-marketing strategy. "Lashes Unleashed" and "Brightening Breakthrough" are its most recent slogans for new products. http://www.marykay.com.

[24] A gigantic, evocative Coca-Cola sign, "Go Bridget Go," is an indication of an advertising agency specialised in product placement. http://www.prop-portfolio.co.uk/#!about/c10fk.

[25] The role of translation and adaptation makes remakes possible, as the complete Wikipedia reference reads: "*You've Got Mail* is based on the 1937 Hungarian play *Parfumerie* by Miklós László and its adaptations. *Parfumerie* was later remade as *The Shop Around the Corner*, a 1940 film by Ernst Lubitsch, which in 1949 was adapted as a movie musical, *In the Good Old Summertime* by Robert Z. Leonard, starring Judy Garland, and finally in 1963 as a Broadway musical with *She Loves*

Me, by Jerry Bock and Sheldon Harnick (composer and lyricist respectively of *Fiddler on the Roof*). *You've Got Mail* updates that concept with the use of e-mail. Influences from Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* can also be seen in the relationship between Joe Fox and Kathleen Kelly—a reference pointed out by these characters actually discussing Mr. Darcy and Miss Bennet in the film." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/You%27ve_Got_Mail. (The *Pride and Prejudice* impact is also detectable in *Bridget Jones's Diary*.)

[26] Urbandictionary.com gives other compounds with "martini," like "dirty martini," referring to a vodka cocktail (2003) and its derived metaphor for a sexual act (2007). http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=dirty+martini.

[27] Clarks sponsored the VAM exhibit on Shoes, Pleasure and Pain (2015), and hosted a talk by Tracey Panek, company historian and guardian of the Levi's and Strauss & Co. archives (September 9, 2016).

[28] The classy sequence – no brand seen nor mentioned – climaxed action with a music (Smokey Robinson & The Miracles 'The Love I Saw in You Was Just a Mirage,' 1967). The script had already been adapted into a book (Timothy Harris, 1979) before the release of film (1980). The sound track is by Italian composer Giorgio Moroder.

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CHAPTER TWO

COLONIAL, POSTCOLONIAL, AND GLOBAL ADVERTISING

RENATO TOMEI

Abstract

This chapter highlights the importance of colonial and postcolonial dynamics in the language of advertising as it has been evolving towards globalisation from the centre to the periphery. It underscores the textuality that has framed the concept of colonial expansion and trade of commodities from the "centre" of the empire to its Commonwealth and postcolonial "periphery." Whereas in the rhetoric of advertising the standardised model was centripetal until the 1950s, the language of diversity in advertising points to the representation of localisation stemming from inclusiveness. Language standardisation for advertising campaigns, as opposed to language specificity and localisation, highlights the thematic corpus focusing on Australian products and the Commonwealth. Beyond an oversimplified binary opposition, there is the central issue of power dynamics and propaganda in advertising as an instrument of imperial cohesion (i.e. Camp Coffee and South Africa) and reinforced identity of the "centre." In addition, the impact of the media and new technology has given currency to new idioms, jargon, and verbal creativity.

Keywords: centre, periphery, ethnic stereotyping, colonial and postcolonial identity, copy adaptation

Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of advertising from the "centre" and within and its interrelation and transition from postcolonial to global. It examines the language of advertising as used in hegemonic propaganda ("the heart of empire") and shifts to the global dimension of the "extending

periphery." Advertising and branding in Australia, the West Indies, and South Africa (see chapter three) underscore diachronic cultural variation in defining the national identity of products in advertising. The original identity of product eventually appears blurred and fuzzy as it becomes standardised and adapted to globalisation and internationalisation. To define this process, the same range of products has been selected, as in the case of coffee, tea, limes, and other colonial products. Advertising coffee for imperial wars can consequently be seen as "top-down" when exporting and using coffee brands in military campaigns. Advertising products from Australia, Jamaica, or South Africa is, conversely, seen as "bottom-up" in the reverse process, when the postcolonial periphery manufacturer advertises and markets its own products and eventually goes global. Commodities that formerly engaged colonial and plantation labour are contrastively analysed, as the camp coffee advertisement is juxtaposed with Australian "camp tea" (Billabong tea), and limes and bananas are seen in the controversial perspective of labour and slavery (see chapter three). Luxury and niche products account for the appeal to exoticism, as preservation of the origin and provenance of the product is a protection against imitations. The use of idiom and slang may endorse and define authenticity as a payoff, such as "Australia Made, Australia Owned." Geographic and cultural distance enhances desire for what is unattainable and confers additional prestige value. The themes are contrastively approached, as the structure of advertising multimodality (imagery, slogans, intertextuality) relays national pride and patriotism. At this stage, if there is a cultural difference from the periphery, this is seen as stigmatic, with consequent ethnic stereotyping (see chapter five). This theme is examined in the first section, where British products imported from the colonies are "patriotic" but at the same time feature ethnic clichés, as in the caricatures for lime liquors. Colonial commodification is persistent through images, vignettes, and exclamatory remarks in slogans. Such interjectional utterances claiming quality and first choice are graphically reproduced in print ads. The diachronic variation is reinforced by a diatopic differentiation (i.e. local and national tea in Australia, South Africa, and Jamaica) based on the asymmetrical relations of advertising and trading power between the empire and its colonies, and its fluctuations. The choice of brands and products is consistently thematised on the same products—limes (perfume and drink), coffee, tea, beer, bananas, and eucalyptus—to define the centripetal and centrifugal push-and-pull tensions. The case of Australian products and advertising is revelatory, as the paradox of globalisation is manifest in the fact that products are not produced in the country: they are not "Australia Made Australia owned." The selection of data and corpus is

thence qualitative and, to a minor extent, quantitative, and is further dealt with in the following chapter considering South Africa and Jamaica.

The Centre: Heart of Empire

Perfume and Power: from the West Indies to West London

In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Anne McClintock critically comments upon the manufacture of soap and "civilisation":

> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, soap was a scarce and humdrum item and washing a cursory activity at best. A few decades later, the manufacture of soap had burgeoned into an imperial commerce; Victorian cleaning *rituals were peddled globally as the God-given sign of Britain's evolutionary superiority*, and soap was invested with magical fetish powers. The soap saga captured the hidden affinity between domesticity and empire … Soap entered the realm of fetishism with spectacular effect, notwithstanding the fact that male *Victorians promoted soap as the icon of nonfetishistic rationality* (McClintock 1995, 151; emphasis added)

The question here is, "Can this also apply to perfumes?" Advertising claims for London excellence in perfumery that have outlived the Empire account for their international appeal. Upmarket British soaps and toiletry marketed overseas encounter global success for their "colonial" or "imperial" references. When it comes to luxury products, the international market is more than willing to accept the rhetoric of quality and excellence established by tradition, even if it is controversial. One of the perceived traits of Britishness, caricatured at home and abroad, is the rhetoric of tradition extending even to brand loyalty. The royal charter and protection of the Crown is the unbeatable factor against American products, and also works on a global scale. There are countless examples, especially in gift items and toiletry.

Floris of Jermyn Street, a "British Family of Perfumers Since 1730" in St. James's, London, was, however, not founded by a Briton. It was founded by Menorcan citizen Juan Famienies Floris, who had also worked in France (Montpellier). His was the first male barbers with combs and scented water. Currently operative, Floris runs workshops and "meet the makers" seminars, and has a claim to be "the epitome of English Fragrance." Floris extended its line to cover ladies' items, and has the patronage of the Queen and Prince of Wales. To celebrate Queen

Elizabeth's Diamond Jubilee, Floris launched a new fragrance, the Royal Arms Diamond: "The heart of this beautifully poised floral fragrance comes from the queen of flowers, the rose." The royal parallel correlates to the status of the perfume and exclusive fragrances for ladies, and in general functions as a dual claim and payoff to the consumer, the purpose being the elicitation of trust and pride in what is British owned and produced, standing for lifestyle and tradition. Brand loyalty and trust in British manufactured goods also rely on colonial imports and commodities. There has always been an international appeal for authentic English fragrances like lavender, the true English rose, and lily of the valley as in *Woods of Windsor*, "a treasure trove of an old recipe and prescription book," dated to 1770. The recent lavender landscape of Norfolk, with its perfume made available in London airports, delights international tourists. Moreover, the colonial market has been supplied with exotic essences from the East and the West Indies.[1] One specific item related to the perceived image of English gentlemen's grooming on Continental Europe is the English lavender (the Trent Valley lavender, Nottinghamshire), lately rivalled by the fragrance of lime. The body copy, storytelling, and brand name illustrate our standpoint. Lime, although cherished and prized by foreign buyers for its quality, could be distant from the market orientation of, say, French or Italian customers in matters of perfume and luxury, and sound puzzling if marketed with the name of a battle. Truefitt & Hill and Floris of Jermyn Street may well epitomise English flower lore and all that goes with the tradition of perfumery as a French- and Italian-derived art; yet, the idea of celebrating a battle with the name of a perfume may sound weird to the Continental buyer, i.e. Trafalgar. Truefitt & Hill was established in London in 1805 as a gentlemen's barber and subsequently a court hairdresser and wigmaker for royalty, aristocracy, and sophisticated diplomacy. Its present location on St. James's Street is only recent. This is from their webpage:

> *Trafalgar* owes its name to one of the most celebrated naval engagements in European history—the battle of *Trafalgar*. This famous maritime confrontation took place off *Cape Trafalgar*, on the southern coast of Spain, on 21st October 1805, the very year in which *William Francis Truefitt* established his business. *Trafalgar* reveals its distinguished heritage with top notes of Cedar and Sandalwood complimented by subtle base notes of Jasmine, Spice musk and Vetiver. *Spray on and enjoy*.[2]

The name Trafalgar occurs four times in four short lines. The question is how can you get to consumers with the name of a battle and make them feel joyous and Euro-conscious? The perceived sense of Britishness it conveys, however, has the power to make it a niche product when

exported (i.e. to Italy). British cologne evokes something distinctively heroic and distinguished, being valiantly associated with the Royal Navy, legendary pirates, and the epic sieges of the West Indies (for instance with the pirate Henry Morgan). The pay-off appeals to quality and heritage are pitched by accumulation of superlatives. No dictionary is needed here, as the style is celebratory and formulaic. The chromatic code uses shades of blue and sober gold and silver for this range of toiletry. Appointment is to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh:

> All our products have been carefully crafted in England since 1805 and they embody the *essence of the British heritage at its best*. Our dedicated team of *highly skilled* professionals, *chemists, designers and craftsmen work tirelessly to deliver* our products known today for their *distinctive tradition of innovation and excellence.* Our iconic ranges will continue to be *produced in England as we constantly endeavour* to bring new and exciting products in response to our customer's needs. (Ibid.; emphasis added)

The West Indies Lime adds to the present corpus the problem of postcolonial linguistic transition and the exo-centric perspective. Again, the non-Anglophone buyer may not identify the claim of origin with Jamaica nor "lime" with Caribbean lime. /Lime/ in this case is not "linden," one of three English phytonyms for the tree genus *Tilia*, also known as basswood. The geographical pre-modifier automatically suggests Western "possession," as the colonial name was given on the basis of the Columbus' discovery of what was thought to be "las Indias Occidentales" (1687), thereafter part of the English crown as the West Indies (the British West Indies, BWI), and known as such to this day (Masiola and Tomei 2009; 2016). In Italy, the fragrance was marketed as "lime dei Caraibi" in the 1960s and '70s, introducing the loan word /lime/ for the first time and popularising it. The English Fay soap bar was "adapted" to /*FA*/, and at the initial stage of marketing /lime/ was spelt according to the pronunciation /*laim*/. The West Indies Lime (*Citrus aurantifolia*), also known as "Key Lime" or "bartender's lime," was no more than an exotic name for cocktails in Italy. Lime, for its content of Vitamin C and intricate colonial and medicinal history, is the emblematic fruit of the Caribbean, from Jamaica to Cuba. It has been commonly associated with sailors and the Navy, and the Limehouse district in the former East London Docklands resonates with maritime history. Its therapeutic usage against scurvy in the navy was kept a military secret. This invested the fruit with patriotic and medicinal properties, and its other scientific phytonym is *Citrus medica*. Scurvy was the scourge of European navies in the age of maritime explorations during lengthy periods at sea.

Lime was the panacea and benefit for the Royal Navy. The perfume of lime was, as a consequence, associated with the "lower classes" as a medicinal disinfectant. It hardly combined with other feminine fragrances. It was an aroma associated with masculinity, seafaring, and military service. There is, furthermore, a circumstance related to a manufacturer in London that added to patriotism. It has to do with the ethics of "savings" and thriving on thrift, a quality hardly palatable for a luxury gift perfume in the lavish world of French and Italian *perfumerie*. In this case, it also has to do with the First World War and F. Geo. Trumper established in 1875, Curzon Street, Mayfair, London. The package of the West Indian Extract of Limes relates the story behind the famous "pink label" and how it has remained virtually unchanged since it was first introduced. Tradition is an added value in this as in other instances of British gentlemen's lotions, aftershaves, and grooming. The story starts with an indirect rhetorical question printed on the pink packaging:

> It has been asked so often, "why does *Trumpers Extract of Limes* have a pink label, surely it should be green?"
>
> We have to relate that once it was but during the Great War (1914–1918) supplies of the correct paper dried up and the only alternative to *Trumpers* was pink, so pink it became and has remained so ever since. *When a tradition stretches back so far it seems a pity to change* it … (emphasis added)

The appeal to history and tradition reinforces corporate identity expressed in the alliteration Trumper/Tradition and the claim to being, "the world's most celebrated gentleman's hairdresser and perfumer." This resonates with London's allure and the vintage of Geo. F. Trumper in person, who first established a barber shop in Curzon street. The body text on package does not feature any neologism or verbal creativity, and is redundant with the occurrence of "tradition" eliciting "trust" in prestige:

> *In the vaults underneath* his shop he made perfumes, toilet waters and pomades, many of which were s*pecial blends created exclusively for his customers*. In the earlier days of Queen's Victoria reign, *Mr Trumper was awarded the Royal Appointment*, *continuing* to the present day. (emphasis added)

Its ancient place in the heart of London and the fact that it is made in England and has been awarded Royal Appointment guarantees of quality, excellence, and exclusivity attract and boost centripetal consumer loyalty from the periphery to the heart of the British Empire:

- Extract of Limes, made only from the *finest West Indian limes is a light …*
- It is additionally available as an aftershave and also as a soap*, finely milled in England …*
- *The Trumper was awarded the Royal Appointment*

The expansion and redundancy of body copy on the packaging contextually functions as lime *per se* and strikes no posh note or burning passion, such as all the "perfumes of Arabia." Before its diffusion with Tequila cocktails and exploitation in perfumery, lime was a medicinal and a cheap disinfectant.

Stower's Lime Juice Cordial claimed to be "Delicious, Healthy & Refreshing." The rhetoric and boast add what it is not to the description: "No Musty Flavour. Absolutely Pure and Non-Alcoholic," stating that it is imported on oceangoing steamers and is made from refined sugar and pure juice. It is part of the glory of the Empire. The visual is a caricature of Blacks recalling Robinson Crusoe's iconography with a shipwrecked wooden box, an umbrella, empty bottles, and "savages" partying. Stower's also featured Black lime pickers on advertising cards. All forms of promotion and advertising date to the 1890s. The expressions are idiotic and similar to the deformed grinning face of the illustrations and caricatures of the Sambo and Gollywog stereotype (see chapter five). The stereotyping strikingly contrasts with the thoughtful dignity of the emancipated female cyclist of another advert for lime by the same company. Bicycles were jointly advertised and promoted with the drink as something dynamic and energetic for a new type of British woman. At the turn of the century, the company started the launch of advertisements of bicycles targeting lady cyclists, and the lime cordial was also perfect for the "complexion," as was claimed. The new posters featured a dignified lady in a dark grey dress, wearing a hat. Any reference to Blacks and the West Indies suggesting plantation labour is thus eliminated. The emancipated lady could surely be involved in the suffragettes and emancipation struggles:

> The only healthy beverage that can be safely taken after cycling or other exercise … a most eminently healthy and delicious beverage, very purifying to the blood and *therefore excellent for the complexion.*

Another novelty is the additional bonus of, "free sample from all grocers, throughout the UK," stimulating positive consideration for the efficient distribution, combined with scientific endorsement if available at chemists,

with "see medical opinions" in the small print. The emphasis is now on quantity and savings, popularising the idea of payoff and a deal to gratify the smartness of female buyers. The poster reads:

> Drink health and pure delight. Sip a glass of *Stower's Lime Juice*—make any taste test you like—and you will be bound to admit that *Stower* is different—more delicious. And it's so *healthful* too. *One bottle makes 20–25 good drinks.* (emphasis added)

Stower's lime was not the only brand, and this may explain the combined advertising of lime and bicycle manufacturing to boost sales of both products to beat the market competition. The Roses' Limes Juice Cordial has been produced since the nineteenth century. It was patented in 1867 and marketed by Coca-Cola and Lipton. The label boasted the "highest award" for lime juice at the Health Exhibition in London and the Edinburgh Exhibition. As many competing brands arrived in grocers' shops in the latter part of Queen Victoria's reign in the wake of the Great Exhibition (1851), new, "Colourful posters appeared on the hoardings erected in towns and cities, and miniature poster adverts were inserted into the growing number of magazines. The grocer would hand out samples and paper novelties … and many of these ended up pasted in children's scrapbooks" (Opie 1999, 16). In the aftermath of the Victorian Jubilee Celebrations and Coronation (1902), cordials, syrups, and concentrated juices were distinctively opposed to alcoholic and high-grade drinks, with an eye on the temperance and prohibition league. Invalids and infants were the new segmented market as opposed to the vim and robustness of the sailors and soldiers. The vocative function is on ethical healthiness, even for beer. The advert "Barret's Stout: 'It saved my life'" features a doctor at the bedstead of a pale and ailing creature. The exclamatory imperative is "Drink!", a slogan also imitated in national advertising campaigns for drinks and beverages all over the world, the jussive function echoing military propaganda, thence popularised in the "Try me!" tag. In this case the reference is to the famous quotes "Drink me!" and "Eat Me!" from *Alice in Wonderland*.[3]

The lime cordial was not the only brand or product launched in the wake of the South Africa campaigns and the Boer war, leading to the "historic sieges of Ladysmith and Mafeking" in 1899 (Opie 1999, 56–7). The events led to an institutionally canonised marketing of the generals and heroes in the printed media, ephemera, and gadgets, ranging from toys and table games to cards inspired by illusionary brand names and an imperial discursive strategy. *Going To Table Bay* was a "Patriotic Descriptive-

Fantasia," and *Siege of Ladysmith* was put to music and subtitled "Grand Divertimento" (composed by Theo Bonheur [*sic*]), as it exploited the lure of uniforms, military jargon, and camp life on the print covers illustrated in bright colours. The taglines and slogans gloriously and buoyantly asserted: "Our Generals' Orders are: Purity Brand Sweets." The Boer War ultimately ended in 1902 (see chapter three). Lime from West India was most welcome as a cordial rhyme on camp:

"They All Agree"
ROSS'S ROYAL
West India
LIME JUICE CORDIAL

A military group is depicted drinking and sitting on wooden boxes containing the bottles, in a moment of convivial pause with a Boer prisoner drinking the cordial: "Our Boer prisoners are treated to the BEST!" One representative of the Royal Scotland Regiment, one Anzac, one Anglo-Indian, and a British soldier in khaki, are all celebrating (see also Hund, Pickering and Ramamurthy2012).The Ross's establishment has produced its famous ginger ale in Belfast since 1852. "Belfast" is visible on boxes. "By Jingo!" as a patriotic and proud exclamation dates to this period. "By Jingo we will go!" referred to the Boer War following the Afghan War. Lord "Bob" Kitchener, one of the three "Bobs" of the "Up to Date War Game" called "With Bobs in Transvaal," had implemented an efficient concentration camp for the Boer women and children. Lime was most welcome, but camp coffee was patented and produced at the specific request of the Scottish Gordon Highlanders in India (see also Ramamurthy 2012 [2003]). The images of ghastly human beings like skeletons from the concentration camps of the Boer War and the heroic resistance of women and children are documented and can be accessed online (McClintock 1995).

Camp Coffee: Selling War to War

For the lime cordial in bottles, innovation came from the chemical industry investing in producing extracts and substitute ingredients. Along the same line of bottled beverage, the British Camp Coffee produced by Paterson's of Glasgow (1867) can be taken as emblematic of the inclusiveness of the imperial drive in advertising war, vim, and vigour.[4] The ready-made chicory coffee met the demands of soldiers on camp and could also attract consumers engaged in sporting activities and on duty. It was originally advertised as a reinvigorating drink in line with the military spirit, and like

the lime extract it featured the Afghan and Boer wars on its labels. Camp Coffee was catapulted to fame as the invention of the first chicory coffee drink. The advertising posters and packaging contextualised the drink at school, home, and the camp. In the camp representation, Peterson's Camp Coffee is designed over a Union Jack , with a one-wheel wagon, camp tents, boxes, and bottles each displaying the name of the product. Sententious slogans are added: "Something Worth Fighting For," "Luck in the Camp," and "Is the Best" as the soldiers (British, Highlanders, Anzacs) open up the boxes, seemingly enjoying the drink. Peterson's Camp Coffee advertising included settings at "Home and Abroad" and institutional places. Location can even be a patriotic classroom, as body copy and slogans are expressed in the print form of the verbal interaction between schoolmaster and pupil. The logo reads, "R-Petersons & Sons. Manufacturing Chemists. Glasgow," underscoring scientific (chemical) innovation. The blackboard reads, "positive = good; comparative = better; superlative = Paterson's Camp Coffee!" The register is formal.

> Schoolmaster: "Did not I tell you to make the best drawing you could?"
>
> Boy: "Please Sir. I drew *Peterson's "Camp" Coffee*. Mother says it IS THE BEST"

This type of coffee can be tasted and offer a break and temporary relief in a colonial camp. It also popularised campaigns featuring generals, cavalry brigadiers, and simple soldiers, as already observed for Ross's lime cordial juice. Camp Coffee is even more evocative of a heroic strain in the call to a galloping cavalry charge with superlatives and legal information such as "1st and Best" and "seal of quality," stating the registered license and "sole proprietors." There are posters depicting the cavalry charge of the Royal Dragoons evocative of the battle of Waterloo in 1815, and British Hussars recalling the celebrative anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 (see chapter one). The years of the Cape Wars (1893–1902) overlapped with the celebrations of victories over the French Armée (Waterloo 1815), igniting pride and reinvigorating consensus. The "Aye Ready" of the new slogan introduced the usage of Scottish English. Colloquial forms were used in ads, especially in exclamatory remarks as in children's speech and dialectal expressions that could be graphically highlighted in print ads and cartoons (see chapter five). Camp Coffee was, however, a substitute for coffee and a ready-made beverage with chicory. The word "camp" intentionally overshadowed the less prestigious "chicory." The beverage did not need toasting or brewing and was ready to drink (RTD). It was also served in times of home war and shortage of

coffee. Initially produced in Glasgow in 1867 by Paterson & Sons, it emphasised its Scottish identity on its red label. The first launch underscored the Scottish origins in the word "Aye." In this context, more than an affirmative /yes/ (Aye, Aye) the lexical item signifies "always" (der. Old Norse /*ei*/ → /ever/): "Ready Aye Ready" is used to indicate that the drink was *always* ready and enjoyable. The most popular advertised image is that of a Gordon Highlander, possibly legendary General MacDonald, and a Sikh soldier sitting down together outside a tent, with a flag unfurled carrying the drink's slogan. The launch of the beverage and its payoff resulted in a much-needed reinvigorating drink for the colonial troops in the far-flung corners of the Empire, from Transvaal to Afghanistan to Crimea. Originally, the Sikh soldier was carrying a tray of coffee; the current version has the Anglo-Indian military man enjoying coffee convivially with the Highlander.

During the Second World War, the visual design shifted from the images of military men and their actions to the more modern representation of the role played by British women in the service, as in other posters of the 1940s. The priority in the persuasive strategy was not so much for immediate consumption of the camp coffee as much as to counteract the shortage in the supply of real coffee. A message of confidence for this patriotic substitute is conveyed by a young lady in a green uniform sitting as she drinks from a porcelain cup and saucer, with a teaspoon. Her white gloves and duty handbag are visible with the "we always have it!" slogan. As with other posters and adverts during the Second World War, women are represented for their technical efficiency and professional contribution, visible in their impeccable hairdos and well-ironed uniforms.[5] In his pioneering study of linguistics and advertising (1966), Geoffrey Leech selected Camp Coffee as a new gender orientation in the female press. Conversely, the technique of interior monologue, as used in the smoke clouds of the strip-cartoons, so different from the military campaigns, refreshes the mandatory and aggressive approach of the imperative slogans noted above. The visual graphics of the 1940s are the vital link to targeting an aware consumer, in this case female, with the addition of true and practical information. The stream of thoughts and monologue flowing through feelings and impressions shifts into a direct form of address /you/, frequent in advertising.[6] But with thoughts one cannot lie: what is said is always true.

> The taste of **real** coffee. Rich. Smooth. Mellow. The taste of Camp. Made **with** good coffee, made as good coffee should be. Fresh ground. Gently percolated. Then concentrated, not into a dehydrated powder, but into a

> full-flavoured **liquid**. With chicory to give it "bite." And sweetened with pure cane sugar. Coffee at its best. Ready for you to enjoy. And you can enjoy **forty-two cups** of marvellous Camp coffee for only **2/7 ⅓d.** (in Leech 1966, 55–6)

The concept of the "camp" beverage, however, holds to the idea of colonial life, open air, and the release of energy. Nothing more than camp life and a campfire gave the pioneering spirit a boost in the colonial identity (see the next section on Australia). As argued by C. C. Elridge in *The Imperial Experience* (1996), in the days of late campaigns and patriotism, few could have been immune from the lure of the mushrooming advertising industry.

> Tea, tobacco, chocolate, soap and biscuits companies, in particular, packaged their wares in tins and boxes covered with empire scenes and familiar figures of military and familiar renown. *Apparently, the Boer War might have ended much sooner if British soldiers had spent less time waving cigarette packets from tops of hills*. Indeed, if one Bovril advertisement is to be believed, Lord Roberts' route across the Orange Free State carefully spelt out the word "Bovril." (93–4; emphasis added)

The impressive growth of advertising was partly due to the diffusion of newspapers and popular journals. The print media advertised homely and patriotic brands meant to give a sense of comfort abroad in military campaigns. This comfort added to the feeling of trans-colonial unity and solidarity, manifested through a common language, common brands, and common advertising slogans (see the following sections). Alongside the exploitation of the imperial iconography for commercial profit, however, national identities began to emerge from the periphery, in turn becoming vintage ephemera and Commonwealth memorabilia and 'ghost signs' of shop (see Schutt, Roberts, and White 2017).

The Periphery Down Under: Adland in Ozland

Billy Tea and Billabong: Australian Identity

Australian Billy Tea perfectly captures the spirit of Australian identity with its campfire on its packaging. No fine cups and saucers, no men in uniforms—only the ingredients that have made camp tea part of the Australian outback tradition. The advertising claim on the packaging narrates the origin of *Waltzing Matilda*, Australia's favourite anthem. The vintage package tells the story as the illustration has remained unchanged. The word /billycan/ is an Australianism (also known as billy tin, or billy

pot), denoting a bucket used to boil water for tea over a campfire, and it is in British dictionaries (Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English, LDCE 2003). The "billycan" referred to is the one popularised in the song *Waltzing Matilda*. The lyrics were written by A. B. (Banjo) Paterson and arranged by Christine Macpherson. The term "billycan" has a story as an imported commodity and linguistic borrowing. The assumed derivation is from /*bouilli*/, the French term for /boiled/ in the large cans (tins) where beef was preserved and transported to Australia, and also used during exploration of the "bush" or "outback." During the Gold Rush in Victoria, supplies of tinned meat mixed with soup came from France and the cans were branded *Bouilli*. The empty containers found use as kettles and teapots, and created the Australian production of similar vessels. [7] This is an interesting case of Australianism based on a French term. The song *Waltzing Matilda* highlights semantic shifts to a new language identity: *squatters*, *swagman*, *coolibah tree*, *jumbock*, *billabong*,[8] and the rolled-up *swag* or blanket called "Waltzing Matilda."[9] The word /Waltzing/ is a derivation from the German phrase "*auf der Waltz*" for travelling on foot. Conversely, the music (1903) is derived from a Scottish Celtic tune. In the packaging, the picture logo illustrates a campfire scene with two diggers drinking tea and a kangaroo. The headline reads "The Famous Billy Tea," claiming to be "Australia's favourite strong bush cuppa!" A small stylised map of the continent is positioned between the words "Traditional Australian." The body copy reports facts and oral traditions, and the term "Australian" is iterated to underscore identity. It is a rather unusual example of music adapted from an unofficial national anthem based on a Bush ballad written in 1895, where the two key words are derived from French (Billy) and German (Waltzing). The real "swagman" hero of the story is not Australian; he was a Bavarian, Samuel Frenchy Hoffmeister, leader of strikers during the rebellion of shearers over unfair labour conditions in 1891. So, there is more to it than the Gold Rush, as there is the Australian Great Depression and the impending threat of civil commotion. The song, an Australian anthem, is revelatory in its linguistic derivation of a rich and composite cultural identity.

> *Billy Tea* was first introduced in 1888 by James Inglis & Co tea and coffee merchants of Sydney. Its *unique* packaging, capitalised on the Gold Rush spirit. Both the packaging and the spirit have remained almost *unchanged—the real Australian flavour*. Marie Cowan was the wife of the Sydney Tea merchant James Inglis, and arranged the tune Waltzing Matilda for her husband to distribute in the late 1890's as an advertisement for his tea. The words used in the song copy differ significantly from those published by A. B. Paterson. Whether the words changed gradually or as the song passed from singer to singer in the outback or were changed to

help promote *Billy Tea* around 1903 is debatable, what we do know is you can still *enjoy* that Gold Rush spirit, listen to Waltzing Matilda whilst *enjoying the distinctively Australian taste of Billy Tea*. (emphasis added) [10]

Australia Made, Australia Owned? From Eucalyptus to Macadamia

The distinctive flavour of *Billy Tea* is given by the aroma of eucalyptus leaves. The bush tea version was brewed with eucalyptus leaves only, as in "colonial" bush teas native herbs were substituted for the "real" Indian tea. Eucalyptus is the other capital Australian produce. It is part of Australian iconography, filmography, and literature, for instance *Eucalyptus* by Murray Bail (1998). Joseph Bosisto (1827–98), of Italian descent, was the man who first produced and marketed eucalyptus oil. Originally, the company's logo was a budgerigar, the Australian parrot or parakeet. Jospeh Bosisto had migrated to Australia from England during the Gold Rush in 1849, but at the same time he was also interested in experimenting with the medicinal properties of Australian plants.

Along with the Australian budgerigar, the koala is the other animal emblem of Australian Eucalyptus Oil. The koala bear, as it was formerly called, feeding on eucalyptus leaves is also the symbol of international campaigns to save the planet. Originally, koalas were inaccurately compounded with the term /bears/, as in the Euky Bear Brand. This oil is an all-purpose disinfectant, like tea tree oil.[11] The brands selected here have a common derivation: a claim to being Australian, albeit connected to British production and international capital. The first case is that of the Australian boasting brand, where the word Australian occurs four times in three paragraphs. Reoccurrence, already noted for Billy Tea, was puzzling for the EU market, and after one decade the body copy and taglines have changed. In 2003, the body copy seemed to ban verbal creativity as it relied on the mantra repetition of /Australian/: A. outback; A. gum leaves; A. bush. "Bush" and "Outback" are co-hyponyms. The adjectives /fresh/ and /clean/ are iterated:

NAME: *Australian Euky Bear Brand*: EUCALYPTUS OIL.

USE & PAYOFF: A multi-use essence with the *fresh clean fragrance* of the *Australian outback*. A premium quality pharmaceutical grade oil *guaranteed to comply with the British and other Pharmacopoeia.*

CLAIM: Produced from native *Australian* gum leaves deep in the *Australian* bush where the air is *clean and fresh*.

> GUARANTEE: No pesticides or fertilizers are used. No artificial additives, aromas or flavourings are added.

The opening lines highlight the trade bond with the UK, whereas the EU is simply dismissed as "other Pharmacopoeia" (with capital /P/). The last two lines guarantee composition and make up for the absence of a tagline and slogans. The koala image is pictured in colour. The reference to "British" pharmacopoeia explicitly rules out the EU, justified if the company had been funded by British corporate capital or venture capital. In origin, the company was established by British share capital. In the 1950s and '60s it was common to have Australian raw materials such as bales of Merino wool and sheep hides shipped over to Great Britain to be re-finished, and thence re-exported.[12] This caused additional costs and may explain the difficult launch for the manufacturing industries in the Australian economy during the post-war years. The current claim "Australia Owned, Australia Made" is better understood when considering the emergence of new branding and marketing identity and the core cultural value of Australian 'mateship' (Wierzbicka 1997, 101-18)

Today, the corporate profile of the homepage has dramatically changed since 2003. This is the new Euky Bear for 2016, still Australian with three occurrences in five lines, exactly like the Euky:

> **Euky Bear**
>
> From head lice to head colds, *Euky Bear* offers *quality natural solutions families can trust*. *The 100% Australian-owned range* includes the famous *Euky Bearub* chest rub and *Australia's* quietest warm steam vaporiser; child-friendly cough and cold options from newborn onwards, plus the innovative new *Blitz Nitz* head lice control range.
>
> *With almost 40 years of helping Aussie kids* stay healthy, you can rely on *Euky* to take good care of your little koala bear. (emphasis added)

Only 13 years separate this homepage banner from the package body copy. The emphasis is on babies and nursery room imagery, with a prevailing baby blue as the chromatic code for this line extension rivalling the more famous Vicks Vaporub (see chapter four). Trust, quality, warmth, child-friendliness, health, and the "good care of your little koala bear" definitely veer off from any rawhide life of the Billy Can. Dedicated webpages give further information about the eucalyptus essence. Due to its usage as an all-purpose disinfectant and detergent (hospitals, house care, sanitary fittings, etc.), the fragrance was associated with the low-end market, its aroma associated with the negative smell of sanitising, bugs, and head lice,

as in the case of lime. The colonial association to Jamaican blacks and Aboriginal populations also underscored the negative stereotyping of the product. Another Australian fragrance that has picked up marketing visibility is tea tree oil. The latter seems to reverse the "British Pharmacopoeia" effect, as Tea Tree Oil Soap is marketed by the internationally renowned Holland & Barrett. The fine-print information on the soap packaging reads: "Carefully Manufactured for Holland & Barrett, Ltd. (USA) for Holland & Barrett (UK) Nuneaton, Warwickshire." The phrase Australia/Australian occurs three times as a pledge and a promise (Berti 2011, 372-90).

> Tea tree is a pure oil, culled from the leaves of a tree (*Melaleuca alternifolia*), native to *Australia*. Traditionally, it has been used as a topical agent for the skin.
>
> The *Australian* standard requires that the oil of Melaleuca alternifolia must be composed of less than 15% cineloe and over 30% terpinen-4-ol. *Holland & Barrett Tea Tree Oil is meticulously analysed to ensure that it exceeds the level of oil quality standard decreed by the Australian government*. (emphasis added)

The implied assertion here is that the "British do it better." Moreover, the brand is competing with Australian Tea Tree Soap by Campbell, even if distribution and circulation in the EU are difficult for non-EU products. The tagline stresses that it is "The Natural Essence of Australia," with maps of Australia and kangaroos sketched out with trees. In all of the above packaging there is no Union Jack chromatic code. The Australian soap (2003) has a geometric picture logo with the five stars of the Southern Cross. The Campbell caption warrants: "Australian Made Australian Owned," as the company is based in Sydney and Auckland:

> This special soap contains tea tree oil, known for its antiseptic properties. Concentrated tea tree oil is distilled from the leaf of the **Autralian** [*sic*] **Melaleuca Alternifolia tree**.
>
> Characteristics of this soap are unique spicy tea tree oil aroma and the fresh feeling imparted to the skin.

There is an embarrassing typo: *Autralian.* After all the money invested in marketing research, production, graphic design, distribution, and an advertising campaign in the media, a total final control on everything appearing in written form, with original body copy and copy adaptation alike, would be highly recommendable (see more on typos in chapter four).

The 1950s in Australia saw the boom of television commercials in parallel with the painted wall advertising in the cities, print ads, brochures, posters, billboards, and broadcast jingles. The products perceived by consumers as Australian were, however, not always manufactured in Australia, as patents were acquired and licensed. The one Australian invention, Vegemite, by Ciryl Callister, Melbourne (1922), had Kraft on its label. Callister invented for the Fred Walker Company (later Kraft) what was first launched as Vegemite. Kraft Australia is a parent company of Kraft USA. The product was also competing with the similar, British-made Marmite, which already dominated the Australian market and had a similar sound (see also Shuy 2002). Notwithstanding the distribution of the product to the Anzacs (the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) in wartime, the product was not an Australian favourite. The breakthrough came with commercials in the 1950s when a jingle sung by little girls, first on the radio and then televised with tap-dancing, became a hit. The promotional campaign was created by the international agency Andrew Thompson, and recalled the Ovaltine kids adverts (see chapter five). The radio teaser and the tap-dancing campaign became part of sponsored advertising history in Australia. Along the same lines, other Australian products were relaunched, such as the patented Aktavite (since 1943), and Aeroplane Jelly (1927). The latter had huge wall paintings, teaser campaigns, and a famous vaudeville-like song: "I love Aeroplane Jelly! Aeroplane Jelly for me!" Both products are Australian made and owned. Vegemite is now owned by Mondelēz International (USA), while other Australia-owned products are challenging the market (e.g. AussieMite).[13]

The 1950s were a golden age of Australian television commercials with the launch of Channel 9 based in Sydney (September 16, 1954). British standard pronunciation was then a prerequisite in commercials. Concerning language policy, children were tutored in correct pronunciation at school. Some commercials, though, aroused hilarity for their imitative British intonation.[14] Such was the case of the shirt manufacturing company Pelaco in airing the slogan, "It is indeed a lovely shirt, Sir!" The print advertisement preceded the advent of the televised commercial, which only re-used what had already been in visual print five years before (1950–9). A beautiful lady featured in the new launch, yet it was the stress on the "indeed" that clashed with "Strine" (Australian English) and Australian speakers.[15] It was not their language (Damousi 2010). Conversely, the posters that preceded this commercial were offensive caricatures of Aborigines and their "broken English" (see chapter five), rivalling American racism and slurs in ads, picturing ragged creatures and idiotic

outcasts dressed in a vaudeville style in a sequence of posters. The tagline "Mine tinkit they fit," which at the time was intentionally amusing, today belongs to a sad and shameful past (see also O'Barr 1994).

Historians of advertising will signpost the 1950s and hallmark the emergence of television commercials in Australia and America (Crawford 2008). Luke Sullivan, in examining the "unique selling positions," argues that, "In the 1950s, the national audience was in the palm of the ad industry's hand. Anything that advertising said, people heard. TV was brand new, 'clutter' didn't exist, and pretty much anything that showed up in the strange, foggy little window was kinda cool" (2003 [1998], 5). As competition grew, language matters were a salient factor determining localisation and targeting Australian buyers, released from subservience to American and British advertising standards. Verbal transgression and emancipation with reference to language, function, mixed genre (Bahtia 1987; 1992) and idiomatic creativity would become more explicit in years to come, as in the case of banned ads now available on YouTube.

The Australian Castlemaine beer is a case in point, with the XXXX lager. XXXX in the 1920s stood for quality and excellence, then, on a wave of slogan subversion, XXXX was repositioned with a more Aussie-like slogan suitable for ad campaigns in the 1980s and '90s: "Australians wouldn't give a XXXX for anything else" (see also Wierzbicka 1997, 198-17). In *The Language of Advertising*, Angela Goddard remarks how, "the producers managed to break taboo in language (thank fuck it's Friday) without having to come right out with it and, as a result, be accused of offensiveness" (1998, 48). Australian identity echoing the mateship concept is graphically illustrated in the posters and body copy with the speech forms used in elliptical turn taking. There are two men (or mates), the younger holding a can and the older a bottle, both sitting at a pub counter. The older one makes a toast: "and this one's to the third pommie wicket in the second innings of the first test." /Pommy/ (also /pom/) is a mild derogatory term for the British used in Australia and New Zealand. Castlemaine (Brisbane, Queensland) hatched sequels to the commercials derived from their corporate tagline, inspiring hilarious promos and commercials set in the outback, like the "kiss wish" to the frog that turns into a sheep shearer, who in turn kisses his maiden turning her into an XXXX can. In the wake of mateship and beer culture, naughty and sexy Aussie beer commercials proliferated. The banned Tooheys New What Mates Do (2008) advert—featuring bottle openings with different body parts, such as a girl using a delicate area—and the Foster's Australian for Beer tutorial on "how to speak Australian" (2014).

The XXXX beer slogan was fortunate to also be used intertextually in other promotional advertising (such as tourism) and labels. More recent trends in international communication lay an emphasis on Australian attributive features, albeit the Australian presence and contribution being insignificant, which in part explains the claim of "Australia Owned, Australia Made," which is otherwise rather disorienting for EU consumers. One interesting case study is the Aussie Miracle Shampoo.

Aussie Shampoo: Pseudo-identity

Aussie Shampoo has only a minor claim to Australianess, notwithstanding the body copy and language. One reference is to the "Australian Macadamia Nut Oil" and its kangaroo pictorial logo. The Macadamia nut or Australian nut (*Macadamia integrifolia*) is indigenous to Australia, wherefrom it was transplanted (to Hawaii, California, Kenya, Brazil, and Israel) and is apparently the only Australian item in this product justifying the identification with the continent.[16] The "Australian" jojoba seed oil, moreover, is not native to Australia, although it has been grown there in large quantities in recent times to replace other oils used in the cosmetics industry (i.e. whale oil and sheep lanoline). The oil is extracted from the seed of *Simmondsia chinensis*, a plant native to southern Arizona, Southern California, and northwestern Mexico, as cultivation has also spread to semi-desert areas like Israel and Australia.

The Aussie trademark uses adjectives like "Australian" and "Aussie," conjuring an aura of belongingness, and uses a buoyant language for a faux ad identity while the product is global. It was sold in Australia prior to 1990, and thence phased out with a focus on American markets and the EU. Likewise, the brand is manufactured by Procter & Gamble, the American giant who bought the brand in 2003. The kangaroo logo and its slogan "Roo Your 'Do'!" are the evocative items of Australian identity: /Roo/, like /kangie/, is Australian English for "kangaroo." On closer perusal, however, what one can detect in the fine print on plastic bottles is that it is not made in Australia but France, and distributed from Gauteng, South Africa. In London it is also advertised outdoors and inside carriages on the underground railway. The batch of bottles available in London (in 2013) stated the "Aussie" trademark, Weybridge, Surrey, distributed by P&G (Procter & Gamble), and gave a consumer care line available for Ireland, the UK, the USA, Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark. Online advertising on the company's homepages combines banners, short commercials, displays, a flurry of puns, tags, and multilingual captions:

"Hocus Pocus Mirror Focus"
"Aussie Halloween Hair"
"Bye Bye Frizz Aloe Aussie"
"Go Macadamia Nuts"
"Turn Up The Volume"
"Aussie Aussome"

This creativity and verbal exploitation parallel the "centre" of English as transgressively used by the UK-based Soap & Glory (see chapter four). In the case of Aussie Shampoo, however, it is more a re-fashioned identity using language as a rebellion against the "centre," using the language transgression of Australian advertising targeting the younger segments of the market. English remains non-translated in the countries of Northern Europe where it is currently spoken as the lingua franca. Creativity in advert language challenges the use of English as the lingua franca and translatability, and yet creativity is a pre-condition for advertising (see chapter four). The strategy here is on the use of metaphors, alliterations, unexpected collocations, a colloquial register imbued with media language, juvenile jargon, and provocative Q-A, while underscoring Australian claims to origin and identity. The Aussie's Miracle Hairspray Shine and Hold spray can reads:

> Our styling formula, with **Wild Cherry Bark Extract**, helps to put hair firmly in its place and *gives you shine that shouts from the rooftops*
>
> So is the *hold heavy-handed*? No way
>
> Long-lasting it may be, but a few strokes of the brush and your hair's got its *freedom* once again
>
> *Flexible Hold*
>
> Shine and Vibrancy

Marked in bold are the original graphics, while the italics denote alliterative iteration and synaesthesia: /shine that shouts/ and /hold heavy-handed/ combine both /freedom/ pairs with the collocational antonym /hold/. Reference to local media culture and events is avoided (see chapter four on Lush), as the product is intended for the global market. Another product, the Aussie Reconstructor—Deep Conditioner for Damaged Hair, claims to have "Australian Balm Mint Extract" and "Australian Balm Mint" (no scientific names are given). Aussie-style colloquialism is again resorted to on the back of the bottle in fine print: "Australian Balm Mint is so amazing that the bloke who first brought it back from Australia called it

'The Elixir of Life'." Australian colloquialisms ("bloke," "splodge") typical of Australian Standard English are used, and prosodic features are also exploited: "The essential oil in Australian Balm Mint has a naturally sweet scent. So pop a splodge of 3 Minute Miracle onto clean wet hair, breathe in and enjoy the smell."

Maybe the Linnaean binomial has been left out to not affect this easygoingness; in any case, the name is *Prostanthera melissifolia*. In Australia it is referred to as "balm," "balm mint," "bush balm" and more completely as "Australian balm mint bush." If names are not a matter of legal dispute with consumers, they may be so regarding patents and trademark registration with competing brands.

Conclusively, what is tantamount to the present perspective on the dynamics of international communication in Australia is epitomised by the brand name Billabong. It is not a funny meaningless sound; it derives from Wiradhuri, an Aboriginal language of New South Wales. It denotes a blind channel leading out of a river for the native Aborigines, and more generally in Australian English a pool, or stagnant waters.[17] It has been a cool brand for sporting and surfing gear with young people all over the world since the 1980s and has created some well-regarded advertising campaigns. It was one of the first companies to implement the augmented reality app Zappar in advertising in 2011, "to allow consumers to interact with its instore, online and print advertising." By using Zappar on Billabong's "life's better in board shorts" ads, consumers gain access to videos of surfers and are linked to a dedicated microsite. The Billabong campaign signals a growing trend for brands to use interactive ads.[18]

Conclusion

As thoroughly evidenced in the selected brand corpus, the factors impacting advertising and international communication are the result of colonial and postcolonial dynamics reinforced by sociolinguistic circumstances and tensions determined by prestige and ideology. The choice to develop a common colonial product imported and branded in London and Great Britain ("The Heart of Empire"), and its emancipation in its original postcolonial context, as in the case of limes from the West Indies, suggests a common thematic frame that may also be used to analyse development paradigms of commodification and raw produce, such coffee, tea, spices, and medicinal herbs, as seen in the selection of the patriotic Camp Coffee and the Australian identity of Billy Tea. The South African bush tea, rooibos, with Jamaica lime is also dealt with in chapter

three. The overall aim of the whole study is to follow a main theme in communication regarding colonial and postcolonial identity and the thematisation of the same products, seen from different viewpoints. The rhetorical strategies on a diachronic scale of reference underscore shifts in the English language and advertising language as they foster changes in attitudes and beliefs. More than merely self-indulgent choices, these are indicators of the influence of prestige, branding, war propaganda, and ethnic stigma. The use of slogans, taglines, and brand names in advertising thrives on intertextual reference, in turn creating an echo effect as the slogan is used outside advertising, especially with the sonic effect of radio commercials, jingles, and music. Prestige may side with patriotism, as the music hall sided with propaganda channelled through posters, billboards, and the many forms of advertising, as seen in the preceding sub-sections (Perfume and Power: From the West Indies to London; Camp Coffee: Selling War to War). The United Kingdom, The United States, and Australia, as well as the Caribbean and South Africa (see chapter three), have occupied a very special place in the transition from the Commonwealth to globalisation. The "expanding circle" and the "extended" periphery have contributed to the spread and diffusion of English through international branding, as television plays were sponsored by the advertising company and distributed throughout the English-speaking countries in the 1940s and '50s, and the recognition of variety (see also Seoane and Suàrez-Gòmez 2016). So, the British Cheesebrough Pond's Playhouse ran commercials for Pond's Cold Cream in Australia, and the audience had the idea of a common lifestyle, a common language, and consumers' taste throughout the Commonwealth. Pond is emblematic of multinational acquisition: funded by Mr. Pond in 1846 (Utica, New York), it was acquired by the then-British Unilever (founded by the Lever brothers in 1885, and now an Anglo-Dutch multinational). US and UK ads impacted consumers in the Commonwealth countries with their language. Jingles like the American Coca-Cola's:

> Bring home the Coke, bring Home the Coke
> Everybody's happy when you bring home the Coke

or the British Brylcream's:

> Brylcream—A Little Dab'll Do Ya! Brylcream—
> You'll look so debonair. Brylcream—
> The gals'll run to ya; they'll love to run their fingers through your hair

sponsoring television programmes in Australia blurred geographical distance and identities in the common constructions of the illusion of

dreams (American, Australian, etc.) in the year of the Russian Sputnik launch. The possibility of choosing brands as they were displayed on the shelves of stores and supermarkets gave a feeling of security and protection against the black clouds of Communism gathering over the world, as a brave new world of comfortable and cosy inventions was just around the corner (see also Jones 2011). Today, the jingle "It's Maybelline New York" challenges any other metropolis with its American pronunciation. Max Factor has the lure of being the "make-up of makeup artists," thus epitomising Hollywood. Americans in California have a different accent from those in New York. Words like mascara, Rimmel, and makeup were becoming international in the 1950s in many European countries and popular in the language of cosmetics advertising (Ringrow 2016). The issue of multilingualism in advertising and research in the response from bilingual or multilingual community is the current challenge in Commonwealth countries like Australia (Santello 2016). Mark Tungate in *Adland. A Global History of Advertising*, however, sees Australia from a different viewpoint, from the 'periphery' to the 'centre:'

> While South Africa should seem impossibly remote from a European perspective, its regular appearance on the evening news give it an odd familiarity. Australia, on the other hand ---despite its many cultural similarities to both Britain and the United States --- feels considerably further flung. 'Poms' aged 30 and up may associate Australian advertising with the actor Paul Hogan and a 1980s campaign for the lager brand Foster's. In a highly popular series of commercials created by the agency Hedger Mitchell Stark, Hogan played more or less the same character he portrays in the film *Crocodile Dundee* (1986) --- the straight-talking yet amiable 'Aussie.' In the ads, Hogan was transported to the UK, where he was constantly puzzled by the bizarre or simply snooty habits of the Brits. Fortunately, he could always console himself with a sip of Australian lager Foster's, 'the amber nectar', which he assured us tasted 'like an angel crying on your tongue'. *Hogan almost single-handedly introduced the Aussi salutation 'G'day' to the British.* (2007, 233; emphasis added)

Notes

[1] https://www.woodsofwindsor.co.uk/all-fragrances. The tagline reads: "the natural beauty from the garden of England."

[2] https://www.truefittandhill.co.uk/products/trafalgar-cologne. The launch was in 2005 and the perfume has been marketed ever since.

[3] The literary echo is from an episode of François de Rabelais's *Gargantua* and the "Divine Bottle" with "*Bois!*" written on it to attain knowledge. The imperative is an example of references to children's literature, advertising, and slogans imitative

of propaganda, as in the list of slogans on packages in Robert Opie's *The Victorian Scrapbook* (1999), *The Edwardian* Scrapbook, and *My Search for the Throwaway History* (2013). *The Little Black Sambo* by Helen Bannerman was published in 1898, one year before the Boer War.

[4] Vim in British English is entered as "old fashioned" (LDCE 2003). It is the name of an abrasive cleansing powder, and a range of household products originally produced by the Lever Brothers. Although a Latin word (the accusative form of *vis*, meaning "force"), it was not perceived as such by most Italian consumers at the time of its launch in the 1960s.

[5] Suntanned athletic teenagers current feature in the recent army print material and communication to join the army. The young lady of the 1940s will bear a closer resemblance in attire to the mothers of the young teenaged girls in the top-gun Air Force, and in the "Step by Step Guide to Joining the Army" tagged as "ARMY: Be the Best." The Ministry of Defence recruiting group states that: "The Army welcomes people from all backgrounds. Whatever your race, ethnic origin, gender, religion or belief, there is a role for you in our team … We have a strict code of conduct that ensures zero tolerance of bullying, harassment …" We thank the recruiting office in Woking, Surrey for letting us have the printed materials in 2008.

[6] The appeal to exact price and quantity in terms of containers and consumption (glasses, drinks, etc.) is more palatable to Anglo-Saxon cultures. Italians are attracted by other elements and factors, and are culturally less prone and morally subservient to the /S/: savings, save, safe, sale, and subscribe effect. Protestant culture, especially the American Franklinian tradition of not wasting things and the ethics of *Poor Richard's Almanac*, is implied and suggested in promotional advertising and direct forms of address (i.e. "You").

[7] *Bouillon* is the international French term used for soup made by boiling meat and vegetables (LDCE, 2003). The billycan was one of the things purchased by migrants for kitchenware, a poor substitute for Italian "napoletana." See the full story in the *Australian National Archives*, dated September 18, 1937. http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/30778527.

[8] This term also has a disputed etymology. The word is most likely derived from the Aboriginal Wiradjuri term *bilabaŋ*, which means "a watercourse that runs only after rain" and is derived from *bila*, meaning "river," and possibly *bong* or *bung*, meaning "dead." One source, however, claims that the term is of Scottish Gaelic origin. See the *Macquarie Dictionary*, South Yarra, 2005. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Billabong.

[9] /*Swag*/ is recorded as old-fashioned Australian English referring to "clothes and possessions that someone travelling on foot carries wrapped up" (LDCE 2003, 1676).

[10] From the claim on package.

[11] Arthur Penfold is credited with experimenting with the first chemical process and research on its medical benefits in 1922. Like many other colonial products and native plants, the case history is that of patents, formulae, and licenses, also used as vaunts in advertising. The American Defense Soap homepage advertises by summing up the story inclusive of trademarks and license (http://www.defense

soap.com/tea-tree-oil-soap.html). A non-commercial Australian website reports that, "In the fifties, tea tree oil became a household remedy in many Australian homes and was an essential part of every Australian soldier's kit during World War II, which is probably how the word was spread to the rest of the world on the properties and efficacy of the oil. Production ebbed in the 1950's and early 1960's as demand for the oil declined due both to the development of antibiotics and the waning image of natural products as the post WWII boom took off" (http://www.teatree.org.au/teatree_about.php). The current EU trend in demand for Australian natural products has been steadily rising.

[12] See also Australia's online magazine for wool advertising, *Beyond The Bale*, (https://www.wool.com/globalassets/start/about-awi/publications/btb_advertising_rate card).

[13] Memorabilia, vintage, and anniversary celebrations commemorate 50 years of advertising campaigns, and the televised commercials are available on YouTube.

[14] Rosanna Masiola provided me with this information. Australian educators and linguists with whom I had the opportunity to discuss language policy at ELF conferences in Hong Kong and Istanbul confirmed it.

[15] The model was the attractive Bambi Tuckwell, a violinist.

[16] The plant was first described and named by the German botanist Baron F. Mueller (1867). The Aborigines who first used this plant and gave it names in their languages—*bauple*, *gyndl*, *jindilli*—seem to have no place in this process of globalisation. The plant is also known as the Hawaii nut.

[17] The definition is not from an Australian dictionary. It is from the American Webster online dictionary and significantly marks the international recognition.

[18] David Moth, December 1, 2011. https://econsultancy.com/blog/8405-billabong-launches-ar-ad-campaign.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE EXTENDING PERIPHERY: CONFLICTS AND IDENTITIES

RENATO TOMEI

Abstract

This chapter furthers the themes expounded in the previous chapter and exposes the critical issues in the dynamics of the "centre" versus the extending periphery. Whereas the focus of the preceding chapter was on the movement from the "centre" to the "periphery," in this case the centre is de-localised as investments target new markets and the former Commonwealth context becomes a global scenario, as seen in the case of Australia, South Africa, and Jamaica. Confrontation with the dramatic past and the subsequent cultural clash are inevitable and account for the tensions of marginalisation and exclusion. The case of caricatures of African Americans, Latinos and Italian migrants regarding bananas, from plantation to fruit shop, is indicative of how ethnic stereotyping has tagged minorities, from plantation labour to fruit vendors (see also chapter five). The stigma is also graphically marked in lines and clouds of "broken language" (Banania). Other critical issues are the lack of recognition of native cultures and localisation. The issues related to localisation are manifest in branding products by plant names, and even in the discovery of precious gems that are then trademarked under the names of the proprietors of mines, and in conformity to the canons of the "centre" (Tanzanite). The conclusion is more like a warning: the risk of erosion of cultural identities and local specificity may also impact on the former "centres." De-localisation can then also mean that the origin of the advertised product is blurred or cannot be tracked. The claim of the originality of traditional British products, Tex-Mex food, and beauty products have now become part of multinational corporations as the time-established centrality has become fluid and volatile.

Keywords: cliché, ethnic stereotyping, name giving, centre vs. periphery, globalisation

Introduction: a Commonwealth of Commodities

This chapter widens the focus of the preceding chapter on colonial, postcolonial and global advertising from the centre to the periphery. As a completion to the section on advertising in Australia and internationalisation, the chapter illustrates examples from South Africa and Jamaica from the expanding periphery to the global world. The corpus is a selection of case studies based on the specific items that account for the spatial identity of people. Coffee, tea, and lime have been dealt with in the preceding chapters (chapters one and two) from the perspective of imperial and colonial advertising in English. South African and Jamaican products are thence problematised regarding the preservation of local specificity in their brand names and advertising. The dynamics of emancipation in advertising and language are examined for products representative of a national identity on the international market. The example of diamonds and the precious gems of Africa epitomises the controversial question of name giving and branding in a former imperial context (see also Ramamurthy 2012 [2003]).The most iconic jewels of Africa bear no trace of the African name of their discoverer nor the ritual and tribal use of the stones, as the brand name has been registered by international jewellers. In the case of precious products of the soil (gems and plants), the branded names come from the polycentres (London and New York) and have acquired visibility as such.

The question of phytonyms and brands is also analysed with reference to the question of international trademark disputes, i.e. rooibos or red bush tea (see also Shuy 2002). In fact, the indigenous plants are connected to oral traditions and healing practices. Advertising does not reveal much of the African native names of plants or their derivation and etymology (i.e. Rooibos, Marula, Moringa). Once again, we have to follow the *fil rouge* of postcolonial themes and try to understand the cultural dynamics enacted by brands and advertising in English.

As seen in the preceding chapters, ethnic stereotyping frequently occurs with fruits and plants as a result of the humble employment for black people and migrants (see also chapter five). Beverages advertising tropical fruits have largely relied on images and caricatures of plantation workers and slaves, from lime juice to rum extracted from the sugar cane plantations of Barbados and Jamaica, to coffee, tea, and cotton. Coconuts,

cocoa, and bananas have been represented in advertising through stylised "tropicalisation," with images of black people as slaves and labourers subservient to the global fruit corporations (Masiola and Tomei 2016). As for the caricatures used for West Indies limes, the sections of this chapters delve into the question of stereotyping gender, class, and race with the ubiquitous banana advertisement. Advertisement and illustration have influenced and in turn been influenced by parody, mimicry, and the stigma of Latinos, Mediterraneans, black people, and African Americans for the entertainment of white people (see chapter five). Data and materials are constructively analysed, as the images and language of advertising range from the opposing extremes of labour and degradation to the gendered representation of ethnicity resulting from stage and film performance (e.g. Carmen Miranda, Joséphine Baker, and the Chiquita logo). The progression from cultural subjection to resistance and emancipation is presented in a comparative perspective, as featured in the current online advertising of perfumes and lime essence of Jamaican brands.

South Africa: Name Giving and Branding

Diamonds and Tanzanite

The case of advertising and the mining wealth of South Africa is even more controversial regarding territorial geo-specificity and community identity. The names of South Africa and the "Cape colony" as imagined spaces evoke images of wars, Apartheid, resistance, and revolutionary idealism. They also evoke images of stunning natural beauty and treasures from the heart of the earth. In her study on advertising and imperial propaganda, Anne McClintock features the bleak descriptions of the years of struggle and resistance of both Afrikaners against the British and Black against Afrikaner Apartheid, along with the ambiguity of reinforced white control over the cultural identity of black people in the 1980s. The case of South African diamonds is emblematic of the controversial aspects of branding and the national multicultural identity of South Africa. McClintock cites diamond mines as one of the causes of the Boer War, as prior to the discovery of the precious stones, there was no strong interest in investing in the colony:

> Only upon the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886) were the Union Jack and the redcoats shipped out with any real sense of imperial mission. But very quickly, mining needs for cheap labor and a centralized state collided with traditional farming interests and out of these

> contradictions, in the conflict for control over African land and labor, exploded the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. (1997, 368)

Today, diamonds as a luxury item and jewellery convey contrasting perspectives in communication, where the dynamics of global power engender conflicting messages acting on different cultural codes. In terms of royal splendour, nothing is more symbolic of imperial power than the massive "Cullinan" diamond or "Star of Africa" in the British Crown Jewels. Conversely, the beautiful blue and violet Tanzanite is globally marketed and advertised online, although mines seem to be on their way to exhaustion. There is a common parallel in the findings of the two stunning gems, as the "Dudley diamond" and the first Tanzanite discoverers never received recognition through the attribution of their names. Another diamond, "The Star of South Africa" (aka the Dudley Diamond, named after the noble family who owned it), was found by a boy shepherd from the Griqua people on the banks of the Orange River in the Kimberley region in 1869. The discovery of Tanzanite one century later in the Tanganyika Lake area was attributed to an Indian tailor from Goa, Manuel D'Souza (1967). There are other versions attributing the discovery to either a Masai tribesman, Ali Juuyawatu, or Masai warrior, Ndugu Jumanne Ngoma. This beautiful name is recorded on websites on jewels, reporting that: "Tanzanite was discovered in 1967 by the African Masai warrior Ndugu Jumanne Ngoma Kisuahili (meaning "makes music on Tuesday") in the Merelani Hills near the city of Arusha. The gemstone made its way to New York with the help of the Indian businessman Manuel D'Souza."[1] The website also says that: "The only active mines today are in the picturesque hills of Merelani near the city Arusha and are kept *under strict, state control; the stones are allocated conscientiously to licensed dealer.*" Presumably, this is not a native inhabitant.

Tiffany's in New York decided on the name Tanzanite, as the gemstone had been passed on for analysis and evaluation to American hands. The stone has thus been named, branded, copyrighted, and advertised. Notwithstanding the stunning beauty of the "earth-made" gem, advertising conveys no emotional historical identity, as in the localisation of Florentine gold or Etruscan jewellery (see chapter five). Even if the Cullinan jewel is in the Tower of London set on the crown of the royal sceptre, Tanzanite is totally associated with Tiffany's and Saks Fifth Avenue, New York. Tiffany's original campaign advertised that Tanzanite could be found only in two places in the world: Tanzania and at Tiffany's.

Tourists visiting the Diamond Works can read brochures in a standardised language, with the inflationary slogan "diamonds are forever," as in the James Bond story and film, and song by Shirley Bassey (1971). De Beer's slogan is "a diamond is forever." The Diamond Works brochure targets tourists and an international clientele soberly, with no verbal artifice or idiomatic forms that work for food and beverage and low-end market products:

> Diamonds Are Forever. They were formed billions of years ago, some of them older than stars in the sky … The most famous of the South African Diamonds is the Cullinan. It was discovered on January 26, 1905 by Frederick Wells. Though Wells found the stone it was named after the owner of the mine, Sir Thomas Cullinan. A replica of this infamous stone can be viewed at The Diamond Works …

The above information seems to be barely integrated and contextualised in South African history (see also chapter one), otherwise one would not understand the "infamous." The first discoverer was a miner, Thomas Evan Powell, who brought it to the surface and gave it to the manager (Wells) of the Premier Diamond Mining Company, who handed it to the owner of the mine (Cullinan). Likewise, Tanzanite seems to lack an identity and sense of cultural belonging that can work either as logo or tagline:

> Tanzanite, a rare gemstone that captures the essence of Africa, is found only at the foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania making it a thousand times rarer than diamonds. Colours range from brilliant blues to vibrant violets …

No black person was featured in the brochure Diamond Works or on the Tanzanite websites. In another brochure, Prins & Prins Diamonds, "Passion for Perfection" is even more "neutral": "For more than 30 years, Prins & Prins has been regarded and trusted as a leading supplier of premium quality diamonds, gemstones and fine bespoke jewellery." Conversely, the brochure of the Capetown Diamond Museum features a black presence in tracing the history: "how deep is a diamond's journey from the earth to finger?" Still, other brochures (Diamond Company, Cape Diamonds) bear no trace of the discoverers. Brown's Diamond Store, however, has a design and tagline inspired by a South African symbol. The claim is for "flowers that last forever," playing on the famous "diamonds are forever" and the protea (sugar bush or Suikerbossie), the national flower of South Africa. This is in the "Protea Collection," where diamond design cuts are stylised protea flowers.[2] "Inspired by one of South Africa's

most unique and beautiful national treasures, the King Protea. A symbol of adaptability and transformation, the Protea is the perfect way to celebrate our rich and diverse heritage." The lack of visibility of black models in advertising South African diamonds needs to be contextualised in the dynamics of post-colonialism and South African Apartheid, which are causes and effects of exploitation and globalisation.[3] The context of globalisation and international luxury branding, however, makes the presence of black models mandatory, thus challenging restricted visions. Lira, the South African diva of music and television shows, is featured in full display ads in the *Sunday Times*:[4] "in a jacket-and-trouser *Emporio Armani* suit, and a version of the traditional Ndebele neck rings" (July 2016). The death of Nelson Mandela in 2013 had a powerful effect and put global focus on South Africa. If recollections of the Springboks and the Rugby Championship are waning,[5] the statue of the black elephant advertising Marula liqueur as the "spirit of South Africa" proudly welcomes travellers at Cape Town airport.

Rooibos, Marula, and Moringa

There are African plants of which the indigenous names do not appear in advertising information. The lexicography is at times inadequate and yet the plants are used in global industries, such as moringa in the beauty and pharmaceutical industries, marula in the beverage industry, and rooibos in the tea industry. These three names are the result of intricate colonial contact and branding dynamics. The case of rooibos is only apparently simple: what we have is the international scientific binomial (*Aspalathus linearis*) and the Afrikaner name which means "red bush." Names in the many languages of South Africa do not appear in the media and marketing communication. They have been lost, and even the growers on rooibos plantations are unaware of the indigenous names of a bush that has always been used by the Khoisan people. A personal inquiry with several producers of the Cederberg mountains indicated that there was no awareness of any other name. The claims on packaging highlight the place of origin in a similar way. The claim is tautological and iterated, yet says nothing of the medicinal properties and African usage and former language.

> South Africa is the sole global producer of Rooibos Tea. The Rooibos plant, Aspalathus linearis is indigenous to the Cederberg mountains, surrounding Clanwilliam in the Western Cape. In the Biedouw Valley on the North Eastern side of the Cederberg mountains the farm Welbedacht is the sole producer of Biedouw Valley Rooibos tea.

Another company, Skimmelberg, from the name of the mountain, features a royal protea as its logo, and produces Rooibos Tea with Buchu, stating that:

> The home of *Rooibos Tea* is found in the magnificent Cederberg region of the Cape West Coast, where rooibos is endemic to one of the world's great natural treasures, the *fynbos* of the Cape Floral Kingdom.

Again, what seems to be lacking is a linguistic attitude to globalisation; only if you are South African can you be familiar with /*fynbos*/ and /*buchu*/. One is an Afrikaans name for a "shrubland" or "heathland" area of vegetation: /*fynbos*/ means a "fine" leaved plant, and it is not a specific bush and therefore cannot have a scientific name; /*buchu*/ has other variations (*bookoo*, *buku*, *diosma*, *bucku*, *bucco*) and is a medicinal plant, yet descriptions do not give the scientific name for the identification *Agathosma betulina*, Fam. *Rutaceae*, nor direct to any tribal usage and language origin. One has to resort to online information: "The use of *Buchu* has a long and venerable history in Southern Africa and was particularly sacred to the Khoisan who introduced it to the Western colonists."[6]

All information is vital for internationalization and global advertising (see also Powell et al. 2009; Rodgers and Thorson 2012). The same can be said of "Cancer Bush Tea." In this case, the packaging does have the image and the scientific phytonym *Sutherlandia frutescens*, denoting its colonial origin: "The genus *Sutherlandia* was named after James Sutherland, first superintendent of the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, and frutescense means bushy." Other names indicated on the package are Afrikaans variants: *Kanker bos*, *Kalkoenbos*, *Belbos*, *Jantjieberend*, and *Gansiekeurtjie*. The geographical origin is indicated: "Cancer Bush grows naturally in the dry parts of Southern Africa in the Western Cape and up the west coast as far north as Namibia and into Botswana, the Western Karoo and the Eastern Cape." This area covers a staggering wealth of idioms and languages for this plant, of which there is no record.

Yet, rooibos and proteas are the plants which better represent South Africa. Rooibos is sometimes spelled 'rooibosch', as in Old Dutch. In South African English it is more commonly known as "bush tea" and rooibos with an English pronunciation. In Great Britain, it is also known as "redbush tea." There are also other scientific names: *Aspalathus contaminata*, *Borbonia pinfolia*, *Psoralea linearis*, and another South African English name, Kaffree tea. The question of names is not a moot point, as other herbal teas may be traded under this name, and moreover evidence from a dictionary suggests ambiguity: "tea prepared from several

species of *Boronia* or *Aspalathus* believed to have tonic properties" (DEC 2000).[7] The Department of Trade and Industry in South Africa admits the names *rooibos*, *red bush*, *rooibostee*, *rooibos tea*, *rooitee*, and *rooibosch* so that the name cannot be used for derivations other than the *Aspalathus linearis*. Only three decades ago, in the early 1990s, "rooibos" was registered with a US Patent and Trademark Office by Burke International, thus granting a monopoly on the name in the United States. As often happens, there were lawsuits and petitions in defeating this trademark monopoly, and the name was made available to the public domain. Coffee shops in South Africa serve and sell "red espresso" (concentrated rooibos), and rooibos-based variations of coffee drinks, i.e. "red lattes" and "red cappuccinos," as the trend of Italian baristas and the coffee tradition is mounting to an unprecedented global scale. The cited packages of the Biedouw Valley, featuring the "Rooibos Tea and Honeybush" also have precious additional uses that the UK brands lack: you can use it as a base for soups, stews, sauces, and marinades, for a soothing bath to relieve irritation and sunburn, and to rinse your hair. Again, there is a Honeybush illustration, the Latin name (*Cyclopia intermedia*), and that's it. South African advertising and communication that reference endemic medicinal plants should give more historical and factual information to impact the growing global market and the EU.

In the United Kingdom, one favourite brand, Tick Tock, boasts a family story of tea merchants from Moscow and Benjamin Ginsberg pioneering and investing in South Africa in the Cederberg mountains. The tea was introduced during the Second World War, and came to Britain under the brand Eleven O'clock—Rooibosch—Export Quality. Today, the company is UK based, and this is the current claim on its packaging:

> Our unbroken tradition and the expertise gathered over the decades allow us to maintain the high levels of quality for which *Tick Tock* has become known. *Today, we have proudly become Britain's favourite Rooibos tea, and our iconic pack can be found in kitchen cupboards across the country.* (emphasis added)

Penetration into the UK market meant gaining access to the EU and the wider international market, and would otherwise have been more difficult. Sainsbury's distributes "Fairtrade Rooibos" in compliance with the fair-trade standards.[8] The English language is a perfect medium, yet we do not know what the plant was called in any of the other official African languages, as noted. What we do have are several scientific English and Afrikaans names and a simplified compound where everything is /*bush*/ or /*boos*/.[9] Doubtlessly, all the above plants may have been known and used

in herbal medicine, and must have names in the many surviving African languages. They are not recorded in "common" dictionaries, nor is there any reference in advertising and packaging. This original name of the plant endemic to South Africa therefore cannot be licensed or patented. The Khoisan people have always used the plant, and it is surprising that current advertising has no such reference, even if there is a Khoisan Tea company. In 1772, Carl Humberg, a botanist, was the first to record its use. Rooibos had initially been adopted by the Afrikaners as a less-costly substitute for black tea, as they imported the latter from Europe. Until the nineteenth century, the use of tea had not been consistent, and the Cederberg investment came later. There are many existing South African brands as the plant is also used in the cosmetics industry, yet there is a lack of penetration in the EU and marketing visibility. What is even more surprising is that the name of the plant in Xhosa has been forgotten by the Khoisan people, and Afrikaner planters do not know it today.[10]

Another important plant name in branding and advertising is the African Marula. As a beverage, it is produced under license. Amarula is branded as a cream liqueur, and, like rooiboos, it is the iconic beverage of South Africa. The liqueur is an extract from the fruit of the African marula tree (*Sclerocarya birrea*), also known as the "elephant tree" and the "marriage tree." Elephants go to these trees for their "happy hours" and get tipsy from eating berries and leaves, to the amusement of tourists and visitors. Upon arrival at airports in South Africa, one is struck by the display of bottles of Amarula Cream, also known as "liquid gold." The label says it is "Made in South Africa" by Distillers Corporation Limited, and it is described as: "Creamy light brown; fruity aroma; smooth, creamy texture with fruity, slightly nutty flavours." On the internet, one finds the famous Italian brand Stock, producing in Brazil a "Licor Gold Marula" Stock (est. Trieste, 1884) under South African license. This is not a case of counterfeiting; it is a rare case of penetration into the American market by a South African made beverage, as stated in Portuguese on the label.

The case of Afrikaans rooibos or "red bush tea" and its penetration into the European market differs from Amarula, as there is no patent or license to produce the liquor, and through the fact that rooibos is becoming increasingly popular as an anti-oxidant. A contemporary dictionary has no entry for marula tree (derived from an African language), but has an entry for rooibos tea: "tea prepared from any of the several species of *Borbonia* or *Aspalathus*, believed to have tonic properties" (CED 2000, 1010).[11] The lexicographic description leaves unresolved the question of identification and medicinal properties. Regarding advertising this is a moot point, as the

lack of information does not enhance trust in the product and the "what's in it for me?" as a reason for buying that kind of product from South Africa. Branding and marketing South African products can also have a generalised appeal to Africa or exoticism which has no reference to South Africanness. In Italy, rooibos is also packaged under the company name of Té sul Nilo (Tea on the River Nile) and mixed with other herbs, thus totally erasing its South African identity. [12] All African names of the above plants remain unrecorded on the packaging. Another African plant which is used for nutritional and medicinal properties is Moringa (*Moringa oleifera*). In English, it is known as the "miracle tree." Moringa (*Moringaceae* Fam.) is another phytonym which is difficult to detect in its linguistic and cultural identity. It registers several names in the languages of India, where its various parts, i.e. root, stem-bark, fruit, seeds, oil, and gum, have therapeutic properties. The Tamil name *Murungai* indicates that it is a phonetic calque, whereby through standardisation in English it is moringa. There are also other names in the languages of India evidencing its provenance and usage, some in Indian English (Hemadri 2006, 262):

Sanskrit	*Sigru*
Hindi	*Shajna*
English	*Horse Radish, Drumstick Tree*
Telugu	*Munanga Chettu*
Tamil	*Murungai*
Kannada	*Nugge*
Marathi	*Shevga*

This observation may extend to issues related to the controlled denomination of origin and trademarks, as the legal dispute over the right to exploit what is freely available, especially in advertising and rural India (see also Bahtia 2007 [2003]. One may recall the infamous court case on the Indian Neem (*Azadirachta indica*), a traditional remedy in Indian phytotherapy, used in treating diabetes and malaria, and an organic pesticide and fertiliser. It risked being no longer available naturally as it had been subject to trademark distribution under the name of Neem. Also for this plant there are other names, the Sanskrit name indicating an ancient tradition (Hemadri 2006, 54), and other Indian English names:

Sanskrit	*Nimba*
Hindi	*Neem*
English	*Margosa, Neem Tree, Nim Tree, Indian Lilac*
Tamil	*Vambu*
Telugu	*Vepa, Yaapa chettu*
Marathi	*Kadu limb*

In the East Indian communities of Trinidad and Tobago, it is associated with practices of the purification of Devi, the god of disease, funeral rituals, and spirit consultation. All these Indian diasporic traditions are irretrievably lost in the globalisation of products and advertising. The Caribbean, especially Trinidad and Tobago, features many East Indian plants like the Neem, Pipul (also Peepul, Pipal), Tulsi trees, Lotahs, and Tariahs (Winer 2009, 630). The displacement of communities is a factor of linguistic and cultural endangerment through the assimilation and loss of traditional rituals and practices, especially in rural contexts. An enhanced ecolinguistic awareness relevant to geographic recognition would be ethically commendable if not profitable in the culture of fair trade and advertising (see also Rodgers and Thorson 2012).

Jamaica: Labour and Advertising

Bananas and Stereotyping Gender

The Caribbean and Jamaica offer instances of devolving advertising and identity. The Western market discovered vitamins and launched health campaigns promoting bananas and other fruits. Yet, there is a striking contrast with the creation of the Tutti Frutti Lady and the Chiquita Banana compared to the fatigued expressions and sad countenance of the women working on the banana compound, as seen in postcards sent from Jamaica (Fig. 3.1). Carmen Miranda, the Latin American film star, lending her silhouette to the Chiquita logo, appears as a stylised image of her real-life appearance in Walt Disney's animated cartoon movie *Three Caballeros*. In another poster, the image has a closer resemblance to Liz Taylor and other Hollywood brunettes of the 1950s (Fig. 3.2). [13] The slogan for Chiquita, owned by the American giant United Fruits Company, is, "quite possibly the world's most perfect food." [14]There was a fad for cartoons, vignettes, gadgets, comic illustrations, and photographs featuring bananas, as many competing companies imported bananas to the United States and Europe (Gibson 2014). For the UK, Elders & Fyffes (now called Fyffes) was a main importer in the 1920s. Other major companies in the United States were Dole and Banana King. Advertising with graphics, visuals, and taglines was on a competitive basis, generating humour based on visible sexual connotations. Bananas also featured in songs and music comedies. The "Black Venus" Joséphine Baker reached stardom in her shocking banana costume (Fig. 3.3) and as a gadget card-holder. This image was so famous that Umberto Eco had it on the cover of his novel *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana*, which also featured memorabilia and vintage ads

(see chapter two). The commodification of black female images is initiating its international escalation.[15] Baker's infamous banana skirt dance was first performed at the Folies Bergères in Paris in 1926. The title of the musical show was *La Revue Nègre*, staging jazz music and a lot of drums. The first show staged a white explorer in a jungle (a favourite character in colonisation) who comes across a half-naked leaping creature, descending from a palm tree. The concept of the *sauvage* was alluring and appealing to the French and European audiences. Baker became at once a myth, and her body was reproduced on endless memorabilia and ephemera, from dolls, statues, and lampshades, at a time when the protection of image and reproduction copyright did not exist. The beauty industry and the advertising of cosmetics started to patent sun-tanning oils and hair-oils, imitating Baker's slicked-down hairstyle. This was the ascent to universal stardom of the body of a black beauty, although it was not used to endorse and place products explicitly. However, the whole international business pivoted from bananas and their consumption, as they were virtually an unknown fruit to Europeans. The healthiness of the fruit and its use in flavouring in the sweets industry were other elements in its favour. Banana plantation had a younger history compared to sugar, tobacco, and cotton plantation, with all their branding, production, advertising, and distribution to the world population, as production and trade was in the hands of global giants. The banana pickers, although not having experience of the darkest and most tragic pages in the history of slavery, were still plantation labourers (Masiola and Tomei 2016). The Washington Banana Museum hosts a rich collection of images and materials related to the advertising and the promotion of bananas. The idea of healthiness and fresh produce from the field or stored in freezers conveyed a positive image to consumers. There is, however, the other side of the image, which is in sharp contrast to the "tropical paradise" of Caribbean tourism. The unlikely greeting cards from Jamaica and the sad faces of banana women sharply counteract the jocular and high-spirited advertising of bananas.[16] The health campaigns excluded the people of Jamaica or the Caribbean from benefits, and when representing them in visuals, always portrayed them as clownish caricatures. "Broken language" is the other stigma inflicted upon black people. A popular poster is the French Banania advert from only ten years before the "Baker banana" craze (1925), as the banana powder product was supplied to the troops during the First World War (1915).[17] There is a striking cultural distance from the Black Venus to the silly clownish colonial soldier, yet both images are subservient to the marketing of products destined for the hegemonic culture, and keep on smiling and grinning to amuse and

entertain. As noted, advertising slogans and images were used to encourage the consumption of bananas, using slogans and titles of songs in an imperfect language, often at the expense of African Americans, black people, and Italian migrants. In 1929, the world hit "Yes! We Have No Bananas" referred to a real shortage in supply (Fig. 3.4). Baker's performance dates to the period of lack of supply (1926), which seemed to occur due to natural causes and sociopolitical reasons. The United Fruit Company was the main banana trader in the Caribbean and South America. The tropical beauty of their stylised logo and image in posters refers more or less directly to the Carmen Miranda iconography. The real-life picture of banana labourers was entirely different at a time of low wages, hard labour, and striking workers. In the United States, Italian and Latin migrants were traditionally fruit sellers and vendors, either with wheelbarrows or in fruit shops. Record covers account for the status of Italian migrants and the banana trade at the cheapest and profitless end of the market. Parodies in songs and illustrations on music score sheets were indicative of how Italians and black people were derisively stereotyped in the advertisements of tropical fruits (see also chapter five). In 1923, the cover sheet for the song "Yes! We Have No Bananas!" features a caricature of the Mediterranean (Greek) banana seller, who does not seem to understand the request for bananas. But even before that there was a music sheet with a destitute banana peddler, seemingly an Italian migrant (Fig. 3.5). Another banana-related popular song featuring Italian Americans was "Pleeze No Squeeza da Banana" by Italian American singer Louis Prima (Fig. 3. 6). As for the French advert, the language of black people and migrants is unfit to match the standard of the national language (French or English). "Pleeze No Squeeza da Banana" parallels the stunted "Ya Bon!" and other racist slogans used in ads with black people or Latinos (see chapter five). As noted, other competing products from the Caribbean needed advertising and marketing. Sugar plantations in Barbados and the French Antilles have a history in advertising based on the competing kinds of sugar production (e.g. Demerara, Muscovado, Molasses, Brown Sugar, White Sugar) and the invention of cubes. In recent times, sugar sachets in France featured a Creole beauty, La Belle Antillaise, whereas on Italian sugar sachets one can still find the distorted face of a hominid.[18] Sugar was also hailed as a powerful source of energy, but the story of the sugar cane and plantation rebellion is masked by the power of whiteness and refined sugar. The iconic Golden Syrup advertised by Tate and Lyle in its dark green and golden tin is labelled "Abram Lyle & Sons Sugar Refiners'" (Tate and Lyle Sugars today), and their iconic logo is the biblical lion and bees with the motto, "out of the strong came

forth sweetness," echoing the motto on Jamaica's coat of arms ("Out of Many, One People"). The sense of past pride reflects the claim today with the Royal emblem, "enjoy a little taste of yesterday today with Lyle's Golden Syrup. Its unmistakable flavour is delicious on porridge and pancakes, flapjacks, sticky puds, cakes and cookies." Golden Syrup was "invented" in 1883, and the company was sold to American Sugar Refining in 2000. In the case of sugar and limes, both Caribbean products have been used as ingredients and bases for beverages and liqueur.

A New Lime: Branding Emancipation

The exploitation of local products and produce has been to the detriment of the people and their history, as in the case of West Indies limes: if there was any visibility accorded to the people, this was in terms of caricatures. In the early 1990s, in the wake of the emancipation of production and marketing, the fledgling local production met the needs of a domestic market. In the case of the lime essence, advertising and trademark had no international resonance, yet the product was of a very high quality and extremely low in price for the Western tourist. In the early 1990s there was no impacting advertising for local perfumes upon arrival at the Manley Airport in Kingston. The lime essence on sale had no packaging design, and bottles very simply indicated a difference in gender on the labels. [19] The was nothing that could in any way compete with the Trumper tradition and luxury upmarket London (see chapter one).

As in most cases of Caribbean fruits and vegetables, from sugar cane to coffee and tea, from pineapples to bananas, however, there is a history in the form of oral sources and written documentation related to slavery plantation and labour (Tomei 2008; Masiola and Tomei 2016), and local products may have benefited in terms of cultural promotion. The road to innovation in communication dynamics and national identity, however, was long after independence (1963) for a marginalised market. What the "centre" of the Empire received as evidence of colonial origin was in the representation on labels of black servants at a table, or the caricature of clownish black people as in the case of Stower's lime cordial, as already examined. Spanish and English liqueurs and rums varied in colourful graphics and illustrations. Old Nick rum is a weird case of cross-colonial advertising. A vintage billboard from Spain advertises it as "Rum Negrita" with the image of a barefoot woman with bangles and earrings offering a gigantic bottle of Old Nick, produced by Edwards & Co, St. Elisabeth [*sic*] Jamaica. The claim is for the award of a gold medal at the Paris Exposition (1900). Posters featuring the container of the product with the package

within the visual as a storytelling artifice were not uncommon. In this case, however, there is also blackness suggested by the transgression of alcoholic drink evoked by the name of the devil (Old Nick), and the black blindfold on the label. The 1900 poster was printed in Australia; here, the facial traits are more marked while progressively softened over time.

The film industry, conversely, has enhanced the visibility and focus of other brands and products connected to Jamaica and Jamaican history. The *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series inspired media campaigns themed on the myth of pirates and lost treasures, and Jamaican brands followed suit. Labels like White Witch or Pirate's Gold are tagged as "the new alluring fragrance of Jamaica." With names like Jamaica Jamaica! and Reggae Splash, they are the Jamaican answer to the London-based lime luxury essence. Jamaican perfume production has other more intriguing names, as the Khus Khus, Kuya, and Cen Cee. Khus Khus is the name of an aromatic wayside grass (*Vetiveria zizenioides*), phonetically suggestive of the Patwa term /cusscuss/ or /koskos/, denoting a verbal quarrel. Kuya stands for /kaya/, another name for marijuana common in Guadeloupe and Martinique (Masiola and Tomei 2016), and /Cen cee/ or /sensie/ is another colloquial term for *Cannabis sativa*, i.e. the abbreviated form "sensie" for /sensimilla/. Although the terms are not recorded in dictionaries (Allsopp 2003; Cassidy and Le Page 2002), they do occur in song lyrics. The company's body copy advert for e-commerce has no puns, Jamaicanisms, or localised element to describe this fragrance tagged as "exotic," using standard clichéd language used for perfumes, shunning any verbal creativity. There is a divergence and asymmetry in the formal register of the body copy and the names of perfumes, suggesting an illegal substance with all the appeal that transgression may have for female users:

> The softness of chiffon as it brushes your shoulder … The scent that whispers "*Look Ya!*" and never lets go … That's *KUYA*. Or set the mood with *CEN CEE* … The unmistakable allure of the Caribbean. Two scents so different, yet each is an unforgettable sensual.[20]

The only Patwa term is /*Ya*/, not meaning /you/ but commonly used as an adverb "ya" (yah) → /here/, with regular loss of /r/ and /h/.

Globalisation: English, a Language for All Seasons

Texas in London

As noted, there is always the "call of the wild" in gendered advertising featuring masculinity, power, and colonial subjection. There also is the need to emulate and imitate through sensorial stimuli the flavour and taste of the exotic. The language of English advertising is another instance of foreign words in the expanding domain of international advertising; English can be used as an exotic, foreign language, can accept exotic words from other languages, and can push verbal creativity to the extreme endolinguistically. Furthermore, world Englishes spread in vernacular varieties (Seoane and Suàrez-Gòmez 2016), and new blends in diasporic and contact situations where cross-cultural models are enhanced to promote "exotic" gendered identities represent the new challenging frontier in a domain where written speech forms are increasingly used (Mcallister and West 2013; Turow and Mcallister 2009). The case of the Latin *macho* is a Tex-Mex stereotyping of a borrowed identity, entailing code-mixing and specific language.

The cultural paradox happens when this Tex-Mex fashioned identity relocates to the United Kingdom. The hyper-British Colman's of Norwich has recently launched its "Chilli con Carne" and whets the appetite with a dish that can be found in British dictionaries (CDE 2000; LDCE 2003). The Hispanic name of the dish suggests that meat is the primary ingredient, and it actually is, but you must add it. This is something like "bring your own meat," as there is a "shopping list" for "lean minced beef" and onions you can add to chopped tomatoes and kidney beans, as per the Colman's recipe. The brand Colman's of Norwich (established 1814) is now owned by global giant Unilever, the chilli is produced in Germany, and the package reads "at Colman's we believe you deserve the very best." The sex factor is totally missing from the Tex-Mex British "family" package compared to slogans used in advertising in the United States. The US products featuring graded flavours are Texas made and spelled with one /l/ as in American English. The labels of varieties are Lone Star Ranch. Chili Mix, and El Paso Chili, Spices & Fixin's. The body copy has strings of British and American cliché expressions, and an explicit, jocular "you," echoing an imagined Texan identity. For those who want the lighter version, the provocative tagline says: "a few of the folks who shall remain nameless, make their chilli mild without any bite or tears" (Masiola 2004: 198–9). This storytelling is entirely localised and expressive of a jocular Texan cowboy identity, in a first-person narrative.

What the Coleman's "chilli" seems to lack regarding localisation is a legendary cowboy context conjuring cowboy lore and a filmic landscape for the European and international buyer. Homey gratification for the local consumer is thus also missing, if not produced in Texas "with pride." This is, however, true make-believe for a substitute product advertised in the language of comics familiar to the British reader in the 1950s. The body copy mixes varied and trite inspirational sources, from Shakespearean to Bill Rogers. This is from the Lone Star chilli powder:

> *I never felt like a true Texan ... until chilli entered my life. After all, it IS the national food of Texas, the stuff from which legends are made*. And each year, more chiliheads across the world fall in Lone Star Love and spoon up their rendition of a "bowl of red." Or, as *Will Rogers called it, "a bowl of blessedness."*
>
> *Only at the corner of Texas, Mexico and New Mexico* can you find the ingredients we've selected. (emphasis added)

Also for this product you need to add fresh ingredients like meat and onions, yet the result, as claimed in the instructions of El Paso Chili Powder, is like heaven: "Let simmer, and the result, my friends, will be the most highly seasoned bit of heaven ever let loose on your taste buds." This is the first time that references to "blessedness" and "heaven" are encountered in our thematic corpus. It was not in the British corpus and understandably it is an area adjacent to Hispanic Catholic culture. The jocular cowboy innuendo continues in the instructional phase:

> For a pistol-packing punch, use the entire packet of your chilli powder, or, back off the fire and add tomato sauce for a milder peppery feast. Either way, *you'll feel like a true Texan*! But use with caution. This chilli, when enjoyed full strength, could *put hair on the chests* of docile men and clear clogged nasal passages!

Feeling like a "true Texan" was particularly relevant at the time of George W. Bush's Texas campaigns in the 1990s when bonanza packages were found in shops and tourist hubs. There has been a major shift in prestige identity juxtaposed with the 1930s and the perception of Mexican food by the California Bureau of Child Hygiene as "profoundly ignorant about nutrition, giving young children tortillas, beans, and worst of all, chilies" (Sackman Cazaux 2007, 155). Jocular identity and stereotyping have become added value in contact situations, especially for the tourist and traveller wishing to order something typical to take back home. Food is a perfect souvenir, if in a small package. The illusion of buying the real Mexican thing is today possible on the shelves of London's food stores

where "the original Texan flavour" [*sic*] can match Texas Joe's Lean & Mean Beef Jerky. In any case, the vintage Bill Rogers lookalike cowboy on the packaging would have been more Texan if "flavour" had been spelt in "Texan" English (2013). The print on the packaging envelope ("as seen on Dragons' Den") is in a progressively decreasing font:

> Strips of Marinated Smoked Beef. *Made in the UK using British or Irish Beef*. Manufactured for: *The Original Jerky Co. 68 Loudon Road, London NW8 0DQ*

In the original format, the address is almost unreadable, while "Smoked Beef" is in a large format. A touch of cowboy country is added in dramatic red-and-black letters:

> *This here is the Meanest Tastiest Jerky. This Side of the Rio Grande*
> *It ain't Texas style or a taste of Texas, it's the real deal*
> **As Texas as the Alamo**
> Because we know the best beef makes the best jerky,
> we only use choice cuts of Prime Silverside Beef
> And we don't add nothing either just a spoonful of Southern Know-How
> **Vaya Con Dios**
> Ordinary Jerky: **Howdy Texas Joe's**

The Hispanic interjection "Vaya Con Dios" is counterbalanced by ingredients like "demerara sugar" of a kind of raw molasses (like British "muscovado" and "turbinado"), so unlike Texas, where raw sugar is called "brown sugar."

De-centring the Centre and Globalisation

Restaurants and tourism hubs may also want to offer their international clientele local specialties, as in the case of London hotels with British patented products and brands like Worcester Sauce (or Worcestershire Sauce). HP Worcester Sauce became popular in advertising through a poster of a giant pig chasing a little boy with a food basket in a reversed situation of Little Red Riding Hood, and the "Good with Bacon" tagline in the 1920s. HP (Houses of Parliament) is the traditional "imperial sauce." Its registration goes back to 1875 and it was first marketed in 1903. The classic London and British tokens are present in the Royal Appointment with the stylised image of Big Ben and Parliament on its label. In 1930, it was purchased by HP (formerly the Imperial Tobacco Company), followed

by the launch of an advertising campaign. Today, the product still claims, "a choice blend of oriental fruits, spices, and malt vinegar," and that it is "The Original" and "The Official Sauce of Great Britain." Notwithstanding the claim, in 2011 HP was taken over by global US giant H. J. Heinz and produced in the Netherlands at Elst (2011).[21] When HP had sharply reduced the salt quantity this aroused protests, which have recently gained media focus (BBC news, April 16, 2016), but the fact that it is no longer produced in the United Kingdom also came up.[22] The names /ketchup/ and /Worcester sauce/ are used to identify the items, and loosely connect the brand to the globalised consumer. The two words are lexicalised and are even found in children's digital dictionaries (see the Italian dictionary *Devoto Oli Junior*, 2015)

Cross-linguistic borrowings from brand names are, however, unpredictable and independent from language planning and restrictive linguistic policy. Mascara has always been called rimmel in Italy, as in many other Western countries, whereas in American and British English the word is /mascara/. In more recent times, the term /mascara/ has been adopted by Italian fashion magazines as seemingly more prestigious. Rimmel was founded in London in 1834 by Eugène Rimmel, who worked with his father in a perfumery on Bond Street. His perfumed soaps in their floral packaging and posters had the lure of Mediterranean freshness. Rimmel created the first perfume vaporiser for ambient and scented soaps (Opie 1999) and mouth rinses, an art nouveau poster stating "Paris and London" (Opie 2002, 17). A turning point came with the slogans "get the London look," and more recently "Rimmel London," counteracting "It's Maybelline New York." A furthering challenge was offered via app, "The 1st beauty app lets you snap any look and try on live. Download Get the Look App."[23]

The two companies are, however, French-owned: Rimmel by Coty, and Maybelline is a subsidiary of L'Oréal. Maybelline was initially no "New York thing," as it was first established in Chicago (1930) by the reputed young "inventor" of mascara (which comprises vaseline and coal dust) who named his company after his sister, Maybel. At the time, it was advertised as "eyelash beautifier" for "Brilliance, Expression and Charm." The list of celebrities that have since endorsed Maybelline is like a Hollywood hall of fame. The taglines which followed played on the words "maybe she's born with it" and "maybe it's Maybelline." The latest, "it's Maybelline New York," was adapted for global advertising (see also Torresi 2010, 147-54).

Another beauty brand known for its slogans is Max Factor. Four generations of women (and men) in Europe and across the world identify the brand (Max Factor) with its product (makeup), with which it has become synonymous in the countries of Europe. If Maybelline is New York and Rimmel is London and features a small red crown, Max Factor means Hollywood and is universally known as the "makeup of make-up artists." The current slogan, 'You are possibility. We coach. You create," and online tutorials (such as the one for "smokey eyes") are signals and symptoms of the power of English words on the web. The founder of the global giant was Maksymilian Faktorowicz, a Polish Jew born in Lodz, 1915. It was the Max Factor advertising impact that institutionalised the conversion of the verb "make up" to the noun "makeup," substituting the word "cosmetics." The launch of his "pan-cake makeup" was a milestone in the opening of post-war Europe to American beauty products, boosted by the lure and glamour of the diva identification, evoking stardom and the film celebrities of the past century. As progress in chemical research made new products and beauty techniques available, so did the English language, going global in extreme compounding. Today, Helena Rubinstein (HR) (a Polish Jew who migrated from Krakow to Melbourne) advertises "Lash Queen Feline Blacks Waterproof Mascara," "prodigy power cell foundation rejuvenation," and "prodigy power cell eye urgency treatment concealer," moulding and impacting into languages other than English (see also Ringrow 2016).

The illusionary policy of linguistic nationalism enforcing bans on foreign words in Continental Europe as well as in Italy could in no way succeed because of the irresistible appealing function of the language of fashion and the beauty industry during the 1950s (Rodgers and Thorson 2012). The same thing happened with the satellite countries of the former Soviet empire, as American English would transcend barriers with the sweeping power of films and the Hollywood dream.

Conclusion

This chapter weaves into the main strands of research on colonial, postcolonial, and global dynamics of the language of advertising. The polarity of tensions between the "centre" and the extending global "periphery" is the constant motif underlying the present qualitative corpus. One factor underscored in the first section is the advertising of the "tropical" lore of fruit products contrasting with the pictures and photographs of migrant and plantation labourers. The real pictures of the

plantation workers are a striking contrast to the colourful images created by the Hollywood stereotypes and the intertextual effects of advertising (i.e. Carmen Miranda and Tutti Frutti). The development of ethnicity in the advertising cliché hallmarks imagery of the "Black Beauty" Joséphine Baker to the grinning black face (Banania) and the musical parodies targeting Italians and Latinos.

The question of the prestige of "centre" is in this chapter challenged, as the brands that are emerging are from the "periphery" (such as diamonds, marula, and moringa) are transitioning from a postcolonial to a global scenario. The geographical "centre" is challenged, as the British companies that have become household names are delocalising, and albeit that advertising says they are "London," production is elsewhere (in cases of Rimmel and HP, for example). This is also a cultural and linguistic phenomenon. On the other hand, traditional "cowboy" products are also manufactured in London. The make-believe effect is in the manipulative effects of language and code-mixing ("Chilli con Carne" has no meat, for example). The written part of advertising (i.e. body copy, taglines, claims, ingredients, recipes, and directions for use) follows different strategies for the global market. One is the standardisation of an advertising campaign based on texts and slogans that can either be easily translated or are already in AELF, when advertising English is used as the lingua franca. The fine print of the texts examined in this chapter and the use of foreign words may create more-or-less intentional ambiguities. The next chapter deals with the question of translation in its multifaceted and controversial aspects. It examines issues of creativity, localisation, and international standardisation, exposing inadequacy and quality in advertising.

Notes

[1] The name is in Kishwahili. http://www.arsgemmeus.com/index.php?en_a-brief-history. On endangered languages of Africa, see also Batibo (2011).

[2] The registered design number is also indicated. The hyperbolic claim of the company is "Browns: The Most Beautiful Diamonds in the World," echoing the /ON/ assonance of /Br-OWN/ and /DIAM-ONDS/.

[3] Tiffany's discarded the chemical name "zoite," as it sounded like "suicide," and invented Tanzanite.

[4] *Sunday Times Lifestyle Magazine* (July 10, 2016).

[5] Regarding South Africa advertising, Mark Tungate's *Adland. A Global History of Advertising* highlights the role of an advertising agency running Nelson Mandela's ANC campaign during the run-up to the country's first multiracial elections in 1992 (2007, 229-33). The challenge was against racial segregation of the markets; advertising had to be aimed at people, not colours. See also product

placement and film *Invictus* (directed by Clint Eastwood, 200) on Mandela (Erik 2010).

[6] There is only limited online information indicative that, like other South African teas, the product is destined for the domestic and not the global market. Either historical facts are taken for granted or deemed of no interest to consumers. This is the information one may retrieve online: "The word 'Khoisan' was a constructed compound that was coined by Leonhard Schultze in 1928 as a collective term for the Khoekhoen and the San. Khoe, meaning 'men of men' or 'people of people' in most Khoe languages, and San being the word Khoekhoen use for Bushmen Khoe pastoralists and San hunter gatherers. The preferred word today is Khoesan … Among the Khoesan buchu is both a generic name for a blend of dry ground plants for an aromatic perfume powder, and the name for a plant genus with different species. Particular botanical species are obscure in San oral traditions. Only generic terms are mentioned without mentioning particular species." There is, however, no translation given for the plant name.
http://africanaromatics.com/buchu-agathosma.

[7]The scientific fact is that rooibos is caffeine free, and this information was still withheld when the tea had been available in Britain since the 1970s.

[8] The current risk is the destruction of endemic flora and its habitat as landscape gives way to extensive rooibos plantations, the new "red gold" of South Africa.

[9] The question of vernacular plant names given by settlers in oversimplified forms engendering confusion for the many allonyms has been analysed by Masiola and Tomei (2009; 2016) and Tomei (2008).

[10] After visiting rooibos plantations in the Cederberg mountains and interviewing the planters and growers of diverse ethnic groups, nobody seemed to have ever known, and responded that rooibos was the only name they had ever known.

[11] Notwithstanding the market expansion of rooibos for its recognised antioxidant properties and low teine content, the plant name or tea name has not been licensed and is not found in many dictionaries (i.e. LDE 2003).

[12] Neavita (Italy) is a company specialising in herbal teas and blends.

[13] The artist was Dean Cornwell (1892–1960), a famous American illustrator working in the 1920s to the 1950s.

[14] http://www.chiquita.com/Our-Company/The-Chiquita-Story/The-Blue-Sticker.aspx. The Italian slogan is: "La banana con 10 e lode."

[15] http://www.vogue.com/13442586/josephine-baker-90th-anniversary-banana-skirt.

[16] The striking contrast is in the "Greetings from Jamaica" and the sad and tired faces of women carrying stacks of bananas on their heads.

[17] The French Banania powder was intended to supply beverages for the soldiers at the front. The company promoted the brand in sending over 14 carriages. The storytelling has it that the exclamation in broken French "Y'a bon" ("C'est bon!") was uttered by a soldier from Senegal in tasting the soup. The Italian illustrator, Giacomo de Andreis, was inspired by the military campaign in Morocco (1908–1913), and designed a sequence of postcards with black soldiers uttering a similar remark: "Y'a bon capitaine!" In the 1930s, Banania launched an advertising campaign with multiple gadgets. Only in 1967 did the face disappear while the

slogan lasted some ten years more, to be eventually deleted in 2011 following reactions of groups from the French Caribbean that stigmatised it as a racial slur, arguing how those images: "véhiculent, notamment auprès des jeunes, une image péjorative, dégradante et raciste des personnes de couleur noire, qu'elles présentent comme peu éduquées, *s'exprimant de manière primaire et à peine capables d'aligner trois mots en français*" (Chalaye 2002, 126–7; emphasis added).

[18] Sugar sachets were available on the counter of a bar in Rome in 2013, and in flagship café in Perugia in 2016.

[19] Jamaicans employed at hotels and public institutions had this lovely fragrance. The feeling was that this went beyond personal care, and that it was pride in a national product (personal interview with staff at the *El Conde* hotel in Kingston, August 18, 2010).

[20] http://www.parfums-jamaica.com/kuya.htm. The perfumes are produced in Kingston.

[21] See site on History of Advertising Trust, http://www.hatads.org.uk. As for other products in the UK, one can find the product with written texts and body copy in French or Dutch (e.g. Aussie Shampoo).

[22] A recent BBC report (September 5, 2016) stigmatised faked British products. Moreover, HP stood for Houses of Parliament with its iconic image, now totally disconnected to the production site. *The Big Issue* reported the fact: "It has nothing to do with the fact that now I am in parliament but the sight of the Houses of Parliament on the front of a bottle of HP sauce deriving its name back in 1895 when founded from the initials of the place, does make me feel some anomaly is being perpetrated." (Bird 2016, 11).

[23] A display advert in *Elle* (September 2016, UK edition) tags mascara from Rimmel: "TINT OVER TIME: new volume colourist mascara with lash tint complex." Rimmel calls its "rimmel" mascara. "Colourist" is a created and patented term. "Colourist," derived from the French "couleurism" in painting, is characterised by a strong intense colour which predominates the final work, as in French "fauvisme." The captions reads that, "Gradually over time, a lash tint complex makes bare lashes darker. In an instant lashes are dressed with jet-black impact." The combined metaphor is daring, as lashes are "dressed with an impact" that is jet-black.

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Chapter Three (Renato Tomei)

Fig. 3.1 (p. 89) Banana carriers, Jamaica (ca 1940)

Fig. 3.2 (p. 89) Chiquita Banana or Land of Tropical Splendors (Dean Cornwell, ca 1950)

Fig. 3.3 (p. 89) Joséphine Baker and the banana skirt (Paris, 1927)

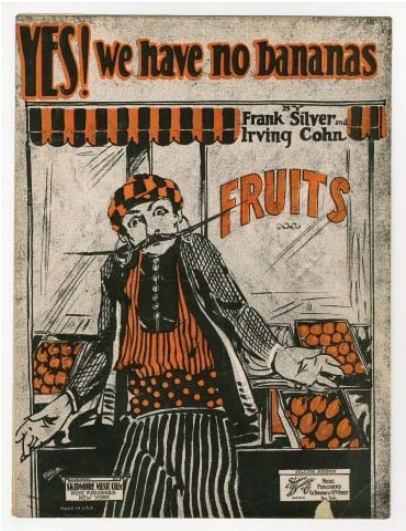

Fig. 3.4 (p. 91) “Yes! We have no bananas,” music sheet (New York, 1923)

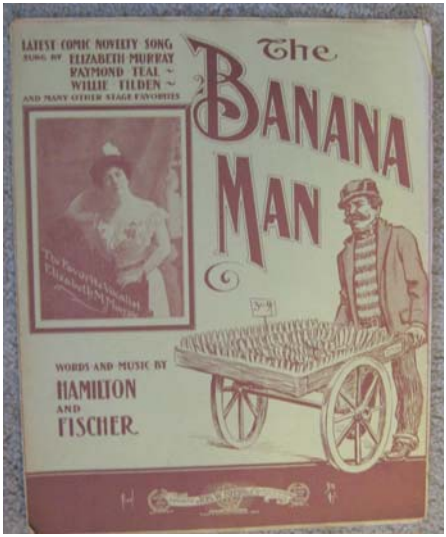

Fig. 3.5 (p. 91) “The Banana Man,” vaudeville music sheet (New York, 1904)

Fig. 3.6 (p. 91) “Please no squeeza da banana,” music sheet (New York, 1944)

Chapter Five (Matteo Baraldo)

Fig. 5.1 (p. 166) Eddie Cantor in black face advertising Old Gold cigarettes (1929)

Fig. 5.2 (p. 172) Topsy, Dwellman & Dwire Tobacco Co. (Quincy, IL., ca 1900)

Fig. 5.3 (p. 173) Plaza Cube Cut Tobacco (St. Paul MN, ca 1900)

Fig. 5.4 (p. 173) Plaza Cube Cut Tobacco (St. Paul MN, ca 1900)

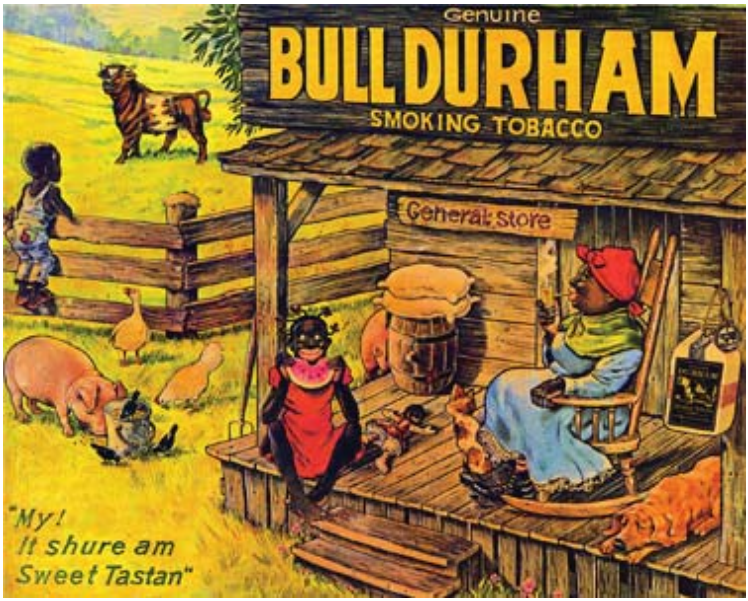

Fig. 5.5 (p. 173) Bull Durham ATC (Durham NC, ca 1900)

Fig. 5.6 (p. 173) Standard, Bull Durham ATC (Durham NC, 1900)

Fig. 5.7 (p. 177) Pasquale Giunta & Sons (Philadelphia PA, 1929)

Fig. 5.8 (p. 185) Florentines, Fortnum & Mason (London, 2016)

Fig. 5.9 (p. 190) Miu-Miu birthday cake (Mumbai, 2016)

CHAPTER FOUR

TRANSLATIONAL ISSUES: FROM ENGLISH TO ENGLISH

RENATO TOMEI

Abstract

This chapter deals with questions related to translation and creativity in advertising. It examines factors of translatability and mistakes in advertising. It has a conclusive section on harmony in translation and introduces the question of the definition of advertising and the role of English in localised advertising and English as the lingua franca of global advertising (AELF). It gives a selection of case studies related to the use of English words, slogans, tags, and brand names, correlating translational issues and adaptations from English and into English. On the grounds of its being the language of advertising, the spread of English (Advertising English as Lingua Franca, AELF) accounts for shifts in meaning and consequent cultural clashes engendering misperceptions and mistakes in written form and multimodal advertising. A thematic corpus of errors is analysed ranging from the unintentionally offensive to cultural inadequacy. It aims to challenge existing advertising literature in successful global campaigns and shifts the perspective to more challenging multilingual and cross-cultural dynamics.

Keywords: culture and creativity, translation studies, puns in translation, error analysis

Introduction: Culture and Creativity

As already seen in the first chapter on the question of advertising in films, literature, and translation, and chapters two and three on the dynamics of postcolonial identity in advertising, this chapter focuses on the impacting factors of culture and translation, and the consequent loss in meaning of

the message. This perspective seems not have been adequately considered by agencies and companies, as misconceptions and mistakes seem to occur at all levels and text types.[1] Conversely, in recent decades there has been an over-emphasis on brands and marketing campaigns resonant with success. The following references and subtitles are indicative: *The 100 Greatest Advertisements* (Watkins 1959 [1949]), ads "that shook the world" (Twitchell 2000), "the triumph of advertising in American culture" (Twitchell 1995), success in the global history of advertising, "Adland," and the lure of fashion brands (Tungate 2007, 2016). Other works adopt a cultural and critical focus on the cultural history of advertising (Lears 1994), the creative manipulation of dreams (Marchand 1985), and the construction of "promised lands" like California and minority groups (Sackman Cazaux 2005). There are also numerous manuals, such as guides to "creating great ads" (Sullivan 2003), designing and "maintaining strong brands" (Wheeler 2003), "ideas and techniques from the world's best campaigns" emphasising visuals and photography (Pricken 2005), and, eventually, also on successful creativity (McStay 2013). All such themes regarding advertising seem to be concerned with success and report about it while having no trace of possible caveats for failures caused by mistakes and underrated multilingual translational strategies. Only in recent times have online articles and blogs fiercely exposed blunders. One author concerned with failures in words and language is Matt Haig with *Brand Failures: The Truth about the 100 Biggest Branding Mistakes of all Times*, where he gives examples of mistakes and correlates them to cultural and translational issues (2003, 162-174). Haig features failures in 'classic' ideas, brand extensions, PR failures, culture failures, people failures, rebranding failures, intent and new technology failures, and 'tired' brands. The international dimension of corporations is juxtaposed to branding failures.[2] As he noted, however, the problem in mistakes is common to small companies and giant corporations, albeit these are less excusable for the amount of research and resources available.

Sensitive issues in translation choices occur at various levels, yet, in the flow of coded messages, it is the perception of consumers and recipients that ultimately matters, whether global or confined to the British domestic market and the United States. Regarding transatlantic effects and dynamics, impacting factors occur at various levels also reinforced by social circumstances stigmatising diasporic and black communities. If there is an ethical code as there is a fair trade engagement, then advertising cannot titillate hegemonic groups at the expense of Blacks. The Naomi and the notorious Cadbury "Diva" gaffe is the one clamorous and glamorous case taken up by the English media (Masiola and Tomei 2013), and yet,

the concept of "chocolate" translated into other EU languages cannot have a socio-semantic symmetry (see chapter five).

The sections of this chapter are concerned with the issues related to translation in advertising and translation studies, the analysis of translation errors, error typology (print, written, audiovisual), and the contextualisation of such mistakes. It looks at the case studies in the area of puns evidencing gains and losses in brands and campaigns. Budget investment in design and packaging for new product lines seems disproportionate when linguistic inadequacies seem to somehow sneak obtrusively into advertisements at all levels and in various forms, from the finest print in spelling to macro-cultural clashes. The digital revolution and technical innovation are taken for granted, and the way advertising relates to cultural and linguistic identity is a reinforcing circumstance in international communication (De Mooij 2004; 2005; Mueller 1996). Consequently, the core issue presented in the following sections is on how words are used, from brand names to claims and payoffs. It is on legal and linguistic terrain that the fiercest battles have been fought between competing companies, also having to face consumers and civil rights associations (Masiola and Tomei 2013). On the other hand, parameters of evaluation and adequacy (Adab 2000; 2001; Adab and Valdés 2004) can only be evaluated when translation as a product within the product has succeeded and received a favourable response from consumers. There are segments of the market which can be sensitive to cultural issues and recent research with an interest in culture and its correlation to new media and the promotion of culture (Turow and McAllister 2009). Focus is on mistakes in advertising from English and into English and other European languages, mainly Italian. It introduces the concept and definition of advertising and creativity correlating it to translating, and the occurrence of flops and failures in the use of English as the global language of advertising. Until recently, mainstream literature underscored success in advertising, blurring the importance of recognition of cultural diversity and the linguistic identity of diasporic and minority communities. Notwithstanding the standardisation of global communication, detrimental cultural blunders do occur. The cost of reworking an advertising campaign is not only financial as it may also entail the loss of potential market to the benefit of competitors. The fact that translation operates as a productive message (a product) holistically integrated within a product, with all its various technical parts and ingredients, seems to go amiss. Translation/adaptation is therefore considered as an external activity dissociated from the whole communicative chain and process in product development and account and media planning. The integrated approach

(Snell-Hornby) further developed into the cross-cultural multimodal frame is a step forward, essentially benefiting scholarly approaches still peripheral to the global gurus of communication and marketing.

Simon Anholt is an experienced global marketer (and former linguist), and a seemingly lonely voice in his field in devoting many pages to translation. In *Another One Bites the Grass: Making Sense of International Advertising* (2000), Anholt bluntly goes to the heart of the matter, discarding metaphors while prioritising the cultural aspect of the combination of words that may be established or evoked in the mind of the consumer:

> Translating advertising copy is *like painting the tip of the iceberg* and hoping the whole thing will turn red: what makes copy work is not words themselves, but *subtle combinations of those words,* and most of all the echoes and the repercussions of those words within the mind of the reader. *These are precisely the subtleties which translation fails to convey*. *Advertising is not made of words, but of culture*. (5; emphasis added)

Anholt uses parodistic metaphors to define translating copy, i.e. "boiling lettuce," and gives a list of terms used, including the term "adaptation." One may also recall similitudes and metaphors used in defining translation and translating in the course of historical debates between the "original" and "copy."

> No matter how carefully you do it, the result is always disappointing. And you can call it what you like—*I hear people using words like adaptation, transcreation, transculturation, transliteration, even the spectacularly inelegant transadaptation*—just as you can poach, scald, sear, or steam your lettuce, but it's still *culinary felony* … (Ibid.; emphasis added)[3]

This brings up to two influencing factors in the intricate web of international communication and advertising: culture and creativity connected to the pragmatic and emotional functions in the discourse and rhetoric of advertising (Cook 2009 [1992]). Translating slogans and taglines is a highly creative practice empowering the message and a purposeful activity (Nord 1997) aimed at eliciting and conditioning consumer behaviour: buy, use, and like that product and its manufacturers. On a secondary level, the implicature lies in eliciting trust—perennial trust, more than momentary. Paradoxical as it may seem, this is investment in the long-term appreciation and trust in a corporate profile. The issue at stake is more than words and the "thing" that is advertised. It cannot be determined in prescriptive paradigms as in any creative action confronted with cultural factors there are social and societal variables, along with

societal ethics, values, and beliefs. Supportive evidence to define what advertising is comes from an institutional body where the creative factor is a feature of saliency, as is further evidenced. The same applies to ads in translation. There are instances where verbal creativity is so localised and speech-form dependent that it is untranslatable as a semantic equivalent unit, or, on the contrary, because the English words used as puns are internationally "well-worn" and the pun is "consumer friendly." The dynamic tension between "culture," "identity," and "creativity" may be aptly illustrated by the following example, as these factors impact on language-specific choices in the domain of words in ads.

The UK-based Soap & Glory is one such instance, with its corporate concept and mission expressed in sparkling metaphors and a vintage chromatic code (pink and silver, black-and-white photographs). Its one and only language is English. It has no other language for body copy and wording, which means there is no current translation. The format of the graphics on the packaging integrates buzzwords in written English that defy the conventional body copy and tagline. This is extreme metaphor at play, challenging the most serious caution on words and images. It is a vintage return to the power of words against the flatness of standardised language and translatability. There are intertextual references that are subverted, such as the brand name Soap & Glory recalling *Land of Hope and Glory*, a patriotic British song composed by Edward Elgar (1902), played as a victory theme in sporting events.[4] Soap & Glory discards the contextual connotation of the brand name. The first line is alliterative in form twice as advertised on package (2013):

> We're a *fun, fresh, fearless, fantastic British beauty brand.* And we're known for wonderfully effective bath, body and skincare products including the super-plumping lip gloss *Sexy Mother Pucker*™ and award winning *The Righteous Butter*™ body butter. *Soap & Glory* recommends applying the *products with happiness and abandon*, *because while beauty absolutely matters, it doesn't matter absolutely.* (emphasis added)

Small packaging is stuffed with hyperbolic metaphors enhanced by a 1950s' vintage look in bon-bon pink. Cautions and warning are alluring and compulsively playful even in acronyms. Below is an indexing list, where the "meek of mouth" may evoke the caution against the *Tex-Mex* chili (see chapter three):

> **Brand name:** Soap & Glory, UK
>
> **Product name:** New: SEXY Mother Pucker XL Extreme-Plump

Claim Description: Super Sizing Extra Strength—Collagen Lip Shine

Caution: This lip gloss will almost immediately plump, buzz, tingle and zing (it's not for the meek of mouth)

Information: Safety efficacy was tested in the UK on a panel of testers who reportedly kept pretty spiff upper lips

Payoff: Absolutely Ridiculips. Can Now Be Yours

Instruction: Apply a fine film of SMP-XL whenever you're starting to feel a little "down" in the mouth, and watch low volume lips go **va va va Boom!** (you can also use it on top of your favourite lipliner or lipstick)

The style of slaplines is even wackier than the Aussie haircare products. Lush is another case of the use of cultural and intertextual references and allusions that challenge language and translatability (see below). Creativity complies to persuasion in the complex system of signs aimed at obtaining a result and conditioning consumer behaviour (Beasley and Danesi 2002). In cases such as these it is not the "text" which matters, it is the brief of the advertising agency team and the purchaser. Creativity is also the distinctive feature in determining advertising, as applied by governmental protocols and guidelines for advertising campaigns. The Commonwealth Advertising Divisions of Australia (Communications Advice Branch) recently issued the Guidelines on Information and Advertising Campaigns by Non-Corporate Commonwealth Entities (2014). It states restrictions and explains what advertising and advertising campaigns are. Promotional materials, classified job ads, recruitments, and public notices are ruled out. This accounts for the materials and corpora dealt with in the present study focusing on British, American, and Commonwealth advertising (excluding job applications, etc.). Creative content is one requirement: "low-creative content is a non-advertising campaign." There is a statutory divide between what is advertising and what is not. There is a distinction aimed at separating party and political propaganda from government advertising campaigns to distinguish it from mere information: "A campaign is a planned series of communication activities that share common objectives, target the same audience and have specific timelines and a dedicated budget. An advertising campaign includes paid media placement and an information campaign does not." Creativity is also a prerequisite as the "vocative" or "appellative" function is implicit in the term "change behaviour," and can be extended to the dynamics of the translation of advertising as a functional system of communication (Bühler 1965; Reiss 1976; Newmark 1981). The

"Definition of Advertising Campaigns" indexes modes of possible enactment (Masiola 1988, 75–6).[5]

> Definition of Advertising Campaigns
>
> For the purposes of these Guidelines, an advertising campaign involves paid media placement and is designed to inform, educate, motivate or change behaviour. Large-scale recruitment advertising not related to specific job vacancies and with a *degree of creative content may be considered an advertising campaign.* Agencies should seek advice from Finance if they are unsure whether an activity is an advertising campaign
>
> *Simple, informative advertising that generally appears only once or twice, contains factual statements and typically has a low creative content is not an advertising campaign*. This category of advertising is *non-campaign advertising and includes, but is not limited to*:
>
> • recruitment for specific job vacancies;
>
> • auction and tender notices;
>
> • invitations to make submissions or apply for grants;
>
> • notification of date and/or location specific information (for example, notification of a public meeting at a particular time and place); and
>
> • other public notices … (emphasis added).[6]

One's creativity and culture cannot be imposed on another, and this is the crucial issue in transcultural translation. Jim Aitchison, Australian authority and expert in Chinese, argues that global campaigns are the final challenge, as advertising on a global level "cannot hope to speak with a cutting edge voice":

> Cutting edge work is far too "clever"; it would never be understood outside the more sophisticated Western markets. Oddly enough, comprehension is not the issue. *True cutting edge advertising is all about clarity, simplicity and imagination. Brands which have adopted it have become the new international icons.* As always, resistance to cutting edge work resides in a mix of fear and vested interests. (2004, 352; emphasis added)

This argument is supportive of the Soap & Glory body copy only in its original English wording. Considering a global view, reaching people across borders does not automatically imply that there is quality and excellence in adaptation and linguistic translation. Again, developing

parameters and prescriptive paradigms for a task that relies on practice and may be subject to diachronic and diatopic shifts in perceived functions and quality is a moot point.

Advertising and Translation Studies: an Overview

Jeremy Munday remarked more than a decade ago that: "the translation of advertising was almost completely overlooked by translation studies for many years" (2004: 199). In the dynamics of the new media and international communication, an approach to specific case studies encourages new perspectives and focus on translational issues. The latter are not dealt with in the pioneering survey on English linguistics and advertising by Geoffrey Leech (1966), followed by Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schrøder with *The Language of Advertising* (1985), Guy Cook's well-cited *Discourse of Advertising* (2009 [1992]), and Gregg Myer's *Words in Ads* (1994), and *Ad Worlds. Brands, Media, Audiences* (1999) which focused primarily on English. A staggering three-volume encyclopaedia on advertising cites adaptation and contextualises the practice of penetration of American brands (i.e. Coca-Cola, Wrigley) in difficult Communist markets and the emerging republics at the turn of the millennium:

> *The list of advertising blunders is lengthy*. Rather than determining irrelevant or inapplicable approaches via trial and error, international marketers would be well advised to respond to determine how consumers in the various republics will respond to Western models, appeals, and artefacts in commercial messages *as well as when and where a standardized campaign can be employed rather than an adapted message.* (McDonough and Egolf 2002, 1380; emphasis added)

Conversely, there was a missing slot for "advertising" in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998),[7] whereas the topic was thoroughly dealt with in later editions (Baker and Saldanha 2009)[8] and Baker's *Translation and Conflict* (2006, 88–94) within a narrative frame. More recently, the prevailing trend in translation and advertising studies has interfaced with the multimodal perspective derived from Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's influential studies on visual communication and web-based images, *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design* (2006 [1996]), and Kress' *Multimodal Discourse. The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (2001), always with a firm foothold in the cultural aspects. This has been an upward trend in translation and advertising studies, refining the framework of analysis. A multimodal approach is not the negation of Jakobson's intersemiotic

translation and the functional-systemic approach, as noted by van Leeuwen in his Introduction to *Speech, Music, Sound* (1999, 5), as much as a further extension. This frame may also account for Katherina Reiss's and Peter Newmark's well-cited models of functions and text typologies derived from Karl Bühler (1934), i.e. Vocative and Appellative functions for advertising text-types, and Conative (see also Masiola 1988, 33-42, 209-02). In multimodality, functions intersect with imagery and integrate with the primacy of visual culture in web-mediated forms of communication. Consequently, multi-functions are inextricably combined in the framework of highly creative intertextual references, visually and verbally, where copy adaptation and copyrights are crucial issues beyond the quagmire of the one-to-one linguistic correspondence (Smith and Klein-Braley, 1997).

There were few mainstream titles on translation in the 1980s and '90s lacking reference to advertising. Yet, although reference was present, it was dealt with through empirical data and examples strictly embedded in advertising cultural themes. Due recognition is given to Mary Snell-Hornby's use of advertising texts in the dilemma between lexical semantic and an integrated approach to translation theory (1988; 1992, 97–104), Candace Séguinot on the global debate (1995), and Susan Bassnett's *Translation Studies* where advertising is a striking example of how the language system reflects different realities (1991 [1980], 28–9) and systems of values.[9]

Following Peter Newmark and Katharina Reiss, there are examples of promotional advertising in Basil Hatim and Ian Mason in their *Discourse and the Translator* (1990, 157–60) which make the term multifunctionality in dealing with the flow of genre in advertising familiar (141), whereas, in *The Translator as Communicator*, advertising brochures focus on descriptive and narrative frames (1997, 185–7). By the turn of the century, many titles underscored the importance of training translators, communicators, cultural mediators, and instructors, yet there was no survey exclusively conducted on aspects of theories of translation and advertising.

In the last two decades, advertising has also been approached through genre and error analysis, as in Paul Kussmaul in *Training the Translator* (1995, 88 and *passim*).[10] Chris Taylor, in *Language to Language*, covered instructive texts, slogans, and promotional material (1998, 141–4, 288–311), and David Katan in *Translating Cultures* evidenced culture as a salient feature in the translation of advertising (1999, 85–11), as well as in all aspects of translation and communication.[11] Recognition is also due to the late Robert de Beaugrande for *New Foundations for a Science of Text*

and Discourse (1997). In this highly articulate multidisciplinary approach, the paradigms of intertextuality and "periphery" are applicable to advertising (283–7) and translating (373–86). Although not combining the two subjects and domains, there are significant discursive practices interfacing with similar problems deriving from control and access to knowledge and society, also influenced by the multidimensional structure of advertising and translating. In the late 1990s, de Beaugrande's focus on "periphery" had adopted a perspective tailored to postcolonial discourse and translation. The era of radio commercials and television advertising was distinctively culturally embedded and contextualised in the different regulations of the Western countries and free market, from the UK to the US, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Corporate communication (Tan 2009), and the use of English words in radio commercials raises further issues (Smakman et al. 2009, 107–28), when only the voice is heard.

The verbal and written aspects, however, represent a primary element for the translator acting upon translation and transposition (or "trans-duction" in Kress 2010), consequent to the spread of English in the globalisation process and contact situations. The sector of travel information and tourism also relies on advertising and written translation (Coulmas 2013).[12] Examples may vary from professional data to the non-professional translation of advertising signs, as noted by Christiane Meierkord in *Interactions across Englishes* (2012, 151–3), where English is used in contact situations and multilingual advertising online for airlines (Vizcaino 2011, 185—203). The variation of English and world varieties of English (VEAW) is another phenomenon partaking of identities in the polycentric system of ideologies and the "nexus communities" suggested by Jan Blommaert in *Discourse* (2005). In this study, advertising and propaganda texts, i.e. new economy and political debates, are examined in varieties of African English and translation. Blommaert offers a fresh perspective on the evolving dynamics of identity and new Englishes in postcolonial domains (i.e. South African DJ talk, Nairobi bus signs) and their semiotic interpretative load. As he reports, there are varieties of English in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam displayed in advertisements in newspapers and on shop walls and road signs with many "errors" or unexpected turns of phrase. Below are some examples:

Sliming food	(advert for a health shop)
Approxi Mately	(written on a bus)
Disabled Kiosk	(a converted container operated by a disabled man)
Fund rising dinner party	(banner, central Dar es Salaam)

Sleping Coach	(long-distance bus)
Shekilango Nescafé	(name of the road: Shekilango Road)

These inscriptions are packed with useful information evidencing language problems in Tanzania, the lasting prestige of English, and the extreme difficulty in accessing standard varieties of English through post-primary education. Furthermore, other aspects have become pivotal in international advertising, as Blommaert noted ten years ago on the prestige of English and the practical need to localise it:

> It is clear that the producers (and consumers) of these signs orient towards the status hierarchy in which standard, *Euro-oriented English occupies the top. This is an orientation to English as a code associated with core values of capitalist ideas of success: entrepreneurship, mobility, luxury, female beauty.* The use of English is sensed to index all of this. But, at the same time, it *indexes this not in terms of internationally valid norms* (e.g. standard varieties of written English), but *in terms of local diacritics.* (2005, 212–13; emphasis added)

The disabled man saw himself as a businessman in that spatial community, and the owner of the Shekilango Nescafé had, in Blommaert's words: "a flair for finding well-sounding names for things" in the community of Dar es Salaam:

> As soon as these bits of English start to travel, the orthographic or pragmatic errors in them start dominating the perceptions of meaning and function, and different ascriptive categorical identities may emerge. But this is the point: *semiotic potential is tied to places and their characteristics, and determined by the inequalities between that particular space and others.* (2005, 213; emphasis added)

One thing is the Nairobi banlieue, and another is the UK editions of international fashion magazines. At both ends, there will always be a final recipient and a community with a distinctive perception and evaluation of meaning in signs, signals, and symbols. It is not the purpose of this study to expose small businesses and shop signs within communities, as the focus rests on the imbalance of power between the centre or polycentric hegemony and the extended periphery, pivoting on global advertising and international marketing. Advertising is also a promotional culture and an ideology, as Andrew Wernick analysed almost three decades ago (1991). Packaging and international web marketing rely on writing, as well as instructional brochures and leaflets. The case of websites of touristic attractions and signs is a new sector with the emergence of global tourism and the mandatory use of English as the lingua franca (Jiangbo and Ying

2010; Ko 2012).[13] Written information on packages (containers, bottles, boxes, cans, glass cases, etc.), has become a necessity in the age of drone delivery and shopping with trolley robots, where instructions and information must accompany the delivery of products. Oversights may occur in many forms. If mistakes happen to be printed on package, exposure is enhanced compared to the more volatile flow of screen images and radio advertising. Global corporations are intentionally prioritised in the current corpus.

Spelling Mistakes in English: UK and Global Brands

Written mistakes, typos, and mix-ups can occur on packaging as the result of a lack of control and oversight. Apologies will follow, as in the Tesco case of baby clothes wherein a toddler's English parents, who were journalists, noticed the mistakes. The British company apologised, but Twitter made the mistake global, and more damaging: [14]

> Supermarket chain *Tesco* has promised to brush up on its spelling and grammar after making *two separate mistakes in a single pack of baby clothes*. The parents of three-month-old Alexander Kendall spotted the errors after being given the set of five *Tesco F&F* long sleeve bodysuits as a present. *One of the suits carries the slogan "I was born awsome"—missing out the first E in "awesome." Another misses a possessive apostrophe and reads "Daddys little man."* Tesco responded after Alexander's father pointed out the errors on Twitter. It offered a refund or exchange and said: "Sorry about this, we've made our suppliers aware of this so it can be corrected for future stock." (Wheatstone 2016; emphasis added)

Another example of a grammar-cum-spelling oversight comes from the creative Aussie brand (see also chapter two). The energy invested in creating slogans was marred by mistakes. Innovation in digital technology extends to printing graphics on cans and bottles matched by idiosyncratic language usage. Intertextuality and a touch of Australian slang "pump up" expressive functions:

> *pump up the volume* → refers to the bisemic "volume" of hair (and a pop song)
>
> *"There's more to life than hair but it's a good place to start"—the Aussie philosophy*

/Hair/ in its bisemic denotation of "body hair" and "hair" is expressed in other European languages by distinctive significant (Italian /*pelo*/ vs. /*capello/i*→ French /*poil/cheveux* → Spanish /pelo/ /*cabello/s*), and calls

for further scrutiny. Notwithstanding sparkling creativity in verbal art, Aussie featured a grammar-spelling mistake on bottle, using /*breathe*/ instead of /*breath*/, a verb vs. noun mixup, adding an extra /e/ in "Take a deep breathe." On further analysis, indications on the production inform that it came from Holland, while others are made in France. Multilingual information is crammed into the fine print on spray cans and bottles. Aussie was acquired by the American firm Procter and Gamble in the 1990s (see chapter two), now based in Surrey, although it is made in European countries (France, the Netherlands) but not marketed throughout the EU. [15] Due to its production and distribution in many countries of Europe, multi-language translation is needed, although the importance of writing is ironically dealt with on the customer hotline:

> Questions? Give us a ring, send us an email, or why not, pick up a pen and combat the *global disappearance of handwriting*. (Aussie Frizz Miracle, Made in France, features phone numbers for the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland)

> Questions? Give us a ring, send us an email, or even put pen to paper. *We like getting letters*, *no one does it these days* and it makes us feel special. (Aussie Beach Mate, phone Ireland; emphasis added)

There is another fine-print mistake that a close reading detects. If the product is the result of a teaser campaign and launched in an international market (i.e. Australia and the EU), even if this is not an offensive blunder and a possible typo, time and money will still be wasted in repairing it and preventing damage. Not surprisingly, translational issues find no distinctively featured thematics in invaluable core texts on advertising and marketing communications, such as Tony Yeshin's *Advertising* (2011).[16]

Writing Matters: Adaptation or Translation?

Another important aspect is the use of language and linguistic translation and multimodality. A recognition of marginalisation in the translation of advertising is outlined here in its controversial aspects. Advertising suffered from a pre-translational phase in respect of translation studies, while on the other hand multimodality has more recently shifted emphasis to the overall representational effects and re-semiotisation process, after the initial focus on translation as an intersemiotic process. The element of writing and translating into English, however, has been picking up steam within the dynamics of a scenario determined by access to the global market, international communication, and the new media technology (Crystal 2001; 2008; Coulmas 2013; Hartley 2009). Mistakes, mainly in

writing, despite being funny or silly, may have negative effects and tarnish the launch of new products, as observed. In the case of writing, translating, and rewriting into another language, these have been overshadowed and pushed aside by the meticulous concentration on the "physicality" of the packaging, inclusive of the element of "plasticity" in signs. If attention has been centred on graphics and logos, fortunes lavishly wasted on photographers, endorsers, and celebrities, cross-language control and the textual monitoring of writing in advertising seem to have been overshadowed in theory and application. Studies in advertising and communication have generally privileged the semiotic aspects and social psychology of markets, neglecting linguistic, interlinguistic, and translational issues as well as relevant quality management (Dyer 1982).

Judith Williamson's pioneering in-depth survey *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (1978) has no reference to a possible original body copy in its SL. The 1970s were a pre-translation studies era, and the term "copy adaptation" had not yet become a buzzword for defining the translation of adverts.[17] The concept of inter-semiotic translation and terms like "trans-duction" or "trans-adaptation" were ahead of the times if applied to advertising. *Decoding Advertisements*, however, uses adverts in translation, and yet does not consider the original French. Chanel No. 5 and Chanel No. 19 are examined in their English versions, de-contexualised from the semio-sphere of the original French.[18] If there is mention of translation, the latter is severed from cultural associations with Frenchness, French language, and binomial referencing to language and style. "Systems of meaning" here are unrelated to the systemic-functional in linguistic translation, and connote the "creation of images."

> Using the structure of one system in order to give structure to another, *or to translate the structure of another, is a process which must involve an intermediate structure, a system of systems or "metasystem" at the point where translation takes place: this is the advertisement*. Advertisements are constantly translating between systems of meaning, and therefore constitute a vast meta-system where values from different areas of our lives are made interchangeable. (Williamson 1979, 25; emphasis added)

Without using the technical term "intersemiotic translation," the author uses parallel approaches derived from semiotics, yet without interlinguistic consideration and a language-paired French-to-English approach:

> Thus the work of advertisement is not to invent a meaning for No. 5*, but to translate meaning for it by means of a sign system we already know.* It is only because Catherine Deneuve has an "image," a significance in one sign

> system, that she can be used to create a new system of significance relating to perfumes. (Williamson 1979, 25–6)

The conclusive phrase of "linguistic currency" has, however, no reference to the French language: "So it is not her face as such, but its position in a system of signs where it signifies flawless French beauty, which makes it useful *as a piece of linguistic currency to sell Chanel*" (Ibid.). The English tagline for Chanel No. 5 reads: "It's one of the pleasures of being a woman." Marketed in 1971, with the number nineteen relating to the year of Coco Chanel's birth (1919), Chanel No. 19 has longer captions and a tagline: "The Outspoken Chanel" on the top right hand above Chanel No. 19, "Witty, Confident, Devastatingly Feminine," and under Chanel No. 19 a provocatively direct question: "Aren't you a tiny bit curious about a fragrance with that kind of style?" All this leaves the reader intrigued and hopelessly curious as to what would have been the original tagline in French. If this was the "ad age," it was also the "pre-translation studies age."

Some 40 years later, Dior and Chanel would switch to global English, definitively doing away with the ideological restrictions of the then mandatory Francophonie Gaullist stance (General de Gaulle passed away in 1970). Perfume names like Chance, Allure, Bandit, Egoiste, and Poison are homonyms in French and English, and Midnight Poison (2009) is a further extension into the Anglo-sphere. The French tagline "une nouvelle Cendrillon est née," with its rhyme (/poison/ Cendrillon), is internationally advertised in English ("a new Cinderella is born"). A staggering amount of money was invested in product development and the launch of this dramatic blue sequel to the former red Dior Poison (2007). Technically, a sequel functioning as a spinoff product is called a "flanker."[19] Yet, notwithstanding the innovative teamwork, the external partners, and the glossy and glamourous back cover display ad in *Elle*'s UK edition, there were typos.[20] The "Dior, The New Diorshow Mascara" advert reads as follows, albeit in the fine print:

> Innovation: formula enriched with volumizing **microfiars** and new anti-drying AIR LOCK™ system
>
> Discover DIORSHOW PROLINER, the hybrid **avel-tip** eyeliner with an exceptional line

Cross checking clusters of web pages and sites in English (and other languages) gives evidence that the lexical items are no trademark neologisms. They are orthographic glitches or typos for "microfibers" and

"bevel-tip" eyeliner. The client who buys luxury products is likely to be more language conscious, and, talking about eyeliners, there's more than meets the eye in terms of quality. Lashes are a hot spot in advertising claims. The whole written format is a crucial issue, deserving the same attention as that given to graphics and chromatic codes. Iconic bottles, mini-pocket sprays, and multilingual instructions in packages and on bottles account for factual information counteracting metaphors and hyperbolic claims, as seen in the notorious case of fake lashes in visual images. There have been legal suits and disclaimers on the lengths of eyelashes on the eyes of a celebrity which were either added to the photo or glued on:

> In news that will surprise no one, despite years of being chastised by the National Advertising Division, makeup companies have continued to fight the good fight and attempt to convince customers that those *SKY HIGH lashes are the result of their product and are not also helped by a good set of falsies. At this point, shouldn't we just assume she's not born with it?* (Dries 2013; emphasis added)

The issue was on the wording used in the "performance claim" about eyelash lengtheners:

> particularly that the cosmetics industry may continue to use lash inserts in mascara *advertising featuring performance claims provided their use is disclosed as part of the main message of the advertising. Procter and Gamble has always been a leader in this area, i.e., disclosing the use of lash inserts,* and as a strong supporter of the self-regulatory process, P&G will take NAD's (National Advertising Division) recommendations into account in future advertising (Ibid.; emphasis added).[21]

In 2015, Chanel No. 5 launched Le parfum cheveux: The Hair Mist. The iconic bottle and its box list descriptive name tags for the perfume in several European languages:

French:	Brume parfumée pour cheveux
English:	Perfumed Hair Mist
Italian:	Brume Profumata per i Capelli
Spanish:	Bruma Perfumada para el Cabello
German:	Perfumiertes Spray fur das Haar
Dutch:	Geparfumeerde Nevel voor het Haar
Greek:	Aromatico Sprey Mallion

If the English /mist/ has constellations of meanings and lexical collocations, the Italian /brume/ is archaic and obsolete and is a French calque. "Brume profumata per i capelli" has several lexico-syntact

inconsistencies. In any case it should be singular (bruma), as in print it fails in the concordance with its singular adjective. Also, the addition of the plural article /i/ is redundant, as the standard usage in marketing is /spray per capelli/. Italian equivalents for /fog/ are /foschia/ /nebbia/ with a negative connotation: no romantic mistiness at all, only bad weather conditions. The English lexicon bears no clear-cut symmetry for the Italian word (haze, mist, fog, smog), whereas a more-common equivalent could simply be the English term /spray/. The example is emblematic of the influx of English words in advertising and the extreme permeability of the gender-connoted language of beauty care and glamour. On the other hand, the determination to use of the target language (TL) lexical equivalent word in translation can be a flop not only for lack of total symmetrical semantic equivalence. We featured this specific case on the grounds of semantic shifts in meaning and diachronic variation. The French term /brume/ is standard language usage, whereas the French-derived term in Italian is obsolete. The English internationalism /spray/ is standard Italian usage and works on a metonymical level, as it can either be the "substance" or the "container."[22] Other languages and cultures more permeable to English use "parfumeret hair mist" (Danish) or "parfymspray for haret" (Swedish). Italian could have been more comfortable with "spray" than "mist." German has used /Spray/ whereas Dutch has /Nevel/ (der. German /Nebel/ form Lat. /nebula/), also signifying /haze/ and /fog/. Notwithstanding the excellence of literature devoted to the beauty industry (Jones 2011), celebrities, and logos (Kemp 2011), interlingual and multilingual translation has been considered only trivially. Yet such mistakes blemish the perfection of luxury products and provide flaws in awesome advertising. Typos can occur and are spotted even in random research. The reasons may reside in computerised control programs, de-localisation, and globalization where language control and the quality management of the final product are blurred (Martin 2006; Ray, Ryder and Scott 1991).

Another instance is with the French global giant L'Oréal launching a new product, haircare oil, with a rich two-page display advert in a British woman's magazine *Woman & Home* (September 2015, 68). The celebrity used for this Elvive Extaordinary Oil was the Dutch model Doutzen Kroeas, tagged "Because You're Worth it." The invitation is to "Discover an Extraordinary Beautifying Ritual." The item under scrutiny features "4 ways to discover your new nourishing oils ritual for beautiful hair." Number 3 is tagged as "Buttery Indulence," presumably not a blend nor a pun of "indolence" but a typo for "indulgence."

Loss in Translation: Shakespeare and Snafuz

If English has been the pandemic language of advertising in the pre-global era, as the lingua franca (ELF), or more precisely the AELF (Advertising English as Lingua Franca), it seems to account for the phenomenon of marketability and consumer acceptance, even if in partial or total language unawareness. The point is that ad words are perceived as embedded and contextualised in the multimodal system of advertising discourse and translation (see Baldry 2000; Thibault 2000; Baldry and Thibault 2006; Taylor 2003, 2013; Vasta 2003, 2004, 2005; Torresi 2007, 2010), they are seen as indisputable technicalities and specialied jargon. The standard denotative meaning and primacy of the English words are re-semiotised, as the connotative meaning triggered by polysemy and puns may be blurred and obfuscated, notwithstanding slogans concocted by marketing gurus and followed by cute disclaimers. In the worst cases, they may excite hilarity for the countersense, which, however, on a more serious level of B2B, may eventually turn detrimental for the corporate profile and finance. It is usually the incorrect and de-contextualised usage of English that has caused substantial losses concerning budgeting in the launch of new products.

The following case study was a hilarious blunder obscured on the internet. It is the notorious case of Snafuz used as a buzzword for the advertising campaign of Banca Roma in 1997. It was aired at primetime and seen by millions of Italians, and the magic acronym became a catchword. The storyboard is a *Men in Black* parody stuffed with Tinker Bell's golden powder and the magic word Snafuz. Snafuz was the buzzword that made things happen. The commercial was directed by an Italian film director who claimed no role in the storyboard designed by the art creator and copywriter. The commercial was commissioned by the purchaser of the J. Walter Thompson agency and tailored to potential subscribers in order to raise share capital.[23] The costs were staggering, and the commercial disappeared and has been irretrievable ever since. For those unaware of it, the term Snafuz denotes a total fiasco, and was the most improper term to be used for the launch campaign: "Situation Normal All Fowled (F…*) Up" plus /z/s/ to indicate the acronym's nominalisation, with the same significance in British and American English. At what point of product development is language control to take place? The fiasco was hilarious and was mercilessly exposed by the Italian journalist Beppe Severgnini in an article (*Corriere della Sera* 1997). As money is lavishly poured over icons and celebrities, gurus of marketing slogans, and legendary photographers, the position of dictionary assistant could payoff, if writing

and language matter. Conversely, there are areas and segmentations of markets where language loss does not seem to affect consumer loyalty, as language "mistakes" are aired as teasers. It is the case of new markets and the launch of new lines of products where English is fuzzily perceived either as an exotic language or a language easily understood, or English words are dealt with as "sounds" devoid of any meaning. Lexical semantics and the impact of neologisms play a crucial role. If blundering errors have been made and reverberate across the internet, to most consumers this will have an echo effect, enhancing the brand name. On the contrary, deletion or withdrawal will parallel consumer's disaffection and forgetfulness, while a creative and humorous patch-up for blunders, botches, and bungles can be passed off as more-or-less intentional for global giants: i.e., "Nothing Sucks like an Electrolux," whereas an Ikea workbench for children was tagged "Fartfull."[24] If analysed from the point of view of quality in translation and communication, this is a sensitive issue for translation scholars and experts in global communication. Hilarity from unintentional advert spoofs may discredit the quality of posh luxury brands and niche products below the line. The amount of money invested in luxury brands targeting a sophisticated segment of the market as a challenge to competitors on the ground of supreme excellence will not be worth it. In both instances, the reception factor is crucial (Valdés 2000). A Shakespearean strapline for the launch of a new car model campaign in Italy has to be adapted and rewritten for the literate Anglophile. This is an instance of the "matter of words," as with the Bard it is always more than words. The commercial featured Uma Thurman and a voiceover for the new Giulietta Alfa Romeo.[25] The Shakespearean lines were turned into straplines: "We are such stuff as dreams are made on," uttered by Prospero in *The Tempest* (4, I, 156), sounds uncouth in Uma Thurman's citations:

> **ST**: Io sono la purezza, io sono la potenza, io sono l'amore. Io sono Giulietta e sono fatta della *stessa materia di cui sono fatti i sogni*. Senza cuore saremmo solo macchine! (November 2010; emphasis added)
>
> **TT**: I am purity I am power, I am Love. I am Giulietta and *I am made of the stuff dreams are made of.* Without heart we would only be machines

This is a comment online posted by a non-technical expert:

> A nicely styled 5 door family hatchback introduced in 2010 as a replacement for the 147, alas the *advertising agency hired to promote it went a bit OTT with its motto I thought … "I am Giulietta, and I am such stuff as dreams are made on." Still, it was awarded second place in the 2011 European Car of the Year awards!*[26] (emphasis added)

The British are sensitive when the Bard is inaccurately referred to. The English version of the commercial in 2012 wisely omitted the citation from *The Tempest*, permuting the nominal thematic assertions on the basis of supposed strong cultural values: /purity/ vs. /freedom/, a strong keyword in American and British culture (Wierzbicka 1997, 125–53). Thurman's American accent is heard in the new version:

> **TT**: I am freedom I am strength I am technology. Without heart we would be mere machines.

If Giulietta is Italian, Juliet and Prospero are, conversely, globally renowned Shakespearean characters. The above example debunks the strategic standardisation of commercials. If an imperfect citation (Juliet for Prospero) is accepted in Europe, it will not be so easily accepted in the United Kingdom. The perception of cultural values and market excellence is also a variable, and yet also a reinforcing circumstance in some cases. From the point of view of a citizen of Naples, wherefrom pizza, "salsa col pomodoro," and spaghetti went global, there is a different geographical attribution in values from within (see chapter five). Credibility and cultural awareness can be arguably problematised, as Marc Gobé, authoritative brand-designing strategist, comments regarding the American illusion of inventing an Italian name for pasta in his *Emotional Branding*:

> Some products gain enormous credibility if they are associated with a specific culture. Russian vodka is still the authentic one, and we would have a hard time buying Irish pasta—even if it were the best in the world! *Hershey's Ronzoni pasta brand communicates with its graphics the authenticity of an Italian product ... but I doubt that anybody is really duped by these marketing efforts.* Instead we are enticed by and want to participate in these aspirational stories which are more fun than a generic, utilitarian product experience because they help us to dream. *Most people are quite willing to let Ronzoni pasta be "Italian" in their minds!* (Gobé 2001, 216; emphasis added)

The dissociative argumentation is that if you are an Italian American or Italian expat, pasta sauce like Mars's Dolmio or Lloyd Grossman with his Bolognese Sauce may sound outrageous to many Italian housewives, not only those Bologna-based ones (see chapter five).[27] These words are questionable today in the highly segmented international market, considering the Milan Expo and the authentic "Made in Italy" effect aiming to expose me-too products (see chapter five). When you go global, you have to also consider the country of origin of the products that are "echoed" and "haloed," and the potential consumers of the community

they are referred to. The effects may be controversial. Though seeming jocular and funny in the hegemonic culture, ethnic marking can be a sensitive issue to the minority community and its nation of provenance, especially when words are confusingly used in a manipulative and distorted manner.

Global Advertising and Translation: AELF (Advertising English as Lingua Franca)

As already noted, in monographs on advertising, marketing, and communication, translational issues have hardly received any recognition, if at all. Conversely, David Katan's pioneering survey on *Translating Across Cultures* (1999) integrated many sources and topics from advertising, marketing, and communication. The more-recent focus on cultural identity in translation (Muñoz-Calvo et al. 2008; Cronin 2006), and the awareness of expanding international perspectives on globalisation (Kenny and Ryou 2007; Cronin 2003) have problematised dynamics that had been underrated or ignored in past studies. Brand names and slogans present several cases of ambiguity in communicating a corporate mission and concept, as noted. The abundant output of studies on the success of brand names encounters sparse production on failures regarding language and international advertising, with few notable exceptions (Anholt 2000). A full focus on translation and mistakes may be found in the critical domain of advertising and translation (Adab and Valdes 2004; Adab 2000, 2001) and English-Spanish language pairs (Duro 2001; Bueno Garcìa 2000). Although there are voices from the field with a claim to English being the perfect language" of advertising (Anholt 2000), ambiguities and "erroneous errors" (House 1997 [1977]) do occur and affect the quality of translation as a whole, in particular when translation interfaces with cultural factors (Katan 1999: 85–97, 192–204). The range of synonyms is varied and covers goofs, blunders, lame ducks, bungles, botches, slips, oversights, typos, and interference in the most formal wrecks and wretched fiascos. Frequency is marked and visible with language situations where there is a primacy of English-language usage.

> VE-VEAW (Varieties of English—World Varieties of English): within the major Varieties of English (British, American, Australian, Caribbean, African), target-oriented localisation and identity based.
>
> AELF (Advertising English as Lingua Franca): This is a wide umbrella term, when writing, translating and adapting, and the broad spectrum of ESP, extending to BELF (Business English as Lingua Franca) and the

> domain of international and social communication (B2B, B2C) including sci-tech jargon, internet language, graphics and design, marketing and distribution, as it may loosely refer to genre, registers, functions, and multimodality.
>
> FL (Foreign Language): when adapting, rewriting, translating from FL to AELF and VE; from AELF and VE to FL for the global market, interlinguistic and international communication. This occurs in language pairs and extends to multilingual copy adaptation and translation.

The three domains depend upon the identification of possible linguistic filters, which, once detected, can encode and decode the message towards adaptation and communication. In a consumer-oriented translation targeting specific segments of the market, it may be useful to submit a sample translation to prospective groups, even within the same national boundaries. Ethnic connotation and denotation may thus positively impact on emotional advertising. The identification of socio-political diachronic variation is tantamount to interlinguistic translation with any term connected to "black," especially in advertising and cultural blunders; e.g. the "black boys" vernacular plant name in a sales catalogue would be considered offensive today. The brand name Spic in the USA connotes a derogatory term used for Latinos ("taboo" in the DCE) is just asking for boycott, and the golliwog in the hands of the Shirley Temple-like little girl on a vintage Ovaltine poster is rather embarrassing today.

The sex and gender traps seem to be all the rage in advertising disasters that have been running online for years. To avoid blunders, a comment posted online argued that: "English must become the sole language of the world." The question is, what English? Technical jargon for specialists? Internet English? Apps and smartwatch English with a proliferation of same acronyms (e.g. NSFW—"not safe for work" or "now show friends and workmates"?). Or, is it the cuteness of the "yeah yeah yeah" interjectional jingles, the spread of AELF in taglines and slogans triggered by "short words," or memorable quotes ending with exclamations and interjections that pitch advertising English use as the lingua franca? There are onomatopoeic utterances, exclamatory remarks hitting the international market through commercials, television serials, comics, digital marketing, smart wristwatches, and social forums that have become pandemic and are playfully used in common speech forms (Masiola 2016). The "oh yeah …" is a parody of English and American pop songs and American films (i.e. The Beatles with "She Loves You," or "The Yeah Yeah Yeah Song" by the Flaming Lips). The iterated interjectional assertion also went viral in Italian in songlines authored and performed by Enzo Jannacci, such as

"Quelli che … Oh yeah!" ["Those who …"] (1975), and has recently featured a teaser commercial, Air Action Vigorsol with the Casanova Koala: "Chewing is … Yeah!" produced by an Italian agency in 2015.[28]

In English, the complex structure of pragmatic particles is the real challenge when dealing with slogans, straplines, taglines, gaglines, laughlines, punchlines, schmag lines,[29] and shibboleths. All of these synonyms define an item acquiring a functional load of meaning when contextualised in adverts, jingles, and commercials. English as the language of international advertising, enhanced by the language of comic strips and graphics, has given currency to emotional interjections into other languages, as it has been contributing with the "woowses" of success and "oopses" of failure in texting and spoken interaction. The perception and translation of onomatopoeic English interjections as verbs, nouns, and adjectival verbs and nouns represent a real challenge. More than the emotional load of meaning of the pragmatic particle of discourse, it is the slogan itself that usually rounds off commercials and audiovisual messages, with all the constellations of meanings the storyboard triggers via intertextual and paratextual features, as in the Pepsi "Capish!" commercial (Tomei 2015; see chapter five). It also frequently occurs with foreign words used as exclamations in advertising, and with brand names made up of exclamations ("Ay ay ay," "Caramba," "Mamma Mia!"). Depending on the context, there are ambiguities in the appeal to humour that are only possible in a mutually shared context. The paradox, however, lies in the partial loss of contextualised meaning, when the verb based on onomatopoeia is not perceived by the non-Anglophone recipient consumer as dynamic verb or agent; lexical items used as brands are quite common in English, such as Dash, Swiffer, Mum, Oust, and Chill It, and are hardly understood as meaningful lexico-syntactic items. In most cases, interjections are left untranslated given their sound appeal and frequency in usage. Mascots and cartoons are characterised through interjections, jingles, and catchphrases. Popular mascots, elves, and little creatures concocted for commercials have fostered the diffusion of English-branded products to such a large extent that consumers (i.e. children and their parents) have become familiar with the ubiquitous and time-resistant Kellogg's gnomes, Snap, Crackle, and Pop as vintage jingles dating back to the 1930s and 1950s, which have been revitalised and merchandised as gadgets and figurines. The language, or the "discourse of advertising" (Cook 2009), thrives on puns, double meanings, and on literal versus metaphorical meanings. In its global and communicative functions, creative AELF is situationally used with the scope of entertaining to enjoy breakfast in the form of mess product placements and shared celebrations.

The breakfast ritual with cereals and Kellogg's has for many decades been a symptom of the "snap, crackle, and pop" syndrome. Given the unprecedented diffusion of English verbal interjections, the elves' names today would be in their original form. At a time of tight linguistic policies and barriers to foreign words, they were translated as follows:

Denmark:	*Pif! Paf! Puf!*
Finland:	*Riks! Raks! Roks!*
France (Canada):	*Cric! Crac! Croc!*
Germany:	*Knisper! Knasper! Knusper!*
Italy:	*Pif! Pof! Paf!*
Switzerland:	*Piff! Paff! Poff!*
South Africa (Afrikaans):	*Knap! Knetter! Knak!*
Mexico:	*Pim! Pum! Pam!*

Some 50 years ago, the translation of the Smurf language into the diverse European languages highlighted national conventions and codes. English interjections that are currently used now would have been unacceptable at the time.

Translatability is better contextualised in the framework of translation and international communication studies. The translational factor and the degree of translatability determine the possible symmetry, correspondence, correlation, and interface between translation and advertising, as the two domains of communication partake of methods, theories, strategies, practice, and applications in the globalisation process. The degree of translation, translatability, and adaptation may fluctuate along the marketing mix of innovative technology and media communication. The old classic model has been augmented from the former three P's of the 1960s related to price, product, and place (McCarthy 1964) from a customer-driven perspective that considers consumer, cost, communication, and convenience (Lauterborn 1990, 2013),[30] and was recently enhanced by commodity, cost, communication, and channel (Shimizu 2014). In 2012, the new theory laid emphasis on people, processes, programs, and performance. The fact that both authors (Lauterborn and Shimizu) added "communication" streamlines to translation practice and application reinforced the "channel" factor. Furthermore, translational issues and multilingual globalisation fit into a renewed emphasis on "people" in a free market with no linguistic barriers or bans on languages, products, and advertising. Below is a possible grid of a range of situations in translations of advertising along the continuum between standardisation, localisation, and globalisation.

GLOBAL TRANSLATION: A standardised version in English (AELF). Sometimes from an FL source-language (SL) undisclosed to the international audience as covert translation (House 1997 [1977]). The case is most frequent, especially for housecare low-end products where creative excellence is not primary.

NO TRANSLATION: Apart from English, there can be other languages when the national identity of the product is tantamount to excellence and quality. In this case the message conveys a strong international appeal. In the case of "iconic" Italian products like those advertised for the Superbowl television audience, the Italian language has been used for 2012 500 Fiat Abarth, and Italian lines were uttered by the female (non-Italian) protagonist of the commercial.

INTERLINGUISTIC TRANSLATION: Overt ST and TT. This can be in written form as captions in audiovisuals and bilingual or multilingual body copy in mixed language proportion between ELF and FL1 and FL2. In the bilingual text the interface is visible and under control. The almost invisible print of multilingual instructions in leaflets with distant languages, i.e. Slavonic, Arabic, and Asiatic languages, impairs readability and possible control.

VOICEOVERS: This is the most frequent practice in commercials for global products, where there is a standard prototype to avoid constraints of labial synchronisation. In voiceovers the voice can easily expand into further indications and instructions for homecare products with an anonymous voice. For luxury products, there is frequently the sexy velvety voice of a recognisable celebrity and endorser uttering a few lines and the brand name (e.g. Scarlett Johansson and D&G in "Dolce and Gabbana: The One").

DUBBING: This is more elaborate than an anonymous voiceover. An interesting example in AELF is that used by Paris-based L'Oréal and its famous "because you're worth it," and now "because we're all worth it," with the SL slogan in AELF and thence dubbed. This has been a milestone slogan featuring divas and stars (black people are not featured) and raised issues on the question of reality and (sex)appeal (Dror 2012, 29–40). There are international (Spanish, American, French, German) beauties with strong national identity and appeal, uttering the lines in English, as perceivable from their lip-movement. The star's lips, however, are hardly synchronised (lip movement to dubbed words). There are celebrities who utter the famous tagline in French as /Paris/ which is the essential payoff present in the logo "L'Oréal de Paris." The impact of a "real voice" addressing /you/ has an enhanced psychological effect, making "the voice" who talks directly to you in your language with a "real" voice believable, even if it is through dubbing. In some commercials, the lips of celebrities move as if uttering the slogan in English while being dubbed (even in their

> own voice); in a close-up this is clearly visible, as perfect labial synchronisation becomes impossible. For the German car Audi, Claudia Schiffer's voice is dubbed in Italian. In this commercial, there is also a voiceover effect on the supremacy of German-made cars. The slogan is in German: "Wir Leben Autos" ["We live cars"] for Opel, and "Das Auto" ["The Car"] for Audi.
>
> CAPTIONS: In cases where the recipient culture lacks dubbing facilities, captions and subtitling may be used. Global giants wishing to penetrate distant and emerging medium-sized markets have used this technique (L'Oréal in Poland) and have left the real seductive voices of divas to "speak for themselves" in English (i.e. Julia Roberts for Poland and Latvia, and Penelope Cruz), introducing the claims and benefits of the product. The UK magazine *Woman & Home* (September 2015) features the mega display ad "Because You're Worth it" and the celebrity Doutzen Kroes, a Dutch supermodel.

The history of marketing research on slogans has contributed to studies on advertising and argumentation, highlighting the production format roles categorising the addressee (Atkin and Richardson 2005, 164–74; Scollon 2004, 149–76). Scollon, in particular, segments roles as type, advertiser, product agency, and consumer typifying examples. The "product agency" in linguistic terms often uses pronominalisation in a thematic position (We, you, us, I). The "type" of production format role, among several possible situations, includes the simple "sender-receiver," "the presenter," or the MC as a spokesperson. The case of a series of celebrities used as spokespersons uttering the same slogan, which has varied over time only in terms of pronouns and "agency," as seen with L'Oréal, problematises clear-cut categorisation also regarding English or French used as international languages. This situation may occur especially in postcolonial areas challenging minority languages or the languages of lesser diffusion, as in the case of Africa, where bilingualism features two predominant languages whose major prestige resides either in the use of French or English. In his well-cited *Translation and Globalization*, Michael Cronin notes the undisputable hegemonic role of English in translational issues (2003, 165). He considers the threat to minority languages derived from the national lingua francas and not from international colonial language on the basis of observations by the African linguist Herman Batibo (2001, 312). This further complicates the controversial issues related to advertising and localisation, as Cronin sees a danger in translation: "if we think global (macro translation flows), we may forget what it is to speak local (micro-linguistic tensions)" (2003, 165). Conversely, this challenges the already intricate linguistic choice and

translation of ads as the topic extends to idiolects, in particular when dealing with proverbs, interjections, exclamations, vernacular utterances, puns, and humour essential to the vocative and phatic functions in advertising.

Fun with Puns

As observed, notwithstanding the massive output of literature on how to achieve success in the profession, translation also seems to be neglected in innovative texts on how to write and create great ads. The question of translational expertise and the professional role of a copywriter working with languages has never been taken into account, except for voices from the field. Emphasis is on creating slogans and puns, as seen in catchy titles for copywriters, i.e. *The Wizard of Ads: Turning Words into Magic and Dreamers into Millionaires* (Williams 1998), or witty primers, i.e. *How to Put your Book Together and Get a Job in Advertising* (Paetro 2002). Languages and translation seem to be unlikely sources of humour, and wordplay, conversely, is at the core of advertising and considered one of the most challenging and controversial paradoxes in terms of translatability. As the reinforcing circumstances to the debate are either on the use of English or not, and to translate or not, the following paragraphs highlight the topic of puns in English as the lingua franca of advertising (AELF). AELF linguistic features for brands, puns, tags, and slogans internationally exploited in advertising contrast different meanings with their formal similarity. Puns feature gags, straplines, and taglines reflecting intertextual parody. Parody can also come in the form of satire and negative mimicry and turn into ethnic stereotyping, if not overt racism (see chapter five). The definition elaborated by Dirk Delabastita defines the linguistic aspect of wordplay:

> Wordplay is the general name for various *textual* phenomena in which structural features of the language(s) used are exploited in order to bring about a *communicatively significant confrontation* of two (or more) linguistic structures with *more or less similar forms* and *more or less different meanings.* (1996, 128)

In his study on pun and translation, Delabastita elaborates a grid detailing the typology of puns with reference to their formal organisation and matching translational strategies (1996, 128–30). Distinction is made between homonymy (identical sound and spelling), homophony (identical sound but different spelling), homography (different sound but identical spelling), and paronymy as slight differences in spelling and sounds. Thus,

a pun "contrasts linguistic structures with different meanings on the basis of formal similarities" (Ibid., 128). In his view, "the two formally similar linguistic structures may clash associatively by being co-present in the same portion of text (vertical wordplay), or they may be in a relation of contiguity by occurring one after another in the text (horizontal wordplay)." The mixed typology below accounts for cross-cultural factors and filters in translation and the question of AELF.

Phonological and graphological structure and visual image: "Kiss My Glass." An invented graphic advertisement for sunglasses shows a face representing a morphed derrière, explicitly evoking the offensive interjection. In British English, the spelling and pronunciation would have been slightly different. It does not market "sunglasses" but glass fancy works in Santa Cruz California, and is also used by other companies and for other products.

Lexical structure (polysemy) and visual image: "My God, France is so cheap these days!" This advert shows a caricaturised *Mona Lisa* painting, a favourite with artists' smears, started by Marcel Duchamp. Here, Lisa has "cheap" showy makeup and a fluffy purple boa. The slogan advertises the German flagship company Lufthansa.

Morphological iterative structure: "With Canon you can," previously "You can come with Canon," and more recently, "You can on a Canon." The slogan has been so successful due to its morphological symmetry with the brand name and has been adopted only with minor changes since its first use in the 1940s and '50s. The story of the word significantly illustrates the conversion of Japan to multinationalism and the subsequent use of English. After the Second World War, at the time of the American occupation of Japan (1947), the company name was changed to Canon Camera Co., then further simplified to Canon Inc. Those were also the years of the company's advertising in *Playboy* and represented a total cultural shift from its primary Buddhist logo of "bodhisattva Guan Yin" (Kannon in Japanese), which was transliterated as Kuanyn, Kwannon (1934), or Kwanon in English. The Japanese company's original name was Precision Optical Industry (Seikikōgaku kenkyūsho). In 1934 it produced the Kwanon, a prototype for Japan's first-ever 35 mm camera. In 1971, a *Playboy* advert featured the new camera for "new thinking," stating "stop wishing you could. You can with a Canon." In 2004, a two-page print tagline in *Time* read: "You can Canon." The 2006 slogan appeared on a display page of the New Yorker with the new model stating: "Canon Image ANYWARE" (June 19, 2006). The Canon slogan was streamlined as the product (camera) went through technical innovation. Beyond words, what is emblematic for its claim to pride and tradition is the photograph of female Japanese hands, kimono sleeves visible, playing the koto, whereas

the *Playboy* photograph featured part of the face of a blonde woman in profile.

Syntactic structure and two-fold meaning (bisemy): The slogan "Players Please" from the 1930s is a choice example from the history of British advertising, used by Players Navy Cut of the Imperial Tobacco Company (founded in 1883). The brand has also been cited in the Bond stories for its iconic image of the British sailor (see chapter one). In the 1950s, the graphic design appealed to gender and socialisation, featuring a couple on a yacht, stating "Whatever the pleasure, Players complete it," or a family at a seaside holiday resort with children, with a single girl feeding pigeons. No comma has ever been added before the /Please/, whereas the visual and gender orientation has changed, as the bearded and mature British sailor was less likely to appeal to the teenagers of the 1950s and '60s, but most of the time the slogan remained unchanged (Cox 2000; Tinkler 2004).

Rhyming patterns with simple and foreign words: "Hysteria over Wisteria" is the weird slogan for London Pride, made of London since 1816 in a brewery besides the Thames.[31]Another is "Fond of things Italiano? Try a Sip of Galliano," echoing the "Italiano" in the media. A 1971 print advert from *Playboy* for the Italian liqueur matched the "Mambo Italiano" hit in the United States (see chapter five). An award-winning Singapore restaurant (2003) pushes rhyming patterns to the connotative meaning of /sin/ with "Original Sin. Mediterranean Cuisine," with relations to luxury products, sex, sin, and Italy being not uncommon, as in *The Devil Wears Prada* (see chapter five). Singapore has four official languages: Mandarin, English, Tamil, and Malay.[32]

Creative blends: Such creations have been used in the field of finance ("slumpfication") and used among experts internationally. The Pink Lady apple in the UK has revived the old name of the cocktail and *Grease* gang with "Don't let a BAD Apple ruin your Snackisfaction" with the following tagline using double alliteration: "Picked Perfect for Sweet Snackisfaction." The sonic memory of "satisfaction" is looming, as the suffixation is used in other advertisements.

Proverbial pattern and bisemy: An Irwin hand saw advert used the slogan "It came, It Saw, It Conquered," parodying Julius Caesar's Latin proverbial phrase "Veni Vidi Vici" ["I came I saw I conquered"]. The same phrase is used humorously on the internet, rearranged and with explicit vignettes, the "I came" placed in the third position.[33]

There is a frequency of /o/ endings in English for fantasy names in brands, and moreover Italian-sounding products comply with this branding strategy today. In the 1920s there was a flair for the names of foodstuffs being shortened or blended, as in the following: Oxo (Beef in Brief), Jell-

O, Eno, Rinso, Gospo, Brasso, Brillo, Satino, Bisto, Omo, and Miraglo, as shown by packaging collected in the Museum of Advertising in London and Robert Opie's *My Search for the Throwaway History* (2013). Brand names may combine with slogans and provide puns based on homonymy, homophony, homography, and paronymy. But what happens if the tagline, slogan, or AELF brand name is diluted and devoid of associations in the perception of target and potential consumers? In Italy and other Romance countries, acronyms and brands in English are faddish, although they are not always understood in meaning and are consequently dissociated from their logo and symbols. In addition, onomatopoeic verbs are reductively perceived as simple sounds as the SL phono-semantic association fails, let alone unintentional puns and sexual connotations in the TL. As noted for the *Japanese Canon*, the notion of tradition and reference to the culture and religion that invented the product is a matter which goes beyond mere interlingual translatability. Yet, the only language which made the slogan possible is English.

Loss in Semantic Load: Discrepancy in Connotation

In some other cases, the quality of the encoded message seems to disregard the cohesion of the original text with reference to the global product in AELF, as the written signs have no apparent match with the visual. So, there are brand names which do have a meaning and go along with the stylised matching logo or image, but there are others only loosely connected to their pictorial logo. The following are some examples of leading global corporations for household and personal care (detergents, air fresheners, body care) available on the Italian market, and standardisation used in global advertising:

> DOVE: Former UK Unilever, 1955, launched in Italy in 1989. There is no connection to its symbolic logo in languages other than English. Dove is a skincare line of products featuring a stylized dove printed on the white soap bar and packaging. The average Italian consumer is still unaware that /dove/ is the English equivalent for the Italian colomba, as "dove" in Italian means /where/. Connotations related to metaphors implied by product, i.e. whiteness, purity, and freshness, lose their semantic load, and, as the sign is disconnected to the symbol, significance fails.

> TIDE: USA, Procter & Gamble, 1946, launched in Italy in 1963. It has other names in different countries, such as Alto, Vizir, and Ace. Detergents were a craze for housewives in Europe in the 1950s following the invasion of British and American companies. The meaning of TIDE is still a mystery to most Romance language speakers. However, success was such

that in Italy a little mascot was also adapted to comic strips stories for children. The name is derived from the Italianised name of the product with a masculine affixation (*Tide* →*Tidino*). The brand name was adapted to Italian reading and pronunciation.

SPIC and SPAN: Registered in the US (1926), acquired by American Procter & Gamble in 1946, launched in Italy in the 1960s. This brand name was invented by two housewives from an English cliché word pair.[34] It eventually sponsored soap operas on American television. Latinos boycotted the product in the US (1999), as "spic" is a racist slur. Spic and Span is used derogatorily for mixed-race couples of African American and Puerto Rican origins. The product with this name is no longer advertised on television, but still marketed by this name in countries where the term has no offensive meaning. In Italy the brand is only a neutral sound devoid of any positive or negative marking.

GLADE: First marketed by Johnson & Son in 1956 as a household line of air fresheners. The packaging, print ads, and television commercials show flowers in bloom and petals falling. In British English, /glade/ is an "open area in woodland, synonymous with a clearing" (CED 2000). Evidently, the Italian voiceover was hampered in pronouncing /glade/ as in English ("gleid"), and opted to pronounce it "glad." Only recently has it been correctly pronounced. In Germany and the Netherlands the product was formerly branded as Gleid and Brise, and is now called by its English name, Glade. The Italian consumer is unaware of the implications of "clearing" and "open area," and possibly perceives it in terms of "happiness," more-or-less compatible with bathroom needs. Although the meteoristic squirrel featured in the "Vigorsol, A Fresh Air Explosion" advert outraged sensitive audiences in Italy, YouTube hosts hilarious parodies in the dubbed Italian versions of the Glade effect in bathrooms.

The following selection features more brand names as evidence of phonetic adjustment. The UK-based and global Johnson & Son has monosyllabic or short brands: Raid, Shout, Oust, Off, and Baygon.[35] The TT in some cases subverts the original pronunciation as phonetically or idiosyncratically adapted to the TL. The voice of television presenters (MC) and radio speakers introducing the name will also determine pronunciation (Geiss 1982), and people will repeat it. Given the amount of money involved in purchasing commercial spaces from the media, and planning and adapting the campaign first in the SL and then in the TL for an international market, linguistic issues are tantamount to the dynamics of reception, as the names may also be parodied, trigger jokes and puns, and have an echo effect on the general audience and prospective consumers. This echo effect may create popularity in the low-end market but sound embarrassing in the high-end. On the whole, brand names are perceived as corporate "names,"

being funny and catchy, yet they are altogether void of the semantic denotation and connotation of the SL. Brand naming has polyfunctional meaning as it may be emotional, appealing, and vocative, also suggesting humour, as intertextuality may expand cultural localisation (Scollon 2004, 149-76). Below is a selection from the wider corpus reflecting consumers' misperceptions of brand names in Italy.

(1) Subverting meaning: pronunciation

PAPER MATE: USA, launched in 1940. It became famous during the Second World War for the letters written to soldiers. It was also a hit with a 1953 TV advert jingle. It has a little heart between /paper/ and /mate/, as in the "love branding" created by Saatchi and Saatchi. It was aired in Italy as a radio commercial (2009) and the Italianised pronunciation of /paper/, meaning /duck/, sounded hilarious.[36] The radio commercial after this teaser was withdrawn and changed. The same occurred with a French car commercial stating "Live the Change!" deplorably mispronounced as an adverb "live" [laiv] and aired in Italy.

(2) Loss in meaning: denotation and connotation

DASH, BOLT, OUST, RAID, OFF: All of these are homecare products and insecticides. These brand names rely on onomatopoeia and synaesthesia for monosyllabic lexicalised and nominalised forms. The products are globally marketed as consumers have long been accustomed to reading vignettes, comic strips, and cartoons where interjections have been graphically enhanced, and are familiar with English graphic sounds, or sonic graphics.

WHISKAS, FRISKIE, NUTTY, SMARTIES: Pet foods and sweets → creative or expected suffixation in the /ie/ and /y/ form to lexicalised forms. In the case of /nutty/ the expression is idiomatic, as in the exclamation: "Nuts! You're nuts!"

CILLIT BANG!: House cleaning spray: *Chill* → adaptation into phonetic calque. Mock English sentence structure.

CIF: House cleaning: *Chief* phonetic calque, → Business English acronym for "Cost Insurance and Freight."

HUGGIES, PAMPERS: Global giants and worldwide diffusion, targeting all classes, genders, and ages (for the elderly). The brand denotes the item.

Also called baby "napkins" and diapers, they have been branded with lexical terms derived from the nouns and verbs "to hug" and "to pamper," meaning "to treat with excessive indulgence, to spoil, to coddle" (CED 2000).

BRATZ, WINX, SHRECK: the names of these cartoon characters and dolls have meanings which are primarily perceived as sounds. Bratz is an American company producing fashion dolls that expanded into cartoons, television serials, and DCDs. In British English the term denotes a bad-mannered and spoilt child, and can be used contemptuously or playfully. Etymologically, the term derives from the Old Irish word for /cloth/ and /rag/ (CED 2000). Schreck (in Yiddish /fear/ der. High Old German) is adjacent to the English /Shriek/, also used in comic strips and cartoon clouds.[37]An Italian-based animation company also invented the WINX (a singular form with a plural ending). The English word "wink(s)," as a movement of the eye and metaphor for quickness, has no relation to the dolls and their animated series and cartoons created by Italian artists.

(3) Normalised pronunciation to TL: more losses

ACE: For house cleaning, if pronounced in Italian it is totally meaningless. Deleting any cultural and media reference to top guns, the associative halo of superpower is lost. It was first introduced by Procter & Gamble in the United States in 1946 and designed for heavy-duty washing (Marlon Brando is "Ace" Groover, an American pilot, in *Sayonara*).

COPPERTONE: USA, owned by Bayer, marketed since 1944 with the logo of an American Indian in profile. The first slogan was "don't be a paleface." It was introduced in Italy in the 1960s as sun-tan lotion, with the famous picture of the little girl and her puppy. There is no awareness of meaning for Italian consumers. Pronunciation is Italianised with hilarious effects, as the noun "copertone" (one /p/) means: 1 /tarpaulin/, 2. /the outer part of a tyre (DDI).

Adding to the above selection, there also are some trademarks which became available in Europe in areas under the administration of the Allied Forces after the Second World War. In most cases, the SL has been adapted to TL and institutionalised as such. A change to correct pronunciation would have disoriented customers and blurred brand loyalty. In most cases there was no globalising strategy, as these products at a very initial stage had a restricted availability.

MUM: Deodorant→ "Mum's the word, keep it secret." This did not mean that mothers had a specific reason to use it. In Europe, deodorant sticks and creams became available with the Allied Forces. Mum was first patented in 1888 by a Philadelphia inventor and originally sold as cream. During war time, a female employee developed a ballpoint applicator based on the design of the newly invented ballpoint pen. In 1952, it was marketed by the British company Bristol-Myers under the new name Ban Roll-On. In 1958, the product was launched in the United Kingdom, Australia, and Commonwealth countries as Mum Rollette. The name Mum continued to be a mystery for non-Anglophones and was sold as cream in Italy in the 1950s and '60s.

VICKS-VAPORUB: Pharmaceutical → family name plus blending. The American pharmaceutical giant has been targeting campaigns to local tastes in countries like Australia. Note that the pronunciation of Vicks, for speakers of German, was perceived rather embarrassingly: /ficks/ is a vulgar term indicating penetration, also used as an interjection. There are a flurry of posts about it on the internet. The verb /rub/ has been adapted to the Italian pronunciation, sounding like a complete family name.

PALMOLIVE and COLGATE (USA, merged with Colgate): William Colgate founded his business in New York in 1806. Already in the nineteenth century, the B. J. Johnson Company was making soap entirely from vegetable oils, palm, and olive. The soap they produced became so popular they renamed their company after the soap Palmolive. The soap, in its famous green paper, became popular as it was advertised on US soap operas since the 1920s, and arrived in Italy in the 1940s. Both products have since been advertised in their Italianised pronunciations, and have not changed as this would have caused disorientation.

GOLD ONE: A para-pharmaceutical→ a brand name for protective prophylactic. This brand name was introduced by American soldiers in Italy and Europe at the time of the Second World War. Likewise, SL pronunciation has been adapted to Italian. It has been used as a vernacular (vulgar) term in the northeast of Italy referring to the object, also in its plural form.

The infelicitous translations of slogans, hilarious brand names, and taglines are mushrooming on webpages dedicated to blunders and can easily be accessed. Depending on the product, in most cases this has served the scope of talking about it, thus achieving visibility to people who normally would not be a target consumer. Media and research focus, however, indicates other priorities. The recent case of the "Dove makeover" sheds more light on the marginality of language issues, as reported online in 2012 where investment prioritises psychology and gender-driven data:

> Dove's mission is to make every woman in the world feel beautiful, but a *study by Dove and the London School of Economics revealed only 4% of women describe themselves this way*. We identified a major barrier to feeling beautiful, negative banner ads online that target women's insecurities. Our goal was to reach five million women in a week, and ultimately increase the number of women who describe themselves as beautiful. The idea was to displace negative ads ("Muffin Top?") with ones designed to make women feel good about themselves ("The perfect bum is the one you're sitting on"). It came to life by harnessing the closed Facebook Marketplace API. Rather than following traditional methods of the brand deciding on what the user *should see we put the power of displacing negative advertising directly in the hands of women*.[38]

Unilever, of which Dove is a part, is a major player in the grooming industry and advertising. Another colossus in ad investment is P & G, with its eight billion budget, the biggest in the world. Financial blogs[39] and the *Wall Street Journal* reported Facebook trembled as P & G seemed to re-invest in television commercials from advertising with its staggering investments in ads.[40] With all the money invested and the constant concern and media wrap, one would expect more attention on translation and linguistic issues from the giants. Examples of blunders in ads may span the globe, yet a difference must be made in data referring to global giants and the non-professional random use of English in captions, menus, instructions, warning notices, and signs as one may find posted on the notorious website www.engrish.com featuring the "Far East."

Success and Harmony in Translation: Kit Kat and Lush

Oriental scholars are generally inspired by the idea of harmony and clarity in felicitous translations, and the translation of brand names is part of customers' harmony (see also Chuansheng and Xiao 2003). Alongside the Gricean cooperation principles enhancing "felicity conditions" in communication, a successful translation meets and blends in harmony with a willing market. There is no aggressive hostility and tension in a translational strategy while striving for a golden rule of balance. Japan and chocolate are symptomatic of this. The case of chocolate in this example adds sweetness to emotional branding. Kit Kat (1930) is literally suggestive of a "kit" for "cats," and is associated with fondness and pets. Nestlé's Kit Kat in Japan is a much-loved and iconic brand. There are over three hundred flavours and tastes that the Japanese love. It seems a long time since Rowntree was founded in York in 1862, merged with Mackintosh one century later (1969), and was successively acquired by a Swiss global giant in 1988 at a time when the company was with Cadbury,

one of the confectionary leaders in the Commonwealth market.[41] The lure of the name in Japan, combined with its adaptation to tastes, was the key to success (see also Tanaka 1998 [1994]). Kit Kat holds a special place in Japan's Americanised "tradition" gifts, with a unique blend of positive values. As noted by Russell Goldman, it is so embedded in the "snack culture" of Japan that nearly every region has a signature flavour sold only in that part of the country. The secret of this unique devotion lies in the Japanese phrase "kitto katsu," meaning "surely win." Nuanced with this symbolic connotation, a Kit Kat is sent to students before college entrance exams and as a Valentine in its golden one-bar version, coated in gold leaf. It is considered a high-end product and there are Kit Kat-only speciality shops.[42]

Another case study of successful harmony in sensorial elements and creative adaptation is the UK-based Lush Handmade Cosmetics company, founded and launched in Poole, Dorset in 1995. Its bulletin *Lush Times* relies on verbal creativity paired with descriptive data. The written part and articles in *Lush Times* are deeply rooted in English language and culture, and defy translation. The response of Italian consumers to Lush products has been flanked by the Italian translation of the highest creative quality, adequately matching the verbal puns used when launching the product, and tailoring and tweaking slogans and buzzwords into other European and non-European languages. There are nineteen languages used on companies' websites, and the *Lush Times* is published in: Italian, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Serbian, Croatian, Czech, Chinese, Hungarian, Hindi, Japanese, Romanian, Russian, Korean, and Turk. The versions in Canadian French (Québec) and American English are different from the French and British English versions. Basically, there is no standardised body copy as in the Body Shop, where information is factual and comes with a small amount of writing.[43] It concerns only information about the company's activity and mission today, while the former bulletin featured products. The "wacky" part was enriched with facts and information on the vegetable ingredients. It used the standard English names of plants plus the scientific and local names. The innovative idea consisted in manufacturing soaps and bathing toiletry shaped, coloured, and perfumed like sweets. Consequently, the sense of taste had to combine with the those of smell, sight, and touch, and reach cultures that appeared increasingly heterogeneous in emerging and potential markets. The translation and adaptation of the bulletin were pivotal issues, as the fancy names of products had to be either left in English or translated by pragmatic or literal equivalents (Ho 2004). Words in the original rely on cultural and vintage references with thick semantic load that the translation

has to account for and match to create combined polysensorial effects.[44] The data are a selection from various years, when the editor and Italian translator, Alessandro Commisso, was in charge (Gava 2008). In the words of Commisso, "I created Lush Italy's outrageous product names and tongue-in-cheek slogans and organised all marketing production across all channels. I entered the company as a fan and continued managing the on-line community as well."[45]

There are meta-advertising references, as the appeal relies on the language of irony, parody, evocation, hyperbole, and synaesthesia. The creative and expressive function is, however, subject to the primary "felicity condition" (see Grice 1975) enabling communication, i.e. "we are telling you the truth and that is our mission and concept" (Grice 1975). With a massive injection of colours in language metaphors, the company gives facts and consequent factual information related to the NGO agencies that provide ingredients. This part of the message in writing is translated and communicated on the company's websites and magazine in all the national languages. The challenge for each of the national translators is high, translatability is low, and creativity in translating humour is conversely at its highest. One example among many is on the pun evoking Dante Alighieri's famous lines posted at Hell's Gates in the *Divine Comedy*, crafted on the homophony of "Lush" → in Italian /Lasciate/ from the verb "Lasciare" (pron. /lushaarei/) (to leave): "LUSHate ogni speranza voi che entrate" ["Abandon all hope, ye who enter here"]. Paradox and counter-argumentation, rhetorical questions, unexpected strings of compounds and blends interplay with the language of metaphors (Goatly 1997). This is also common in the history of British advertising (Leech 1966), and here we see it in translation and adaptation combined. If the descriptive and informative part is translated, in most cases the fancy names of products are adapted or recreated. This is an example from the Italian version again: Gina Lollo*fr*igida (substituting B with G: frigid) for a product suggesting freshness. Sarah McCartney was the British copywriter, and at the time of survey Alessandro Commisso was the only Italian copywriter. Commisso has been engaged in managing the many places and languages where Lush has been present (Gava 2008). His is a multi-task role covering publishing and content, e-commerce and traditional mail orders, and global retail campaigns. The role of translators seems to be obsolete when considering this new professional figure specialised in multilingual production, multilingual creativity, branding, marketing, and communications. In-house control and interactional planning are effective means for avoiding mistakes and blunders due to fragmentary communication and outsourcing translations. There are no advertising agencies involved but the home team

and the local team, blending in creative harmony the exigency of localisation and standard globalization.

Conclusion

This chapter delved into the question of translation and issues related to translatability in the growing debate on English as the lingua franca of advertising (AELF). This does not mean that things can be oversimplified regarding theorisations and applicative norms. If a word is missing because of lexical constraints and empty slots and there is a lack of cultural tradition and practice, artful solutions and compromise are resorted to. These creative case studies illustrate examples of localisation and cultural harmonisation that positively impact on the national and global levels, defining a company's profile. [46] The caveats of standardisation in global advertising, as in the case of homecare products, have also been examined. The limits and constrictions of international advertising as expressed in the multi-translations on packaging, however, are a further barrier to "absolute victory." The risk is that the domestic version of the TL with reduction and loss will be noted by domestic consumers. *La Vie Est Belle* by Lancôme is a common French expression and is translated as such in the parallel TL English and Spanish. In describing the items that make up the perfume's unique ingredients:

> **Premier Iris Gourmand** crée exclusivement pour L par trois de plus grands parfumeurs français
>
> **First Tasty Iris** exclusively created for L by three of France's leading perfumers
>
> **Firma olfactiva unica** creada exclusivamente para L por tres de los mas grandes profumeros franceses

The Spanish TL, printed on the mini package of the free sample, denotes loss in pragmatic and semantic meaning:

(1) metaphor based on taste is lost: the metaphor of /*premier fleur*/ in Italian and French denotes the very first part of the product, i.e. as with flour or salt. There may be marketing strategies that have determined this choice, yet the work of advertising agencies on multi-versions is something different from the strategy of a localised team working jointly with the HQ team. As Spanish is apparently one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, a great number of consumers can read the arbitrary reduction in translation and wonder why:

(2) the flower name is deleted

(3) uniqueness is permuted to /Firma/, meaning "olfactory signature," a technical term

(4) loss in emotional effects: the French *charme* of that "Premier Iris Gourmand," also evoking the famous French essence Premier Muguet (by Bourjois), is irretrievably lost.

In describing the items that make up the perfume's unique ingredients and olfactory evocations the question of exoticism and foreignness, whether cosmopolitan (Paris, New York, Rome, etc.) or oriental, ethnic, wild and 'sauvage' (i.e. Eau Savage by Dior), stretches along the paradigm of effective and creative communication (see also Tuna 2004; Tuna and Freitas 2012).

There may be marketing strategies that condition and determine choices, yet the work of external agencies on multi-versions is not the same as that of a joint action of the team working with the HQ and other units.

The question of loss of meaning and possible negative effects because of blunders in brand names and taglines in translation is underrated by the existing literature influenced by the huge amount of money invested in advertising focused on success. Likewise, translation studies as an emerging academic discipline before the multimodal turn (Kress 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]), seemed to be caught in the quagmire of "literary" and "literal" matters. The copywriter is a professional just like the translator, and both professions overlap in applications and procedures as they are both cross-cultural and linguistic mediators. The question of standardisation versus localisation in advertising is, however, problematic regarding choice and the degree of sustainable creativity; it also correlates to the question of "domestication" or "foreignisation" in translation. In his influential *English as a Global Language*, David Crystal notes the pervasive influence of American advertising: "By 1972, only three of the world's top thirty agencies were not US-owned (two in Japan and one in Britain). The official language of international advertising bodies, such as the European Association of Advertising Agencies, is invariably English" (2012 [1997], 94–5). Two-thirds of today's newspapers are devoted to advertising, and TV commercials pop up every fifteen minutes. The story of English advertising has a long history, with weekly magazines advertising homecare and colonial products. The *London Gazette* issued an advertising supplement as long ago as 1666. In the United Kingdom and United States

during the nineteenth century, the promise of slogans identified the product, and the trade name was a further claim, with patents and licenses. With global giants like Coca-Cola and MacDonald's the world has heard songs and jingles in English and has been "Macdonaldized" or "Cocacolonized," as Crystal notes (Ibid.). The next chapter emphasises the question of ethnicity and diachronic shifts in the perceptions of minorities in the countries of these global giants.

Notes

[1] See also Cadieux and Esselink (2002) and "GILT: Globalization, Internationalization, Localization, Translation." Tatilon also posed the problem of adaptation and advertising French in 1978 and 1990. See also Dunne and Dunne, 2011, and Kelly-Holmes (2005) on multilingual communication.

[2] The following year, Haig also published *Brand Success: How the World's Top 100 Brands Thrive and Survive* (2007 [2004]).

[3] As the reader may observe, the term used by convention in the present study is "adaptation." Anholt left out transduction, modulation, and transmutation, among other terms. He further examines the correlation between dictionary definitions and things, such as a British "cup of coffee" and an Italian "tazza di caffé." In Italian, the term commonly used is "tazzina" ["small"], whereas "tazza" is used for "caffelatte." The coffee cup example has also been used by Eco in *Experiences in Translation* with reference to verbs of manner of drinking or gulping coffee in a section on "Translating from Culture to Culture" (2001, 17–18).

[4] It is sung at rugby and football matches by supporters. A survey conducted by the BBC ten years ago suggested that more than half of the English public would have "Land of Hope and Glory" as their national anthem. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Land_of_Hope_and_Glory.

[5] *Questioni Traduttive* was submitted for publication in 1984, and published in 1988. Information provided by Masiola. The pages that refer to advertising in Italian are "I modi di essere di una traduzione." The author argues that many of our daily actions result from actions on objects with operational instructions and advertising, i.e. from the moment we switch off a clock alarm or press buttons, have breakfast, etc. (pp. 65-76).

[6] Pdf downloadable from http://www.finance.gov.au/advertising/campaign-advertising/guidelines. On the question of promotional material, tourist brochures, and signs, these are not defined as advertising. The present work does not refer to this literature, although the output of articles has been increasing lately (Nobs 2006; Lim and Loi 2015).

[7] Mona Baker, in her widely-cited *More Than Words*, however, has an example from Lipton Tea on how to solve the problem of lexical constraints with an illustration of the "tea sachet" in the text translated from Arabic. The coursebook has other examples on brochures in multilingual translation in the chapter

"Equivalence at Word Level" (1992, 36–64), with distant languages like Arabic and Chinese at a time when translation studies were mainly Euro-centred.

[8] See "Advertising" in *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, edited by M. Baker and G. Saldanha (London: Routledge, 2011). In the previous edition advertising was dealt with in "adaptation."Books devoted to ads and translation are relatively few compared to output articles. Torresi in Italy extends corpus to other languages, promotional texts, and job applications (2010), Guidère has French (2000), and Duro Spanish (2001). A *Companion to Translation Studies* (Kuhiwczak and Littau 2007) does not feature topics on advertising. Advertising had no focus in Munday's *Introducing Translation Studies.*Venuti in *The Translation Studies Reader* raises the issue of invariance:"'The establishment of the variant': if communication in translation is defined as the transmission of an invariant, doesn't the very need to establish the invariant mean that translating does something more and perhaps other than communicate? The source message is always interpreted and reinvented, especially in cultural forms open to interpretation, such as literary texts, philosophical treaties, films subtitling, advertising copy, conference papers, legal testimony. How can the source message ever be variant if it undergoes a process of "establishment" in a "certain" target language and culture?" (2000, 470).

[9] David Katan (1999, 192) significantly cites Bassnett's examples in comparing Italian luxury products like Martini: "Scotch and Martini advertising in Britain and Italy present the same values but in reverse to achieve the same effect" (Bassnett 1991, 28–9).

[10] Kussmaul has instructional and operative texts (Rowenta) and features mistakes, and further extends the topic to functions and modalities (1995, 67 and *passim*, 137).

[11] Reference is to monographs and not to single articles and contributions in proceedings (Snell Hornby 1988, 1992).

[12] In *Writing and Society: An Introduction*, Florian Coulmas duly acknowledges the increasing importance of writing and big business: "That ad writing has been elevated to the level of graduate courses is among the most significant and iconic. In the Western economies of overproduction, advertising has become a 'creative industry' and a 'social technology' (Hartley 2009) that not only drives innovation and change, but also has invaded the domain of social change …" (2013, 138).

[13] Selfies and YouTube are other new means to advertise with celebs. Drone advertising is another new invention.

[14] http://home.bt.com/news/odd-news/tesco-apology-after-customer-spells-out-baby-clothes-howler.
http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/tesco-spelling-grammar-gaffe-sees-7328559

[15] http://www.buzzfeed.com/tasneemnashrulla/29-spelling-mistakes-from-india-that-will-make-you-laugh. There are many posts and webpages devoted to national spelling mistakes arousing hilarity in the use of English, as in India. This is what one internet commentator writes on her selection of mistakes: "While many spelling mistakes aren't due to a lack of intelligence, rather carelessness and an absence of copy-editors, I can't help but find humor in some of the major errors

we've seen lately. Just one wrong letter can take the meaning of a word and change it into something completely different. Sometimes, they're so ridiculous, you can't help but think: how the heck could anyone have missed that!? Well, they have, and we're thankful for it" (Tyler Gildin, August 6, 2013). http://elitedaily.com/humor/25-of-the-worst-public-spelling-errors-weve-ever-seen. This is, however, not funny with major global brands, and not that funny when distant cultures use English to welcome visitors and tourists to small restaurants and businesses.

[16] Yeshin combines a sound professional and academic background, and his work spans every possible topic and case study, including the limitations of advertising and ethical issues. In a section on "Creative Strategy and Tactics," the creative brief reported as a case study bears no evidence of translational issues, whereas it includes paragraphs on "tone of voice" (2011, 276–7). Once more, the two professions of the advertiser and the translator prioritise and thrive on creativity and communication, and yet do not seem to meet.

[17] Cook has "translation" indexed: "The term copy-adaptation has been coined to emphasise the difference from translation" (2009 [1992], 73). Examples are British and American brands, and two examples in other languages (Dutch, Japanese).

[18] Carole Bouquet's iconic endorsement of Chanel No. 5 (1986) is voiceless. The trend today is to maximise the voiceover effect and the appeal of a sexy voice in a foreign language, usually English and French. Scarlet Johansson lent her voice to D & G's "The One" in English (2011).

[19] "When a particular fragrance, masculine or feminine, has been a huge success, producers will often try to capitalize on the success by creating 'spinoff' fragrances. These spinoffs, called 'flankers,' might be similar to the original olfactorily, but with a different spin or variation put on it. 'Light' versions, 'sport' versions, and 'veil' versions are common types of flankers" (*Poison Christian Dior Panel 2*. Pdf). Midnight Poison was launched in 2007, twenty years after the legendary first Poison. Online sources report the costs (research, production, and launch) as reaching fifteen million.

[20] *Elle* UK edition (September 2015).

[21] "In 2011, *CoverGirl* was forced to pull ads featuring Taylor Swift for their Nature Luxe Mousse mascara because her lashes were photoshopped after the fact—something Rimmel had done with a Kate Moss ad a few years prior. In 2007, L'Oréal dropped an ad with Penelope Cruz because she was wearing false eyelashes. *CoverGirl* got in on this action again in 2011 in their True Volume ads. Other companies like Dior have gotten in trouble for their Natalie Portman ads, or Rimmel again with an ad featuring Georgia May Jagger." (Dries 2013). jezebel.com/**mascara**-ads-will-never-not-feature-**false-eyelashes**-1463614.

[23] A note from *Adnkrono*s on November 20, 1997 informs in Italian about the difficulty to determine *responsabilità* and who is to be held liable for the blunder: "Gabriele Salvatores, regista dello spot della privatizzazione della Banca di Roma, preferisce evitare commenti sul caso 'Snafuz'. L'unica precisazione del regista di 'Nirvana' riguarda il fatto che non e' lui l'autore del soggetto della campagna pubblicitaria (e di conseguenza di 'Snafuz) ma solo il regista. Lo spot, intitolato 'Inizia il viaggio,' e' stato scritto da Alex Brunori (copywriter) e Nando Lambertucci

(Art Director). Tra gli interpreti, Gigio Alberti, Edward Highmore, Philip Cox e Elizabeth Murmur."
http://www1.adnkronos.com/Archivio/AdnAgenzia/1997/11/20/Economia/BANCAROMA-SALVATORES.

[24] Another site with many examples of mistakes in common with the above sites. "Swedish has several words for fart, but one of them is 'Fjärt,' which strikes me as close enough that their marketing department knew what it was doing. If even bad press is good public relations, then this is a case of allowing an ill wind to blow some good." Some nonsensical and hilarious situations in instructions are in English as L1. http://www.i18nguy.com/instructions.html and http://www.i18nguy.com/translations.html.

[25] There were voices in support: "So Alfa got Uma Thurman. She may not be Italian but she fits the bill better than anyone we can think of. And Alfa are running a set of five ads—the first is below. The tagline is courtesy of the Bard—'We are such stuff as dreams are made on'." http://www.carsuk.net/alfa-romeo-giulietta-uma-thurman-william-shakespeare-mix-serve/#ixzz3zbSD6CWR. Baker comments on the New Alfa 156 Range (2002) in a British magazine and feature items graphically set out as a menu: "This is an instance of creative, genre-based manipulation that supports rather than subverts commercial narratives consistent with the genre of advertising" (2006, 89).

[26] http://classicmemories.co.uk/ALFA-ROMEO-GIULIETTA. This webpage advertises car prints for sale.

[27] There is also a new "wild porcini mushroom and creamy mascarpone" where water mushroom stock and powder are actually the "wild porcini." Mascarpone is a fresh creamy cheese which has to be consumed in one to two days. The ingredients are printed in a microscopic font.

[28] A koala was substituted for the notorious squirrel of the "fresh air explosion" by Vigorsol in 2000 after protests, notwithstanding the posh British accent in the voiceover. Vigorsol is an Italian-owned company, a subsidiary of Perfetti & Van Melle. Apparently, funny animal cartoons can elicit more outrage than racism and eroticism in Italy. Children loved it. Negative comments came from television commentators.

[29] Schmag line has been in more recent use, as reported in an interview with Gabbi Loedolff from *Lush*, U.K. (August 15, 2015). Sullivan enters in in his index (2003 [1998], 292).

[30] Bob Lauterborn also co-authored books on print advertising (2008) and integrated marketing communications. His much-quoted article discarding the four P's (Price, Place, Product, Promotion) was written for *Advertising Age* (1990).

[31] "Metro" newspaper in London (August 18, 2014).

[32] Singapore monthly magazine *Where* (February 2003).

[33] "Imperium: Eurodance," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e8ftZjawaWI (October 4, 2014).

[34] The British meaning is recorded in Samuel Pepys's *Diary* (1597). It conveys something new, clean, and tidy. A "spick" was a "spike" or "nail," and "span" a very fresh woodchip, thus the phrase meant "clean and neat," as in being nailed down well. Used as "brand spanking new," and thence clean and bright.

[35] Italian students in classes of advertising English (AELF) were unaware of the meaning of Oust ("to force someone out of a position") and Baygon, and the answer was negative (University for Foreigners of Perugia, Department of Human and Social Sciences, 2015–16). The Italian consumer generally refers to any pesticide product as Baygone, even if ignorant of the English expression "let bygones be bygones."

[36] This is more than embarrassing: consider that Paper Mate made history with its radio and television commercials in the United States. Italian media planner Roberto Venturini humorously comments on links and inaccuracy at http://www.robertoventurini.blogspot.com (April 17, 2008). On the other hand, American and British commercials have famous foreign brands totally adapted to English pronunciation. The world-famous Michelin tyres sounds totally un-French today in British commercials; the Italian pasta Buitoni and Lancia cars have likewise been adapted to American pronunciation.

[37] The meaning given by Urbandictionary.com is "getting raped."

[38] https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/campaigns/dove-dove-ad-makeover.html.

[39] Tyler Durden, the anonymous blogger on financial news, wrote on August 9, 2016 that: "Facebook tumbled in midday trading after WSJ reported Procter & Gamble—the biggest advertising spender in the world—*will move away from advertising on Facebook that targets specific consumers after deciding the practice has limited effectiveness*. *Facebook has spent years developing its ability to zero in on consumers based on demographics, shopping habits and life milestones***.** P&G, the maker of Tide and Pampers, initially jumped at the opportunity to market directly to subsets of shoppers, from expectant mothers to first-time homeownership." www.zerohedge.com/news/2016-08-09/facebook-flops-after-worlds-largest-advertiser-questions-ad-effectiveness (emphasis added).

[40] One minute after the above-cited blog by the notorious Tyler Durden, Sharon Terlep and Deepa Seetharaman reported in WSJ on August 9, 2016 that: *Procter & Gamble Co., the biggest advertising spender in the world,* will move away from ads on *Facebook* that target specific consumers, concluding that the practice has limited effectiveness. *Facebook* Inc. has spent years developing its ability to zero in on consumers based on demographics, shopping habits and life milestones. *P&G*, the maker of myriad household goods including *Tide* and *Pampers*, initially jumped at the opportunity to market directly to subsets of shoppers, from teenage shavers to first-time homeowners. The move shows the challenges of such limits on big brands; Facebook offers new tools for large companies. The *Cincinnati-based P&G spent approximately $8.3 billion on advertising globally in the year that ended June 2015, down 8% from the previous year***,** *according to company filings. P&G said it increased ad spending by 1% in its most recent fiscal year and plans to increase it around 5%* for *the year that started July 1. P&G's push to find broader reach with its advertising is also evident in the company's recent increases in television spending. Toward the end of last year P&G began moving more money back into television …"* http://www.wsj.com/articles/p-g-to-scale-back-targeted-facebook-ads-1470760949 (emphasis added). These long citations are to emphasise the amount of money spent on advertising. Evidently, linguistic issues are not high in the pecking order.

[41] Cadbury also developed alongside Quaker philanthropy and social values. In the US, multimillionaire Milton S. Hershey is another example of public munificence (see chapter one).

[42] "Japan is a country where you can find fish-ball tasting Pringles, and adzuki-bean flavoured Pepsi" (Goldman 2016).
.http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/14/world/what-in-the-world/kit-kat-japan.html?_r=1. The latest release is sake-flavoured Kit Kat (July 2016).

[43] Some ten years ago there occurred a mix-up with a "false friend" in a Body Shop brochure about "Opec" and hair oil. /Oil/ in Italian does not denote /petrol; in this case, the Italian translation of the few captioned lines was meaningless. Otherwise, standardised captions and subtitled photographs are merely informative, and far less emotional and creative than those of Lush.

[44] In Summer 2005 the free catalogue of B Never too Busy to Be Beautiful used sparkling language and design to advertise "heaven-scent fragrances" by Hannah Kourpas.

[45] Alessandro Commisso's data and citations are from his LinkdIn profile and Michela Gava (2008).

[46] A 2015 Lush advertising launch campaign in Australia played on the metaphor of the "naked truth," featuring the naked bodies of employees, subverting the style of the company. December, 2016, Lush staff at Oxford Street store recreated a dancing scene inspired by 1970s Emu's Pink Windmill, filmed it and posted it online.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STIGMA STEREOTYPING AND "MADE IN ITALY"

MATTEO BARALDO

Abstract

This part of the book focuses on ethnic stereotyping in advertising, signposting diachronic changes in cultural perspective and shifts in perceived identity that may coexist in conflicting viewpoints, as in the case of black people and Italians. It has the aim of linking the caricatured use of black people in advertising products with the mocking parody of Latinos and Italians in the English-speaking world. As in the case of racism, colonialism, and imperial discourse, the strategies develop along similar lines. Not surprisingly, there is parallel attitude profiling Italian ideology in advertising and propaganda at the time of Italy's African colonisation. In general, the language graphically reproduced is a "broken language," deformed and stunted as much as the physical features of black and minority migrant communities (i.e. Italians in the United States and the United Kingdom). This chapter interfaces and further develops the discourse of advertising and colonialism (see also chapter two). The last sections illustrate the unexpected veering off of the phenomenon of echo and imitations (the Made in Italy products) of what was formerly a matter of parody and racist abuse that is now portrayed and perceived as unrivalled in prestige for luxury brands. The final focus is on luxury branding and globalisation and the use of English.

Key words: ethnic stereotyping, luxury, black people, "Made in Italy," niche in translation

Introduction

This part of our survey further explores the topic of racial stigma introduced in the section on colonial advertising in chapter two. It sketches a profile of an ideology common to many Western countries committed to the building of a colonial empire and engaged in the "scramble for Africa," thriving on the exploitation of the Caribbean and the Americas through the importation of slaves, creating a labour force, and migration.

The question of "otherness" as a distinctive trait of mockery and a jocular trait of racism has already been recognised in parts of this book. The phenomenon is, however, embedded and intricate in controversial forms, whereas examples of racism and stereotyping from the coloniser and the majority group are, in turn, subverted by the ruling class. Such is the case of Italy and the colonisation of the Horn of Africa and the Italian migration to the United States. Here we have two key phenomena that have featured during the dramatic peaks of the past century. On the one hand is the "scramble" for Africa" and the African war, where the coloniser perceived the colonised as subaltern and inferior. On the other is the perception of the same coloniser as culturally inferior in a diasporic situation as a migrant and refugee. The history of Europe and recent events offer dramatic instances. The Western colonisation of Africa and the Americas provides numerous examples of ethnic stereotyping and embarrassing racism. This is even more relevant when considering the anti-abolitionist rhetoric of the nineteenth century and the civil rights struggles in the United States. In this country in particular, racial hatred took the form of jocular parody and live entertainment in minstrel shows, and later on in commercials. Colourful tales and vernacular speech forms were used to attract the audience to buy a specific product guaranteed by a faked black identity, as posters and graphics made use of reds and blacks to signpost black characters related to the brand. There has been a diachronic shift in the language of racism and its phasing into jocular and nuanced aspects, yet there is a persistence of reversed models of ethnic marking utterly reinforced by gender. In the first two sections ("Stigma and Stereotypes: Western and Eastern" and "Black People in Ads: Bodies and Body Copy"), data indicate racism concerning African American advertising and communication. This is present in the classified ads of subscribers for "runaway slaves" to the progressive introduction of caricatures in adverts after the abolition and emancipation in the United States. This corpus critically correlates to the colonial imperialism of the European scramble for Africa.

This is subsequently updated with current representations of deceptively jocular and entertaining aspects, where situations and contexts reverse, and sexist and gendered images of black males are "used" as bodies in Western (Italian) commercials. Negative models of masculinity in ads have also been imitated by Eastern commercials in more recent years, although in ethnically diversified situations (i.e. Chinese vs. black people). Ethnic stigma is pending and looming in language and images that are surreptitiously conveyed under different aspects of humour in storyboard commercials. The following sections are illustrative of the dynamics underscored by the ideology of cultural relativism, i.e. it is always "otherness'" and cultural difference that generate stereotypes and obscene caricatures. The first part of this chapter explores the racist use of black males in Italian and Chinese adverts. It also examines the use of political propaganda in the United States where Italian, Latino, Irish, and Chinese immigrants were represented as freakish monsters, hominoid creatures, and a sanitary and social threat. Italians, in particular, were targeted for their food habits. Italian food eventually boosted the production of Italian imports and lookalike products, echoing Made in Italy as the Mediterranean diet became faddish and pervasively imitated. Conversely, the Mafia guy stereotype seems to be a favourite with the media and commercials, as does the globalisation of Italian food and brands with parodies of Italian immigrants in English-speaking countries (see the sections on Mediterranean and mafia clichés and Spaghetti Language).

The progress from the debased creatures advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* as runaways to the current media devotion to black beauties and the physical power of black people in advertising has not been a steady rising curve. Even before the classified ads for runaway slaves, advertising in the form of posters and written communication was destined to plantation owners purchasing their slaves. Conversely, Serena and Venus Williams, Oprah Winfrey, and Beyoncé Knowles were in the *Forbes* top 100 powerful women for 2010: Michelle Obama ranked number one. Top positions were also held by Americans of Italian and Latin origins, such as Lady Gaga, Madonna, and Jennifer Lopez. The common salient feature is language: they all speak American English. Advertising endorsements whirl around these celebrities, and the South African magazine *Dish, Dsrv Guide* (December 2010) carried the headlined: "Women Who Wow." They all speak American English, which is important as their iconic voices endorse products.

The case of Made in Italy as a social and cultural phenomenon correlates with the effect that Made in the USA triggered by push-and-pull factors. In

fact, while the migrant stereotype using marked speech forms irritatingly persists, the irresistible lure of Made in Italy represents the ultimate glamour. This occurs in the beauty industry, as in the stunning video for D & G with Sophia Loren beating the traditional makeup and new looks of Hollywood and Paris. Conversely, stereotyping and gender are salient factors in popular culture exploited by counter discourse, parody, and intertextual representations of Italian Americans and African Americans in the media and film industry, which in turn generate beliefs, behaviours, and lifestyles that eventually merge with the circularity of the advertising loop, from advertising to advertising, in signals, symbols, and symptoms.

Stigma and Stereotypes: Western and Eastern

National and international: clowns and toys

The language of African Americans and their voices has been shamelessly exposed in parodies and through dubbing in cartoons and commercials. The stigma is counteracted by evidence of their deep black voices making a big difference today in aural forms of communication and the new media, as we hear President's Obama's voice, for example, or Morgan Freeman speaking with Nelson Mandela's voice in the film *Invictus*. The hoax of Mamie's faked "nigger talk," which is even more stressed in the Italian dubbed version of *Gone With the Wind* (1938), or Aunt Jemima's pancakes and waffles resonate as the disproved inventions of derisive advertising. Usually, a parody must have a structured base to construct deformation upon. This kind of faked black speech in the entertainment industry and advertising still occurred in the 1960s and '70s, and was even more marked in Italian dubbing. Conversely, Italians were likewise stigmatised by the American media. The case of Italian migrants reinforces the parallel in more ways than one: the vignette portraying them as criminal rats on a boat ready to jump onto America's shores matches the revilement of Italian workers and low-ranking jobs. Both minorities were employed in the service of a ruling class.

A disquieting instance of advertising that turned into vaudeville and intra-minority mimicry is that of Theresa "Tess" Gardella (1894–1950). Gardella, an Italian American singer and actress, performed on stage and screen with a charcoaled blackface acting as Aunt Jemina. She also acted in the Broadway hit *Show Boat* in 1927 in the role of Black Queenie, the only white singer. Like other artists from migrant communities, she adapted to "racial inferiority" according to the prevailing popular prejudice. The giving up of ethnic identity has been recently recognised by

John McWhorter as "sabotage" in his *Losing the Race: Self-Sabotage in Black America* (2001, 52). Whatever the attribution of roles and perceived identity in the eyes of the majority group, in the United States clowning blacks were expected to amuse the hegemonic group, and Italians or Jews dressed up to parody other minorities. The major change came with the civil rights movement, yet in advertising the emancipation process has not been enacted on similar grounds for the two communities. The Mafia stereotype in language and code is firmly established and ineradicable as it is commercially remunerative, notwithstanding protests from Italian American Associations like Unico and the National Italian American Foundation when even video games perpetuate the negative stereotype. The reaction is against the, "inappropriate and insulting perpetuation of the pervasive and denigrating stereotype of organized crime being the exclusive domain of Italians and Italian-Americans." [1] With *The Godfather* associated with Sicily (the town of Vito Corleone), the other iconic representation impacting global and American advertising is the Neapolitan Sophia Loren. The artist has been the symbol for Mediterranean myth and the Italian lifestyle for more than half a century. From "dazzling diamonds" to food and fashion, Loren has always extended her image to epic advertising and images, as in the awesome campaign for Sicilian stylists Dolce and Gabbana's launch of the new Sophia Loren Lipstick no. 1. The comments on the backstage shots read: "Flaunting her signature smile, Sophia lights up the screen in this behind-the-scenes video for the Sophia Loren N°1 lipstick advertising campaign" (see last section). The connection with the Mediterranean location and the United States reflects the filmic iconography connecting Rome to the United States and, implicitly, Italian Americans.[2] This association is reflected in the commercial for D & G's "The One" with Scarlet Johansson conjuring Fellinian atmospheres in the decadent glamour of the Roman "Dolce Vita," a name universally cherished by branders.

There has also been persistent polarity and ambiguity in the representation of Italian Americans and Italians in the advertising and media of the EU. A social campaign against dumping rubbish from cars in Belgium raised complaints. Having a pig driving an Italian 500 Fiat was anything but complimentary product placement, yet the disquieting effect was that some identified that "piggy" with a notorious Italian political figure, a favourite with cartoonists. Bloggers posted acidic comments on alleged racism, emphasising how the car was "shitty," extending the swine concept to Italian political figures.[3] Below is the initial post that caused the chain reaction. It all started with an advertising agency that should have known

better than to use an existing brand name aimed at offence. The translation is correct, yet without the accompanying visuals it is totally ineffective:

> Due to an increasing litter problem at highway rest stops, Sofico (the Walloon agency for Roads and Traffic) had commissioned the campaign above, *to be placed on billboards along the highways. Translated and paraphrased, it means something like "Don't turn rest stops in a swinery."* All in, something you'd notice and laugh (well, probably smirk) about if you drove past.
>
> The Italians, and Fiat 500 fan clubs the world over, thought otherwise. *Protest led to the Italian ambassador sending an official letter to Sofico and notifying the Walloon authorities. According to him, the advertising agency did not know the cultural and industrial history of Italy. "The Fiat 500 is not only an industrial symbol, it's a core element of our collective identity."*[4]

The ST read: "Ne prenez pas les aires pour des porcheries," "porcheries" implying not only piggery and porcine breeding, but also behaviour.

Black in White

There are, conversely, salient factors in the contradictory images of black people in the way Italian propaganda and advertising media have used images of them. Two decades of Fascism stuffed the colonial propaganda with vignettes and caricatures reinvigorating the hoax of racial supremacy. Vicious anti-Semitism worked in parallel with the revolting caricatures of Jews and black people. The deformed facial traits were the same. The period coincided with the surge of racism and colonialism in Europe, anti-immigration propaganda in the US also attacking Italian immigrants from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the years of the Second World War. While black people were targeted as an inferior race, the Italian invasion of Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somaliland encouraged colonial settlements and commerce in the first (1895–6) and second (1935–6) Italo-Ethiopian wars; racial laws in Italy were passed in 1938. One common trait in advertising posters was to have black people speaking in a "broken" language with words graphically marked as coming out of red clownish lips, or with them transformed into fancy gadgets, toys, or puppets. These images were akin to those used in posters and advertising, reinforcing the stereotype. The "Jolly Negro" cast-iron coin bank of the 1920s was available in different versions in Italy, Austria, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. British colonial advertising featured Blacks on labels and packaging to emphasise imperial marketing

and Italian branding during colonial time followed suit. The French did the same. The French *Banania* billboard with the clownish image of a mock soldier was popular and, with eBay and vintage posters, has become famous for its negative stigma in European adverts. An enlarged face with swollen lips and an idiotic smile utters the ungrammatical "Y'a Bon!" This linguistic stereotyping at a time of grammatical normativity and "proper French" aimed to elicit humour at the expense of "jolly" idiotic faces, like clowns in a circus. The circus was the place where Africans, Amerindians, and Latinos were often employed in the humblest tasks or shown as freaks. Mistakes in "proper language" was for children's talk, indexing the immaturity of the speaker. One such case is the Shirley Temple lookalike in a British Ovaltine advert, with her "Isn't it 'licious Mummy?" The salient point in this famous advertisement lies in the fact that children, like black people or migrants, cannot speak "properly." They need to learn and be taught, just like Mickey Mouse shows a black baby how to wash in a censored Walt Disney vignette. The British Pears Soap had a series of dirty black toddlers washed by white toddlers. However, the embarrassing item in the British Ovaltine advertisement is little black puppet, the golliwog doll held by the girl. The golliwog is a notorious British-made puppet that starred in a musical and was then reproduced as a toy and cartoon, also inspiring sketches in children's books—a fate also shared by the infamous *Little Black Sambo* and other clownish caricatures of black children for the amusement and education of white children in Europe and North America (Masiola and Tomei 2013). Another advertising caricature derived from the American Southern narrative was Rastus. The name is from the first book of *Uncle Remus Stories*, Bre'r Rastus, written by Joel Chandler Harris (1880). Rastus, Aunt Jemima, and Uncle Ben stood for the quality of products of the Old South and sold as merchandise. The three characters epitomised a genuine tradition of homemade food typical of the South. The first Aunt Jemima was Nancy Green, a slave born in 1834. The three characters were also reproduced in graphics and featured in countless minstrel and vaudeville shows, cartoons, and ephemera to the benefit of the market.[5] The internet abounds with online museums, vintage paraphernalia, and gadgets signed by racism. There is a growing demand as a potential market seems to emerge from a not-too-distant past. The three characters were invented for the benefit of a gullible market along with the seemingly real story of the distinguished Uncle Ben's Rice. Uncle Ben, with his head logo, is still marketed in Italy (by the Mars Food Division) with the slogan "Sempre un Successo" (Always a Success).

As noted, there were Italians or Jews who had to perform as clownish characters in order to be contracted and have a job in show business. Tess

Gardella, the Italian singer, performed as Aunt Jemina; Al Jolson, a Lithuanian Jew (born Asa Yoelson), sang the hit tune "Mamie" with a black face and big red-and-white lips; Eddie Cantor, Jewish American (born Edward Israel Iskowitz), went on stage in 1930 with charcoal blackface and goggles (Fig. 5.1), and was rated as a "premier American comedian." Cotton Watts, a comedian, would perform in blackface in Atlanta as late as 1967. Doubtless, the Washington march for civil rights on August 28, 1963 was a hallmark in the advertising consciousness of the United States. Yet, there were setbacks. Racist mimicry triggered sequels of parodies in advertisements, such as the infamous Darkie toothpaste produced by Colgate-Palmolive for Japan, Taiwan, and the Asian markets.[6] It was only under the pressure of antiracist movements that the name of the toothpaste was changed to Darlie, thus removing the overt reference to the Cantor and Jolson parody. This is an extreme case of parody within a parody that was an "original fake," with Jews and black people shuffled and reshuffled to entertain and make sales.[7] Liquorice and shoeshine were other products thriving on blackness and ethnic abuse.

Colonial Italy and Africa: Still Stereotyping Black People

Half a century after the fad of faked characterisation of black people in the United States, British actor Derek Griffith appeared in a commercial on Italian television (1980) advertising ice cream with the rhyming slogan "Le Tartufon C'est Bon!" Griffith was also the first black person to feature in a children's television programme in the United Kingdom. The point is that he uttered the slogan with a grinning face and popping eyeballs, imitative of the Banania stereotype to amuse the Italian audience. Another case is represented by Isaac George (real name George Oshoba Durojaiye), an esteemed writer and professional film actor. In the 1980s he was contracted by a private television channel (Silvio Berlusconi's Channel Five) to act as a comic character. In the role of an African migrant, he goofily craved couscous in the popular television show *Drive-In.* His strapline was so successful that it eventually extended to commercials. Until the late 1990s he was used to parody black people in television commercials for ice cream (Sanson) and coffee and pickles (Peperlizia - Ponti). His speech intonation reflected the Italian dubbing of black people, with emphatic overtones and idiotic vocal pitches. This had been typical of the negative cliché of the Italian dubbing system under the Fascist laws more than fifty years ago. Black dubbing was imitative of staged pantomime and vaudeville enhanced by vignettes, comic strips, and tunes in vogue since the first African campaigns in the late nineteenth century in

East Africa, tragically culminating in defeat with battle of Adwa (Ethiopia, Shewa region, 1896). The second Italian invasion of Ethiopia and military occupation dates to May 1936 (where Emperor Hailé Selassié sought refuge in the United Kingdom). In this case, the date of a commercial can tell us something more about its implied meaning and contextual factors. The case study of Lana Gatto is one of many examples from our corpus.

The Italian company Lana Gatto [Cat Wool] has had a white angora cat as its logo since 1900. In July 1936, two months after the bloodbath of civilians and religious men assembled in churches in Ethiopia caused by the Italian invasion, Lana Gatto issued a visual with a black cat. The black cat was very similar to the Anglo-American Felix the Cat (1919). The Italian cat was positioned at the centre of a circle of Ethiopians wearing traditional white cotton *gabbi* as for religious ritual and attendance. The apparent paradox is that a black cat is hectoring its audience with a raised paw, offering its coloured bundles of wool to a congregation of blacks wearing white. There is, however, a more vicious and subtle offence, as the scene depicted refers to the ancient Ethiopian custom and tradition for elderly and young male villagers to sit around old men of wisdom who are the depository of religious lore and sacred narratives (*dabtara*). The illustrator was one of the prominent modernist graphic designers at the time in Italy, and inclined to celebrate the Fascist occupation of East Africa.[8] Abyssinia and East Africa had been famous since antiquity for their production of cotton and wool. The use of black people as either colonised subjects, migrants, or deported slaves has always given the illusion of the domestication of "otherness" in order to extend marketing and commodification.

In terms of advertising and slogans, what has been translated into other languages is a stunted language in a tone of voice suggestive of below-average intellectual. The stigma has been disproved at all times by the amazing potential of vocalism and tonality of black voices in speech, drama, political rhetoric and musical performing (Crystal 2016, 108-117).

Still, caricatures in packaging and gadgets persist, albeit to a lesser extent.[9] In line with graphic stylization masking racism in ads, a patronising and benevolent trait was part and parcel of the Mamie lookalike commercials. African American singer Edith Peters, who achieved fame in the 1950s in the US with the Peters' Sisters trio, featured in a television commercial for an Italian olive oil (Olio Sasso) as a black Mamie dressed in white as a housemaid. Her part consisted of uttering a few lines in Venetian, the dialect of Veneto, as she was bossed around by her white master. The

structure of the storyboard is a simplified binary opposition with the beautiful blonde appearing on a beach in the dream of the "white master" who is chasing her, and the sad awakening in his bedroom, shouting for his "black servant" who will gently answer using Venetian speech forms "Cossa ghe xé, paròn?" ("What is it, master?").

Only in recent decades have studies on racism and advertising been published, most material being, however, online. What seems to be lacking, however, is a comparative survey of how "otherness" is perceived by the majority and, likewise, the minority in a contrastive dynamics. The caricatures of Italian fruit vendors in the United States or itinerant musicians as in the British version of "Poppa Piccolina" (the Italian pop song "Papaveri e Papere" from 1953), whether mildly jocular or scornfully derisive, still seem to have been underrated in their historical significance and given the current trends of adaptation and manipulation (Masiola 2015). Moreover, there is also a serious problem of imitation and copyright.

More recently, a Chinese commercial targeting blacks infuriated the media as the CNN reported how a "staggeringly offensive advert is attracting outrage on both the Chinese and wider web, with users blasting it for being racist." The storyboard features a Chinese woman and a black man flirting, but as he tries to kiss her she thrusts a detergent tab into his mouth and squeezes him into a washing machine. As the machine spins and the man screams, she apparently enjoys the spinning as she sits atop the machine until it stops and out pops a slim, young Chinese dressed in a clean white shirt (Griffiths and Lu 2016).[10] The storyboard is overtly inspired by an Italian advert aired exactly ten years ago (2006), where a pale, slim, non-athletic white is thrown into a washing machine with "colour" detergent, and instantly emerges with a muscled body. The slogan is graphically multi-coloured and in two languages: "Coloreria Italiana" and "Colored is better." Either as clowns or sportsmen and sportswomen (e.g. Michael Jordan, Magic Johnson, Usain Bolt, Serena Williams), black icons are always portrayed according to their powerful physicality.[11] In both cases, at least there is no language and only images. As we were analysing this commercial it went viral and the Chinese company apologised immediately, saying that the media was overreacting. One interesting reply came from a university professor who remarked on the Chinese unawareness of the concept and practice of racism, and their lack of media consciousness. We can confirm this view on the basis of our experience in teaching.[12] The following are some interesting exchanges from blogs.

The Chinese company behind the controversial racist commercial for a detergent brand apologized for the advertisement on Saturday but added that the media was "overreacting." This was reported by Zhang Rui on the site China.org.cn on May 30, 2016, two days later:

> Qiaobi laundry detergent, owned by Shanghai-based Leishang Cosmetics, posted the following statement on its Weibo microblog account: "We are sorry that our commercial content led to controversy, and we have no intention of shirking our responsibility. We have stopped airing the commercial and have removed links to it. We hope that internet users and the media will also stop circulating the video … For the harm the commercial and the over-hyped controversy has caused to people of African descent, we want to apologize. We sincerely hope that internet users and the media will not continue over-analyzing the situation."[13]

Blacks in Ads: Bodies and Body Copy

On the eve of the American War of Independence, the *Virginia Gazette* described runaway slaves in bleak tones, underscoring danger. Here are some examples and the sums of money in English pounds offered as rewards, as reference is prior to the American Revolution of 1776. Such forms of advertising were used for slaves in auctions on their arrival to the American colonies as shipped livestock. But in the case of runaway slaves, these were described with reference to the market value on the basis of the purchasing cost. Understandably, they did have a market value, otherwise the *Gazette* would not have promised rewards in striking contrast to all the negative traits and ascribed negligence, laziness, and criminality. Also, such "classified ads" were a deterrent to anyone who compassionately wished to keep those slaves as house helpers and take them into a new family.

Online documentation from digitalised archives has increased data on some key factors common to such forms of advertising, the description of the product, and the sum of money paid in reward. The archives are from the colonies of America that were not part of the former Pilgrims' and Founding Fathers' settlements and territories. These territories were part of the Crown colonies, awarded to the English nobility and not established under the Covenant principles of liberty of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina were loyal to the Crown, and portions of the land were destined to plantations and slavery labour for extensive tobacco and cotton plantation (Windley 1995).[14] The *Virginia Gazette* is dated June 8, 1776, less than a month from the American Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. The subscriber to this classified ad

describes his property, specifying the reward depending on distance of capture. The runaway slaves were considered a threat on the eve of the Revolution. The *Gazette* also registers runaways during the Civil War (1861–1865) recruited to form the United States Colored Troops in the Regiments of the Union.

> a likely Negro girl about 16 Years of Age, named Esther, formerly the Property of Mr. Miles King … had on *a blue Plains Jacket, and a Negro Cotton Coat*. I will give 20 s. if she is taken up within 20 Miles of this City, and if at a greater Distance 40 s.[15]

Bleak descriptions of bodily injuries inflicted upon them as a mark of lasting infamy dramatised the context, suggesting dangerous characters. It is unlikely that subscribers wanted to pay for such rebels and troublemakers, and they may have exaggerated in order to get back their valuable labour force of "crop negroes" for plantations (Schafer Kelleher 1981; Franklin and Schweininger 1999). The following excerpts from "subscribers" to *Colonial Williamsburg* refer to the years before the War of Independence.[16]

> May 5, 1738 … a Mulattoe Man Slave, named Tom, 25 Years old, about 5 feet 8 or 9 Inches high, thin faced, and *bushy Hair, if not cut off; he is very apt to grin when he speaks, or is spoken to;* had on an old dark Fustian Coat, with plain yellow Metal Buttons; Hath been several Times taken up, and escaped again before he could be deliver'd to the Quarter whereunto he belon'd; and the *last Time shackled, Handcuffed, and an Iron Collar about his Neck, with Prongs, and to some of them Links* … (emphasis added)

> Oct. 20, 1768 … a bright mulatto wench named Jude, about 30 years old is very remarkable, *has lost one eye, but which I have forgot, has long black hair, a large scar on one of her elbows, and several other scars on her face*, and has been subject to running away ever since she was ten years old … She is very knowing about house business, can spin, weave, sew, and iron, well. She had on when she went away her winter clothing, also a blue and white striped Virginia cloth gown, a Virginia cloth coperas and white striped coat … (emphasis added)

> May 11, 1769 … a Virginia born Negro fellow named Peter, about 44 years of age, of a black complexion, a slim fellow, *his teeth cut before as if broke off, and is a sly artful rogue if not watched;* he carried with him sundry clothes, such as *crop Negroes* usually wear, also a white Virginia cloth waistcoat and petticoat, a Tarlton plaid gown, and sundry other of his wife's clothes. He also carried away a gun of an uncommon large size, and a fiddle, which he is much delighted in when *he gets any strong drink,*

> *which he is remarkably fond of, and then very talkative and impudent* … (emphasis added)

Each of these ads typifies a character in its physical traits as in the descriptions of animals in a freak show, where black people were also displayed or worked. The girl with one eye who is clever with needlework is one of the most poignant cases, as much as the "talkative drunkard and fiddle player." Such narratives portraying black people as dangerous drunkards and clowns seem to closely echo Malcolm X's epic speech "Democracy is Hypocrisy" (1961), when he directly refers to alcohol and the fact that "you are more dangerous sober than when you are drunk." The stigma of vices taught by the white man is upon Africans. Smoking and tobacco are other fields for metaphor, exposing racial shame. There are several themes and directions to follow in analysing the typology and ideology in the advertising of products from the plantations onwards. One hundred years after the abolition of slavery, the civil rights movements of the 1960s and '70s went in parallel with the need to access new segments of market potentials to sell products to African Americans.

This perspective veered into the main trends in advertising that featured African Americans as deformed creatures and freaks to sell things to the white Americans; it was a matter of approaching a new market of African Americans who had to be gratified with a positive image and an aesthetic turn. It was the dawning of the age of beautiful black models and fashion photographers, which in the last phase pushed black imagery to the extreme, with black models on the catwalk for luxury fashion brands. It is not that the total shift in attitude and perspective was based solely on the correlation between demand and supply, as the distinction was between products targeting African Americans, products adapted for African Americans, and international products using a superlative image of African American divas. At the beginning, when the new potential market was discovered in the United States, articles and essays were printed to offer advice on how to reach potentially lucrative targets. This was a sensitive ethnic issue also impacting on identity, gender, and language that had to shift from colonial and plantation and house care products to the utmost elegance and sophistication of high-end brands of furs and jewels. The following segmentation is not intended to be a clear-cut time reference, as there may inevitably be overlapping interstices within a dialectic frame between the market and its "victims," and it is intended only to give an overview of devolution in advertising.

Slavery on the plantation: where the product is produced. This type of advertising uses slaves and slave labour to enhance the wholesomeness of a product and build upon the tradition of the "Ol' South." Images and logos have also been imitated in vintage European packaging and the wrapping of chocolate bars.

Post-abolition families and work in yards: the product is contextually advertised. The representation of house servants advertise the product as "entertainment," and humour cards signal a new phase. In Britain, cards or vignettes were sent in sets through postal order. The black family is sometimes portrayed as a monkey family in clownish attire, with an obese and dumb mother, an old and idiotic looking father, and an even more retarded son. African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is used to create despicable gags. In this new context, the product is not used by black people, and they are not labouring on a plantation.

In a white family: children use the product. There are cases where the product is used, as in caricatures of children smoking in the United States. British advertising followed suit. Soap and detergents were the favourite products to highlight the positive values of white skin against dark and dirty skin, toddlers included (e.g. Pears Soap in 1920).

Emancipated black people using the product. Another phase suggesting emancipation features caricatures of black people seen as a new social class, travelling abroad and using the product. The deformed caricatures are captioned by taglines advertising the product.

Selling to black people: a new market potential. Black people are used in advertising products for black people. In the first half of the twentieth century, caricature and stereotyping were still ferociously persistent. Only in the 1960s and '70s was there a major phase with the civil rights movement.

Visual advertisements resulting from a research project at Stanford University are available online.[17] The degree of racism leaves one disoriented (Hund, Pickering and Ramamurthy 2013). Nothing is spared: colour, setting, actions, dress, hats, and shoes, as genders and genres mix in these print ads (see also Garzone 2011). The use of families including toddlers and infants is even more outrageous. The Topsy Tobacco advertisement (Wellman & Dwire Tobacco Company, Quincy, Illinois, 1900) seems to be a visual counterpart to the descriptions of runaway children (Fig. 5.2). The little girl (Topsy, as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) seems

to be drunk, and punishment will soon follow the crime: "I is so wicked. Spect Massa make it lively if he done cotch dis chile." /Done/ is not a negation but a reinforcement of the British English "done" (/be done/, /get done/), in the sense of doing something illegal, as the "Inspector Master" over slaves might get hold of her. The /I/ in "I is so wicked" is the current standard third-person form for the first-person /to be/ in black Southern dialect or AAVE.[18]

Other captions in comic strip cards are intended to expose the AAVE or black Southern dialect, aimed at exciting ludicrous and gross hilarity. This is from the Plaza Pipe Tobacco (Figs. 5.3, 5.4)

> "Wid dis trap dem chicken tefs gwan to dun get it dis time"
>
> "Go way, chile, yo mamy knows nuff to feed dem chickens when dey's hungry"
>
> "A Lawdy Lawdy! Mum's gwan to dun get it dis tinme fo' suah"

The vignettes feature offensive post-Abolition slurs, also called "ethnophaulism" (Roback 1944).[19] The series was made for the Durham Tobacco Standard of the World. Language reinforces the stigma of laziness: "My! It shure am sweet tastan!" (Fig. 5.5).

Every episode of emancipation captions a rhyming verse narrative climaxing in stigma, which in this case also targets a black pastor. The only access to education for blacks was through the church, as this was done with a view to having black congregations under segregation. The protagonists of the series are two sets of twins living in Mocksville, North Carolina. Again, notwithstanding his schooling, the language of the parson is stunted, emphasised in the inversion of the first person /am/ for the third party /is/, an unlikely invented syntactic stigma (Fig. 5.6). Washington Duke was the founder of the Durham Tobacco Company in North Carolina (see also Cox 2000). Today, the Duke Homestead Estate is a historic site and hosts a tobacco museum open for tours.

> O joy O rapture! O Happy Mockes! The pious parson came
> And joined the twins in happy Hymen's bands, so that the four were twain
> The wedding feast the guests declared had never yet been beat
> And when they drank all they could drink and eat all they could eat
> "*Dis am de triumph ob de feast*!" The pious parson spoke
> And of the *Standard of the World each darkey had as smoke*!

After the wedding banquet, the twins sail on their honeymoon for a continental tour:

> To London and to Paris the happy couples went
> To Italy and Germany and oe'r the Continent
> Saw all the sights there were to see, learned all there was to learn
> To lovely Mokeville—Home, Sweet Home!—Behold the twins return
> And still another pair of twins in nurses arms see curled
> Kind Reader! Heed the moral taught … SMOKE STANDARD OF THE WORLD

The next phase of the visual and written forms of advertising is that of the civil rights movement. Here again, the ubiquitous presence of the body model as a black beauty has a long history that started with colonial products. It usually illustrates a body standing for beauty and physical power. At the time of emancipation with the Black Panthers movement, the slogan "Black and Beautiful" was turned into a metaphor for progressive advertising (Davis and Tadiar 2005). The American *Playboy* magazine pioneered display ads from the perspective of transgression and ethnicity—at least this was the perceived intention in the late 1960s and '70s. One such advertisement features a beautiful female head with fuzzy hairstyle and long pendants. The lady in question is not a celebrity—she is a professional as her bio notes demonstrate. The body is more in the storyboard style, as was still common in the 1960s. Her name is Ola Hudson, and she is described as a professional fashion designer living in California. Ola Hudson (1946–2009) was an American costume designer and the first black woman to feature on a *Playboy* cover. As a costume designer, Ola fashioned outfits for Ringo Starr, John Lennon, and David Bowie. She died of lung cancer in 2009.[20] This is factual information as the display ad uses real people and information to build trust in a black woman who, at the time, was not internationally famous and who could have been a fake. But Ola Hudson in the display is the symbol of a professional woman who enjoys relaxing and a glass of Scotch Whisky, Dewar's White Label. The exotic touch for the American reader is always the "Highland piper" to guarantee quality, and helping Americans to pronounce Dewar's is underscored: "Pronounced Do.ers." In another issue, a black male is featured semi-naked wearing "Anti-establishment Post-Grad Slacks" under the headline "Slack Power," allusive to "Black Power." Like the above advertisement, it was a full page display ad. Today, the word /slack/ is derogatory and reinforces the negative collocation of "black slack" used for "the amount of work, aside from one's usual tasks, that one must take on due to the fact that one's place of

employment fell victim to the quota hiring," as reported in an online dictionary. [21] Such were the beginnings that pitched the trend to global advertising and luxury brands with black celebrities and glamour icons.

Italians in Ads: Dichotomy and Antinomies

Anti-immigration: Stench and Stinking Rats

The case of Italians and Italy is even more ambiguous in its conflicting dynamics of representation and perception. There are ambivalent positions where Italians can be seen as the racist colonisers in Africa, but where they are also looked down upon as immigrants in the United States. Furthermore, there is the splendour of Italian arts, the appeal of Renaissance magnificence, the romanticism of the Grand Tour with posters advertising scenic landscapes, and the fascinating decadence of the Roman Empire as represented by Hollywood. The other side of the coin is the fact that the American urban communities were submerged by waves of migrants in New York tenement houses after quarantine on Ellis Island, those migrants being in large part illiterate and from the poorest areas of Italy. Their skills in craftsmanship and handwork in the long run, however, eased social mobility, especially for the generations that followed. The history of luxury branding and global fashion is also part of the Italian American Dream, departing from a state of dejection where they were objects of scorn and derision for other communities and religious groups. The following passage from Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* (1934) illustrates the state of inferiority of Italians among other migrant groups who tended to preserve their eating habits, and would trustfully buy foodstuffs from their compatriots. In the case of Italian products like spaghetti, pizza, and salsa, if formerly despised as a social stigma, the same have now become global and upscale foods, and widely imitated. The literary dialogue from *Call It Sleep* is first-hand evidence of the intricacy and controversial ascent of "Made in Italy" in international communication, as the interaction between a little Jewish boy from Eastern Europe and a little Italian Catholic girl is key to the prejudice against "otherness" and fear of contact. The little temptress, Lily Aglorini (polio legs caged in), in her innocent language expresses the wish to "play bad" with the little boy, David, illustrating chances and issues (her "knish" and the boy's "petzl"). David is fraught with fear. He ponders the culinary habits of Italians: "De wops eat it just like pitaters," and for the exotic "spiggedi" he adds that: "On'y wot cheese dey put in—Holy Chee! No wonner guinies c'an faht wi' gollic bombs!" (Roth 1962 [1934], 317). The racial slurs used in this passage are wops

("without ordinary papers") and guinies, the first denoting Italians, the second used for black people from Guinea. Again, the association with stench denotes a /rat/ as a guinea pig (Spears 1981).

The use of Latin and Mediterranean looking-characters in vaudeville billboards, music sheets, and the covers of records was rather frequent, as observed (see chapter three).

The dynamics of social change in marketing and advertising, as in the case of African Americans, impacted the media. Conversely, the Mafia "effect" highlighted visibility and triggered endless examples of parody and mimicry, debasing the profile of the Italian community compared to other communities who also had their gangs committed to criminal activity. At the turn of the nineteenth century, racist representations in the North American press were appalling, as Chinese were caricatured as locusts and the Irish as apes, in a correlation between signals and the symptoms of xenophobic propaganda. These images go back in time, and if advertising is based primarily on the "vocative" and "appellative" language function (Reiss 1976; Newmark 1981), these data pinpoint the conditioning behaviour and ideology determining attitudes in choices (Wernick 1991).To complete the picture, Italians were considered street filth, and Jews were venomously caricatured in deformed shapes on board a boat, and America was the "unrestricted dumping ground."[22] The caricatures and vignettes in the North American press, (*The San Francisco Illustrated Puck, The Wasp*) are disconcerting expressions of hatred and ethnic stigma at the turn of the nineteenth century, well before Fascism.[23]

The paradox related to the surge of racism in the Western world was the fact that the Italian press and propaganda produced even more distorted creatures, either black people and Jews, before and after the colonial wars and Fascism. The recognised process of animalisation or the "simianising"[24] of racist slurs are far from being eradicated in the Western world today, with its surge of fascist movements (see Hund, Willis and Sebastianini 2015). Regarding Italian colonialism and the scramble for the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Eritrea, Abyssinia, Libya), the intent was clearly to colonise and civilise, and possibly set up a colonial empire thriving on trade, importing, and the production of colonial genres.

As in the case of black communities, there are also forms of advertising for the Italian community and Italian American grocery shops, where imported goods from Italy are available, which is a current business thriving on e-commerce. The expansion and distribution of food specialties

produced in America by Italian American family businesses with advertising on their vans and in restaurants (i.e. Italian cheese, pasta, wine, cakes) signposted the moment of cultural contact outside of neighbourhood or street boundaries. In time, the expansion went beyond intra-community trade and enlarged towards the distribution of Italian foodstuffs to all American consumers. Needless to say, the years of prohibition laws hit Italian wine and liqueurs which were above the legal limit hard. Many families lost their restaurants. There were also traditional crafts advertised through which Italians made a living: ice cream, coffee bars, sweet shops, tailoring, shoemaking and mending, barbers, funeral parlours, and tailoring and dressmaking to celebrate Catholic festivals and rituals, from baptism to funerals. Pride and patriotism were desperately struggling against discrimination as the iconic figures of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the hero of Italian Independence or the Neapolitan opera singer the Great Caruso were enacted as symptoms of a quest for identity in America, whereas it was latent in post-Unitarian Italy. Pride, in this case, debunks the "Macaroni" stigma and slur. The Pasquale Giunta family enterprise in the Garibaldi poster for "Macaroni" claimed that it was produced in Pennsylvania and registered as a trademark with a US Patent Office (Fig. 5.7). This was the true payoff for the Italian community (see also D'Acierno 1999).

Marvels and Mafia: Conflicting Representations

The contradictory perception of Italian craftsmanship had already been a socio-cultural factor established on the Continent. The United States followed suit in the dynamics emerging in the correlation between the majority and the minority. Barbers, tailors, and baristas were OK, but there were no luxury products so far. Italy had, however, an established tradition of goldsmiths and jewellers for upscale and luxury products, such as the famous imperial court family of jewellers, the Castellani. The appeal and exclusivity relied on the creation of a classical Italian style refashioned through the eyes of upper-class tourism to Rome, Florence, Naples, Venice, and the Italian Riviera. The Castellani family designed and launched the Archaeological Etruscan Jewellery style in the wake of discoveries of Etruscan tombs and their treasures and ornaments. This period also coincided with the great Italian migratory waves to the United States and the vicious anti-immigration campaigns. Conversely, the perception of Italy and Italians in the United Kingdom and the United States suffered this ambiguity, where admiration for artistic genius, fine arts, and fashion coexisted with despicable reactions in seeing the same

artisans as "street filth" when they migrated to the United States (D'Acierno 1999).

Castellani was the first international brand name for the ante-litteram Italian style and luxury when he opened his shop in Rome near the Trevi Fountain in 1814. Fame and fortune came with the wealthy British and Americans visiting Rome, exactly as some decades later tourists would visit Bulgari's legendary jewellery and silverware boutique in Rome established in 1881 (Weber Soros and Walker 2004). In the nineteenth century, the Castellanis moved from court to court and designed jewels for the British and Russian imperial crowns, recreating Etruscan, Roman, and Greek antiquity designs. The parallel with Bulgari is worth mentioning, as the founder, Sotirios Voulgaris-Bulgari (1857–1932), had migrated to Italy from Greece in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The diachronic variation that impacts on the representation of migrants and minorities in advertising is, however, subject to socio-cultural variables and changing attitudes regarding ethnic identities. The caricatures of *The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp* and *Puck* at the turn of the nineteenth century mark one of the darkest decades in the US press. The 1950s were a decade in which parody and ethnic stigma were still seen to be harmless, unproblematic, and matter-of-fact in targeting Italians in the United States. The major turn towards a positive representation of Italy and advertising came with the boosting of tourism to Italy, the post-war effects of the Marshall Plan for the cultural and financial investment in Italy, and films set in Italy. As international divas and American filmmakers invested in Rome, the "Hollywood on the Tiber" film phenomenon signposted a new era. In the wake of films set in Rome, such as William Wyler's romantic comedy *Roman Holiday* (1953), Jean Negulescu's *Three Coins in the Fountain* (1954), and David Lean's *Summertime* (1955) set in Venice, there was a new perception of Italy and Italians. Films showcased product placement, outdoor advertising, posters, brands, and focussed on handmade products. The Italian Vespa in *Roman Holiday* hit the US market, and sales rocketed as it became a symbol of the decade. The years to follow were those of the Roman "dolce vita" where the movie world of Hollywood settled on the Tiber to shoot historical films like *Quo Vadis*, *Ben Hur*, *Cleopatra*, and *The Fall of the Roman Empire.* The atmosphere of Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (1960) and *Satyricon* (1969) ignited the Roman-American dreams, substituting Paris with Rome.

Consequently, Italian American advertising changed in modality patterns in advertising Italian brands as upmarket and international luxuries, with cars (Ferrari, Lamborghini), fashion, food, furniture, and of course beverages, from cocktails like Martini and Campari to coffee (Illy, Lavazza). International and global advertising from the 1970s signposted spinoffs in market value and positioning. One interesting case is Galliano liquor; long established as an upmarket beverage used for cocktails in the United States, it has been virtually phased out in Italy, where there is no visible advertising, at least not in the way of Martini and Campari. Galliano, compared to the other two brands, presents a rare instance of a shift in target segmentation in the United States. After being a very popular liquor, the drink seemed to have lost appeal for the Italian market, becoming old and outdated. Considering the name Galliano, to begin with, recalling how this came about is more than embarrassing. It was a tribute to the memory of a lieutenant, Giuseppe Galliano, who had fought at the massacre of Adwa (in the Shewa region of Ethiopia) at the time of the first Italian military invasion of the Horn of Africa. The bottle label and advertising have had many adaptations and changes from the initial patriotic tribute. The founder of the Tuscan distillery was Antonio Vaccari, who started production of the sweet herbal liqueur in 1896, the year of the battle of Adwa. Nobody will like to remember this story, but the product is rooted in its name as it was exported to the United States throughout the twentieth century. In time, with a refurbished logo, it was positioned as an upmarket and niche product in the United States, a favourite with American and Italian American consumers, whereas it was phased out in Italy.[25] Full-page display ads featured in American *Playboy* at the time of the launch of Fellini's *Satyricon*. Comparing the Galliano advertisements in *Playboy* is useful for mapping the shifts in perception and market orientation regarding Italy, Italian products, and indirectly Italian Americans. The advertisement in *Playboy* features the tapered bottle of *Galliano*, designed like a Roman column, and the golden liquor is preserved in a codified golden colour while the rest of the print is black and white. There is also a little "Carabiniere" guarding the gigantic bottle. The background image shows the Ponte Vecchio on the Arno in Florence. The body copy suggests a parallel between the golden liquor and Florentine jewellery. This advertisement targets American readers. By that time, however, Galliano liqueur was hardly visible in media advertising in Italy, and it certainly did not have an upmarket status that could rival Martini or Campari. This type of conversion of an Italian product could be ranked as an "ad-aptation" and is a particular case of a product no longer visible on store shelves in Italy but highlighted in American high-end

advertising at a time when Italians were still looked down upon. Its name remained in Italian is *Liquore Galliano.* In advertising Italy, reference to the past is always a payoff in the United States, but the story of the invasion of Africa has obviously been obscured. The use of the French word "boutiques" translates the Italian "bottega," referring to goldsmiths ("bottega orafa"):

> Charming "boutiques" line each side, many producing jewellery of fine Florentine gold. Also out of Italy's past is the *legendary Liquore Galliano*, said to be distilled "from the rays of the sun." perhaps you *can* taste sunlight in every sip. *Galliano has conquered America*. Let it win *you* over. Tonight? (1971, January issue; emphasis added)

The year of Fellini's *Satyricon* saw an upgrading and emphasis on the cultural identity of Italian Americans and Italy; the image of a blonde beauty in a golden gown similar to the *Playboy* display featured Rome (the Palatine Hill), and not Florence. This refurbished the product image, and was so successful that it stayed. The Galliano blonde was imitative of Campari's stunning models and remained for years to come, featuring Rome and the Trevi Fountain and other stunning Roman cityscapes, leaving Florence behind and forgetting Africa. The *Playboy* display ad featured the name of the top fashion designer of the golden gown (Biki of Milan), worn by the starlet who appeared in Fellini's film. The same issue (January 1971) also covered interviews with Italian American authors Guy Talese and Mario Puzo in the blooming age of the top-selling narratives inspired by the American Mafia. The year before, in July 1970, *Playboy* featured Galliano in a mixed display ad with big red, white, and green umbrellas and a café, tagged: "what sort of man reads *Playboy*?" There was another page for Leggero, the Harley-Davidson out-performer with Pirelli tyres. This advert integrated and contextualised like a cultural line extension. The peak of this power and appeal to male readers came with a two-page Lamborghini advertisement.[26] This seemed to counteract the American syndrome of ethnic bias and the negative perception of Italy. In the 1960s and '70s, cross-cultural advertising went in the direction of the transgressive anti-system policy of the fetishist and male-centred magazine, which openly went against the Vietnam War. The fact that Italian words were used for upmarket brands was a long way from the days when the Mayor of New York, Fiorello La Guardia, had to react to vicious anti-Italian propaganda stigmatising the Italian language as the language of the enemy in caricatures after the Pearl Harbor attack. La Guardia sided with performer and composer Louis Prima (see chapter three) in his determination to use Italian (Italian American or

"vernacular") in his songs, stating that the language was not lewd and contained no explicit sexual reference.

Puzo's *Godfather*, Don Corleone, epitomised the code of "respect" with its rituals, beliefs, and behaviours. Respect and consideration were key issues in understanding the accommodation and adaptation of Italian Americans to the American Dream. Distorted as it was among criminals, the code of respect implemented a language system of signals and symptoms that connected with "families." Literary recognition came after the massive success of the film, and provided an origin to a constellation of topics and themes that referred to the Mafia cliché in films and literature. This was a bonanza for citation, parody, speech forms, and mimicry, from *The Simpsons* to *The Sopranos*. Advertising, in its multifaceted forms, benefited from it. The key concept of trust in corporate communication is a basic principle. Thus, the obsession for respect derived from literature and the dynamics of groups and communities parallels the concept of corporate trust and buyers' loyalty, as expressed in a 1999 Pepsi commercial that was an intertextual citation from *The Godfather*, and more obliquely from *The Exorcist* in the demonic change of voice of the little girl. The reference to evil powers and Italian contexts and ads is not uncommon in American films, albeit a jocular parody in this case. The National Italian American Foundation (NIAF) protested, and the commercial was withdrawn. Italian brands, however, prospered in a sinister light. When referring to the popularity of brand names placed in hip hop tunes, as observed, Lamborghini is the coolest or hottest favourite with rappers and bands in the United States. Below is Britney Spears' "Work Bitch" (2013) which mentions four Italian brands in four lines, and features a Lamborghini in the video:

> You wanna a hot body? You wanna a *Bugatti*?
> You wanna a *Maserati*? You better work …
> You wanna a *Lamborghini*? Sippin' *martinis*?
> Look hot in a bikini? You better work …

The next example, Gucci Mane's "Get Low Like a Lambo" (2009), is even more explicit in its references, as the artist even chose to use the name Gucci:[27]

> Come lie on my sheets
> I m'a lay E U D
> Like a Lamborghini
> Girl you represent speed

> And you must look cute
> Cuz you represent me.

Rap hits featuring the "Lambo" are increasing, and there is even a Lamborghini Gallardo.

Spaghetti Language: Italian Sounding and Copycats

The Italian American Mafia cliché turned out to be a viral spree in advertising pseudo-Italian and Italian sounding products. The way from discrimination to adoration, imitation, and piracy is not exactly linear and progressive, as this refers to America and includes the large Italian communities in other Anglophone countries like Canada and Australia. If niche and luxury signpost a media devotion for Italians stylists and luxury brands, there is also a globalised market thriving on the "Made in Italy" mantra. The phenomenon is quite interesting, as it offers instances of "Italian sounding products" also known as "wannabes," "me-toos," and "copycats." Linguistic traps enhance the halo effect of Made in Italy, while a close reading of the fine print reveals "the true origin" as being not Italy. One example is the use of Italian words, such as the Italian adjective "affine," used to inform the consumer that it is "similar, like, akin to":

> *Sainsbury's Taste the Difference*: *Montagnolo Affine*.
>
> A velvety mild smooth blue cheese, full of character …
>
> *Produced in Germany using German milk* and packed in the UK for Sainsbury's Supermarket (July 2015; emphasis added)

The lines on the real origin and production are written on the back of the plastic film cover in microscopic print. In any case, the buyer seeing Italian words, may be duped into thinking that the product is really Italian, as noted in the case of Chili 'con carne' where there is no meat at all.

The evocation of a Mediterranean golden sun seems to guarantee tomato and pasta, like much stereotyping in cartoon commercials. There are different perceptions and viewpoints of what spaghetti and tomato sauce are, as in definitions that appear generalised and blurred. The following are some examples where Italian food terminology combines with English words. Connotations and denotations are not symmetrical as significance may vary, depending on the targeted consumer.

LLOYD GROSSMAN : Bolognese

Juicy sun ripened tomatoes blended with red wine, basil and oregano

For Italians this is a weird Bolognese, without adding the word "salsa" (sauce). Basil and oregano are not specific herbs for a Bolognese, which is made of minced meat. Bolognese sauce is written in very small print, and only on the back of the jar do we read that meat is a required ingredient. The smiling image of Lloyd Grossman says: "My sauces use the right combination of carefully chosen ingredients to make sure you always get a vibrant flavour." Salsa Bolognese always has the minced meat ingredient, as Salsa Amatriciana has pancetta (Italian bacon). Otherwise, it is simply tomato sauce or salsa di pomodoro. Tomatoes in Italy are grown in many types and flavours, and used for pizza, salsa, sugo, and bruschetta. Pomodoro San Marzano is a DPO (Protected Designation of Origin), and pomodoro di Pachino from Sicily is a PGI (Protected Geographical Indication), complying with the recent EU schemes to protect and guarantee traditional specialties.[28] The information reads that it is "produced under license by Premier Foods Group, London."[29] Another similar case is Dolmio. As with Lloyd Grossman, what one buys is not Bolognese but only "sauce for Bolognese." This time, the label shows not the face of the "man of the company" but a guy with a straw hat and moustache, white shirt, and black waistcoat, and a silly looking cartoon face. All the members of the family have bushy eyebrows and clownish grins The father, the main character, wears a tablecloth around his neck. Again, this is a normal recipe for passata pummarola or salsa napoletana, with basil and oregano, and no meat, with no indication of the origin of the ingredients. Bolognese in Italian is not called "salsa," the more appropriate collocation being "ragù alla bolognese," /*ragu*/ (der. French /ragôut/→ *reveiller le gôut*, to "awaken taste"), and it is made with minced meat gravy. The advertisement of the extended line of Italian salsa is far from the classic standard recipe. Another product, carbonara, claims to be "pasta sauce." The classic Italian carbonara has a base of onions where flakes of pancetta are browned in olive oil, and fresh egg yolk is added when mixing the pasta with black pepper and grated Parmigiano or Grana. However, the Dolmio commercial featuring the cartoons of the Mediterranean migrant family has gone viral and global on television and the internet for more than a decade. It has had a controversial appraisal, as for many Italians this is a fastidious parody combining three generations of Italian migrants living in Anglophone countries. The advertising campaign includes prizes for the best Dolmio grin, thus adding to the stereotyping of Italian migrants and their families. The brand is owned by food giant Mars

Foods Ireland, headquartered in Brussels, Belgium. Recently, Mars launched an infomercial health campaign (July 2016) to reduce obesity by encouraging consumers to not overindulge: "A better food today, a better world tomorrow."[30] The *Godfather*-inspired thirtieth-anniversary celebrations of Dolmio perpetuate the Mafia-like parody. An online announcement headlined the reference to the Padrino and "the offer you can't refuse." The reference to gatherings of capi mandamenti and consigliori is very explicit (see also chapter one). What is even more embarrassing is not so much the "offer you can't refuse," contextualised as an invitation to dinner, but the gathering of Mafia-like freaks, one of whom is portrayed as having an ape-like expression. To Italian Americans and Italians this is a great leap backwards to the years of vicious anti-immigration caricatures.[31] The scent of pasta recalls the embarrassing garlic reference from the novel *Call It Sleep*. The intended comic effect is for a global down-market, yet to Italians it is irritatingly vulgar as the drama of migration is not something to exploit. Oscar Farinetti, the founder of Eataly, recently stigmatised the English obsession for cheap spaghetti.[32]

There are other Italian American or Italian British brands and advertising contexts that emphasis Mediterranean identity, sometimes specifically Neapolitan, claiming genuine quality. Napolina is a brand totally unknown in Italy, and widely distributed in the United Kingdom with a full range of pasta products. The company's homepage tells the story of the founder of the Naples-based company. Napolina was established some fifty years ago, and is part of the Prince's group, marked as Prodotto in Italia, feauring the Italian Tricolore red, white, and green. The images recall the city of Naples with Vesuvius. The specific geographic origin of ingredients used is confused. If it says Aceto di Modena, this vinegar is not from Naples but Modena; similarly, olives are from Cerignola, a region of Puglia, not Naples in Campania. Also, the tomatoes are not the San Marzano quality from Campania, famous for passata di pomodoro (filtered salsa), but "sun-ripened tomatoes, harvested close to our Foggia production site." The redundancy of "Italian style food" and "Italian heritage" does not account for Naples and Campania, as the ingredients used seem to be mainly from Puglia, the region of Foggia, and Cerignola, notwithstanding the picture of Vesuvius. The evidence shows that the evocative power of the Mediterranean is such that one need only post an image of the Bay of Naples and use a company name recalling a Neapolitan identity and it sells.[33]

Magnificence and Florentine Splendours: Domestication vs. Foreignization

For upmarket products evoking an Italian identity there are differences in packaging and cultural references. As already noted, Rome, Venice, and Florence are the pivotal cityscapes with all their glamour and art. Refined packaging and cultural references are present as a devotional tribute to the arts and the Italian Renaissance. Fortnum & Mason, "the most luxurious department store in the world," branded chocolate-coated almond sweet pastry biscuits Magnifici Dark & Whole Chocolate Florentines (Fig. 5.8). Magnifici recalls Lorenzo de' Medici, known as "il Magnifico." The term "Florentine" has been in use in English since the seventeenth century and the recipe described by Robert May in *The Accomplisht Cook* (1660): "Chewy and crunchy, fragrant and colourful, these renaissance masterpieces unfailingly appeal to all the senses at once." The main ingredient is Belgian dark chocolate.[34] The aquamarine packaging is of the utmost elegance, the chromatic code of the Piccadilly-based luxury store reproducing Renaissance decorations as reinterpreted in the neo-classical style of Robert Adams's plaster ceilings (1766). Nothing could be more distant than the image of Mafia cliché and any cheap product association. Both are, however, different perspectives on an "imagined country." The Florentines were the result of the Grand Tour of Italy and the English neoclassical vision of the Italian Renaissance, as in the case of Robert Adams, while other brands reflect images and contexts from Italian American literature and films.

Another example is with the advertising of Nesti Dante. Nesti Dante is a luxury soap brand that capitalises on Tuscan identity. The soaps of the Florence-based company are available to visitors at the Kew Gardens shop. One of their foremost products is the "luxurious natural soap" Romantica (made with love and care). The flower image on the packaging is not that of a real flower: it is the Florentine lily, which is the stylized symbol of the city of Florence, first seen on golden coins minted there. The soap bar wrapping has bilingual captions for Romantica:

> Giglio del granducato e narciso: Royal Lily and Narcissus
>
> **ST**: Il fiore bianco e magnifico dai petali vellutati cede la sua sensuale fragranza all'elegante accordo del narciso.
>
> **TT:** The fragrance of the white velvet petals of this splendid flower intertwine with the sensuous scent of Narcissus.

What is diluted in the TT is the specificity of "Granducato" referring to Granducato di Toscana. The royal lily is the equivalent of the Latin-named variety *Lilium regale*, also known as the "king's lily." The Florentine Iris is known in botany as *Iris florentina*, a white lily. As an added cultural value, the Granducato connotes the Florentine magnificence of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (1569–1860), the first Grand Duchy created in Europe over a "sovereign state."[35] The Italian name Giglio del Granducato is not a flower variety; it is a poetic invention, and contextually refers to the "white lily" and not the purple Florentine iris. The construction of this brand identity resonates with Florentine history, the gardens of the Medici, and the Boboli gardens. The Romantica soap collection also features a Rosa Medicea. Again, this is not a botanical variety; it is a poetic name reductively translated in TT as "Florentine Rose."[36] Another flower essence in the soap line is Glicine di Bolgheri e Lillà, rendered in TT as "Tuscan wisteria and lilac." This wisteria is also not a phytonym; it is a toponym suggestive of the flowerscape of Tuscany. The cultural contextualisation of Florentine flowers echoes the masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance like Botticelli's *La Primavera* and *The Birth of Venus* and their reflections in the flower paintings of the pre-Raphaelites like Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The Florentine setting and the Museum of the Uffizi underscore the reference to the visual arts. Other packaging and brochures for the Dolce Vivere line also feature cameo images of Capri, Sicily, Venice, Rome, and Florence evoking flower scents and aromas. The soap papers have bilingual texts (Italian and English) targeting tourists. The brochure inside the magnum package is multilingual (see also Kelly-Holmes 2005; Martin 2006). As the original Italian version is almost interlinear, the consumers may read the texts and compare. The Italian pre-modifier *apollineo* is omitted in all multilingual versions. This term derives from Apollo, the Greek and Roman god of beauty, music, sun, and light. The taglines frame an intricacy of synesthetic metaphors and cultural references to classical mythology:

> **ST:** *Una fragranza apollinea e raffinata che intreccia note sensuali* di iris blu e alloro per coronare la più gioiosa vitalità
>
> **TT a:** Sensual notes of blue iris and laurel blend together to create a *sparkling fragrance* rich in vitality and energy
>
> **TT b:** Notes sensuelles d'iris bleu et de laurier mariées pour un *parfume pétillant*, riche de vitalité et d'énergie

> **TT c:** Notas sensuales de iris azul y laurel, mezcladas "exquisitamente" para crear una *fragrancia chispeante*, rica en vidalidad y energìa (emphasis added)

The Italian verb-metaphor /*per coronare*/→ "to crown" is permuted with "to create," which is present in TT c. This is a loss in the sequence of links in symbols: Apollo, laurel, crown, music, and harmony. The French and Spanish versions (TT b and TT c) are almost linear translations and omit the Apollonian reference. Furthermore, Apollo was also associated with laurel, as in his tragic attempt to possess Daphne who was compassionately transmuted into a laurel plant (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*). /Apollonian/ is the corresponding English term, and in this case may also suggest the uttermost perfection and beauty of Greek gods in statues in Florence and Italy, as noted by E. M. Forster in *A Room With A View* (1908).[37]

The invisible translator has possibly operated on all the three languages, and, while omitting the key reference to Greek myth, made more evident the reference to mineral water, i.e. /sparkling/ → *pétillant*, *chispeante* (fizzy or carbonated in American English). The dedicated tourist and buyer can, however, have the body of evidence in the original. Again, there are other items from descriptions in the same line of soaps where key cultural items and creative metaphors are diluted.

There are linguistic constraints and semantic dissymmetry that are difficult to reproduce from the poetic inventions of flower names that have no scientific phytonym: *Rosa medicea*, *Giglio del Granducato*, *Glicine di Bolgheri*, *Lavanda dei colli fiorentini* (Tuscan lavender→ "from the hills of Florence").[38] The aim of multiple translations, however is to introduce the product and its context in a way that is consumer friendly and readable:

> **ST:** Rimanere folgorati da un paesaggio unico al mondo, *colpiti da un'irrefrenabile passione* che si placa in selvaggi sentori di lentisco, bacche di mirto e elicriso *italico*

> **TT:** The Sardinian landscape that is unique to the world, with its wild notes of helycrisum and lentiscus shrub together with myrtle nectar, captivates the senses in the true Mediterranean style

Gone also is "elicriso *italico*." As a collocational pair in the language of advertising, it is Mediterranean passion versus Italian style related to "fashion" or lifestyle. *Nesti Dante* is on display at Kew Gardens. The average buyer at Kew Gardens in Richmond may be unaware of cultural contextualisation. The message conveyed by the product to the English

consumer, however, may derive from films featuring Italian landscapes and Tuscan settings. The ouverture of film zooms Renaissance scored by Puccini's music decorative *grottesche* and flower garlands wreathed decorations typical of decorated ceramics of Umbria and Tuscany, as Adams was inspired by this art for his decorations. The original "pensione Bartolini" screen adaptation of the novel directed by James Ivory (1985) is available for tourists in Florence. This is a potent network enhancing cultural identity falling on all products "Made in Florence."[39]

The dynamics impacting on the audience, stimulating interest and linking experiences to recollections are part of the constellations of emotional meaning that may determine a consumer's choice, especially with niche products and luxury soaps as in the above, where the invented names of flowers and fragrances blend with real local phytonyms. The evocative and emotional appeal is not something that tech data can determine. It is part of a cross-cultural discourse that spans British and American visions of Italy and Florence, where the brand and the origin of the product are rooted and localised and yet achieve international and global high-end status through British and American discourse and multimodal representations.

This extended section on luxury soaps aims to focus on and challenge the stigma of the initial literary reference to garlic and highlight how such debased images may persist in advertising at the low end of the market. In both cases, it is a translation and an adaptation. In the last analysis, it is the words that are used in English, whether echoing literary texts or mocking a Mafia parody, that master international communication and influence the perception of "otherness" from international buyers and consumers.

Prestige and Passion: from Garlic to Glamour

The shift in cultural identity, as perceived in the Anglo-American scenario and advertising domain, from garlic stench to glamour, can be represented by a new line of scents and aromas. It is something that boosts the additional value of the image of Italian cuisine, debunking the garlic stigma. It is, however, also something that cannot be applied from the host culture to the original culture, as values and beliefs differ in terms of added "exoticism." The international Québec company Fruits & Passion launched a line of called Cucina. Doubtlessly, this is a tribute to the French and Italian Mediterranean flowerscapes, aromatic herbs, and olive oil. The autumn brochure (November 2003) available in Toronto (Eaton Centre) explained the Italian word:

> *Enticing Scents for the Kitchen*. Signifying "kitchen" in Italian, *Cucina* literally permeates your kitchen with the delectable scent of fresh-cut aromatic herbs! Rather than merely *masking cooking odours, the fragrant bouquets of Coriander and Olive Tree, Basil and Tomato and Ginger and Sicilian Lemon meld with aromas of your favourite dishes that whet the appetite.* What's more, Cucina's unique and highly distinctive containers, evocative of those you'd see on a gourmet grocer's shelves, will lend a refined look to any décor. (emphasis added)

The Sicilian orange blossom and famous almonds used in traditional pastry cakes of Arabic origin and perfumery are obscured, whereas the intrusive and culturally extraneous ginger has crept in. Moreover, in Italian, "odore di cucina" is an urgent call for fresh air and to open windows.

The above section on advertising in translation addresses many questions on the debated themes of practice and theory in the translation, adaptation, and stereotyping of "Made in Italy." As observed, the strategy can be target-oriented and give standardised body copy for the global market, or, on the contrary, be product-oriented and preserve the localisation and cultural specificity of the source language and body copy. The two translational options are not clear-cut absolutes, and there can always be techniques of adjustment, compensation, and accommodation. The preservation of cultural identity is, however, a salient factor as the glamour of "Made in Italy" has evidenced for luxury branding and fashion (Crawford Camiciottoli 2013; Waddel 2004; Stanfill 2014).

There is a generalised literature on advertising and marketing that underscores the effects of global campaigns based on lingua franca English (AELF) and absolute standardisation. Yet, in the case of luxury, style, and culture-bound products, the "language" is essential. A further desire-enhancing factor is the "appeal" of Italian (and French) words, providing a touch of class and "originality" determined by the fact that consumers are aware that the product was Made in Italy, or comes from London, New York, Hollywood, and Paris. A major change came with an innovation in the discourse of counter-cultural advertising concerning imagery, graphics, and body copy in the 1960s and '70s in the United Kingdom and the United States, as seen in *Playboy*. It signposted the emergence of new brands that some two decades later would target the emerging markets in the high-tech field and later in tech ads. The common means of expression has been the use of English. The revolution was made colourfully visible with American pop art and new designs for the beauty ads of the "swinging '60s" and gender focus (see also Goffman 1979).

There was a new language, a total evolution in "hemline" and "tagline" introducing the "vibrant" concepts with the zingy, wild (walk on the wild side), and "Good Vibrations" lexicon (Schooling 2007) of California, with a Max Factor dazzle of pinks and the "Think Pink" Yosemite code and "hi-fi fans." If the spread of global English in a controversial way firewalled global translation ("Nespresso. What Else?"), it generated adaptation for high-end products and low-end household products like detergents. The expanding horizon of the Eastern markets and the banning of boundaries for Eastern Europe amplified the potentialities of luxury brands and "Made in Italy," yet speaking English (The Armani Code, D & G The One). Intriguing examples are the fashion brand cakes that can be ordered online in London and Mumbai (Fig. 5.9)[40]. Prada-Miu Miu, Versace and Gucci are favourites

Depending on products and usage, there are indicators of a trend towards multilingual forms of advertising, bilingual advertisements, code-mixing, and multiple translations, especially in operational instructions, booklets, and brochures. Code-mixing is another feature pushed to mix pronunciation, where brand names and taglines in Italian are uttered with an American accent, and English ones with an Italian accent. American English will appeal to Italian consumers as much as advertising in Italian will attract American buyers, whether or not a celebrity is visible and there is the lure of a sensual voice, as the new Campari "Red Passion" advert. This was not the case in the past, especially for Italian Americans. Translation, language, prosodic rhythm, stresses, and the pronunciation of a foreign voice (Spanish people speaking Italian, Italian people speaking English), titillate and are seductive attention-seeking devices, especially in the mystery of voiceovers in teaser campaigns (is it her voice, or is it someone else's? And whose voice is that in "The Armani Code" or D & G's "The One"?). Translation, under its many forms, builds up brands and impacts on the cultural context of the message. For products that are localised and rooted in a strong artistic tradition, every word has a semantic load and repercussion on the message and its communicative functions.[41]

Substantial evidence from the diverse typology of advertising and commercials (posters, vignettes, videos, display ads, packaging, commercials, jingles, cartoons, etc.) indexes the perception of racism, ethnic bias, and stigma from comments and blogs, and from social activist groups, like in the Cadbury/Naomi Campbell case or the Mafia and NIAF protest (Masiola and Tomei 2013). The recognition of a polar and antithetical ideological attitude to advertising culture, stereotyping, and the use of language has accounted for the case studies and corpus selected in the

current survey. Previously vilified as a speech form, the language of infectious migrants or the "broken English" of former slaves has become a positive marker of identity for the market and international advertising in the use of jingles, taglines, and rap music in mixed-up codes and cross-genres, as seen in Shaggy's "Mr Boombastic" for Levi's in 1995. Conversely, commercials feature Italian cartoons speaking a variety of English (i.e. Scottish, American) with an accent in a salsa advertisement for a global food company, and iconic divas advertising Italian luxury brands in Italian.

The dynamics inherent to the process of identity versus stereotyping can be reversed and present in the Eastern and Western media alike, and reinforced by different sociopolitical circumstances, as seen in the case of black people and ethnic minorities, and in particular by the action of the coloniser towards the colonised in colonial contexts. Black people are the primary targets in the Western world, yet those in the East seem not to be totally immune. In the case of Italians, they are at once victims and abusers, as representation offers images of Italian racism versus Africans at the time of Fascism, and likewise of Italians being victimised by racist anti-migration propaganda. In the case of massive Italian migratory influxes to the United States and other English-speaking countries (Ireland, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia), there is yet another phenomenon of ongoing advertising based on caricatures and Mafia stereotype clichés ("Spaghetti language") and an overlapping dichotomy with the American and British admiration for the powerful Italian style and design brands (Magnificence and Florentine Splendours). This does not have a definite timeline and is part of an ambivalence in the attitude and perception of media communication of "Made in Italy." The main difference is apparently in the wavering between luxury and non-luxury, with the glamour of Italian style showcased in Milan (i.e. the Milan Expo and Fashion Week) and coexisting with copycat products that "sound" Italian and the marked stereotyping (the Mafia is always a favourite) of the global corporations. Martini and Campari sound like Ferrari, and the chromatic code is red ("Red Passion") in English and also in the Italian commercial. Another powerful rhyme for the ladies is Bulgàri, as internationally pronounced in English, that visitors to the Victoria and Albert Museum exhibit on Italian fashion (2014), sponsored by Bulgari, heard and accepted. It was this English stress on the second syllable (Bulgàari) that diverged with the Italian stress on the first (Bùlgari) that produced the triadic mantra: Campari, Bulgari, Ferrari. "Made in Italy" would not be conceptualised as such if it had not been glamour-oriented, Hollywood-bound, and English-lexified.

Conclusion

This conclusive chapter, with a wide array of case studies and data, returns to the controversial issues addressed in the first based on the dynamics of the "centre" and the periphery, and the power of imperial brands based on colonial commodities. The initial focus was on analysing the shifts and changes in the dynamics of advertising culture, language, and translation from the centre to the extending periphery, and from the periphery to the centre, focusing on the distinctive elements of identity and cultural specificity. The framework of such ideological topics is advertising culture and translation, in its multimodality and language functions. As advertising and translation studies are relatively new academic disciplines, they are correlated and interconnected as two areas with many themes still unexplored, and questions still unanswered. The inclusion of other disciplines (Gambier and Van Doorslaer 2016), however, may revitalize the link within the dynamics of colonial and postcolonial contexts in a critical approach to translation studies and globalization (see also Monte Fernàndez 2008)

Advertising is seen as impacting on literature and films, whether screen adaptations of books, product placement, and the textual transformations and adaptations of children's books on stage. These themes and sub-themes are analysed in the framework of "Culture in Translation: British and American Brands in Literature" (chapter one, Masiola) that signposts the centrality of advertising in literature and the interface of cultural and translational issues in times of ideological conflicts and censorship. This part also accounts for the insurgence of the American Dream and, subsequently, the Italian American Dream and Made in Italy in the post-immigration era. This part is linked to the first in that it sets the ideology condition in the colonial and postcolonial dynamics of brand names and the polarity between "colonial" and "global" impacting identity factors in the extending periphery. The analysis of language and advertising as cultural communication is supported by a corpus spanning a considerable timeline and geographical space. The question of the imperial centre and the extending circles accounts for factors related to the hegemony of the market, language choice, culture, and identity, as in the examples that cover a colonial space, from the heart of the empire to its periphery, and how the periphery had developed its advertising. The second phase concerns how these peripheries have gone global on their own, re-fashioning their identity (South Africa, Australia, Jamaica) and, conversely, how identity is imitated and refashioned. The common thread is provided by advertisements that created the empire from the periphery.

Case studies concerned how products were advertised as colonial, and how the same products were advertised in the emancipated nation. South Africa, the West Indies, Australia, and Jamaica have been examined in their brand names as symbols and symptoms of imperial centrality, and, subsequently, in the current global and international scenarios (chapters two and three, Tomei). Chapter four (Tomei) covers an area that has again been totally neglected in advertising and translation studies, regarding quality and inadequate translation and adaptation. The framework and the grid for defining the typology of "errors" and inadequate cultural correspondence are seen in respect of translatability and diachronic cultural variation and linguistic constraints combining a full range of multiple versions on captions, taglines, slogans, and brand names. The fifth chapter (Baraldo) highlights shifts in perspective, as the social and cultural dynamics are conditioned by the hegemony of prestige, and the sometimes unpredictable marketing response, as in the case of Made in Italy, Made in the USA, and the Hollywood effect. It would be interesting to monitor the shift in perceived values in time through the new media and future ad-tech in the dramatic scenario of Mediterranean countries extending from Naples or Sicily to North Africa. The controversial dichotomy in the perception of the Made in Italy factor may be well epitomised by Sophia Loren as an acting celebrity for D & G, Valentino, or Bulgari, as she can naturally move from luxury brands to mozzarella and spaghetti. One of Loren's famous quotes, "everything you see I owe to spaghetti," is again reinforced by a hilarious film sequence and an epic exclamation: "Do you like Italian food, boy? E allora buon appetito" as she code-switches when dumping a bucketful of salsa over Walter Matthau and Jack Lemmon in *Grumpy Old Men* (1993) for their dirty tricks.

The present work does not have the claim to be exhaustive, but aimed at shedding light on the intricate phenomenon of advertising and translation conditioned by cultural dynamics in the changing peripheries and shifting centres. Italy, once in the limelight of US media and Hollywood, achieved glamour. An innovative approach to product placement came with the films of Woody Allen set in Italy (*Everybody Says I love You, To Rome with Love*), and, conversely, with Italian luxury brands placed in Hollywood films, from Armani in *American Gigolo* starring a stunning Richard Gere, to D & G with *Maid in Manhattan* with Jennifer Lopez. Made in Italy was an unpredictable branding explosion that is part of the story of migration, with the shoemakers of the stars like Salvatore Ferragamo. In terms of translation and translatability, there is an increasing focus on handmade and artisan products. Specialised glossaries and lexicons sometimes feature on pamphlets, brochures, and online

catalogues. Italian shoemaking has a specific lexicon that does not have total symmetry with the English lexicon. The same is also true for French perfumes like Dzing by L'Artisan Parfumier (1999), which was creatively tagged in French as:

> **ST:** Un perfume d'une féroce douceur … *cuiré, boisé et gourmand.* Pourque chaque jour soit un spectacle
>
> **ETT:** A fragrance soft and fierce … *Very wild very sweet*! With Dzing every day is another fragrant show
>
> **ITT:** Profumo che nasconde una dolcezza selvaggia …Perché ogni giorno sia uno spettacolo.
>
> **STT:** Un perfume de una feroz suavidad … *Animal, goloso*. Para que cada dìa sea un espectaculo

When these multi-versions are printed on the same package, the difference in the lexicon and the creative use of metaphors are foregrounded and the comparison is unmerciful. On the other hand, the French lexicon of perfume and fashion has entered other languages and connotes sophisticated diversity. But *cuiré* and *boisé* are technical terms ("accords") in defining perfumes. These lines refer to 1999, and today the sites dedicated to the perfume in different languages fully exploit translatability into English: the /cuiré and /boisé of the "head notes'" (notes de tête) or "main accords" have given way to /leathery/ and /woody/ on the current pages for web marketing.[42] This can only indicate three main variables:

> ENGLISH: spread of English used as AELF and ESP
>
> LANGUAGE PAIRS: awareness in language paired translation
>
> TECHNOLOGY: constant ad-tech innovation and strategies in trust building for e-commerce, as ST and other TT ads may be accessed any time

On the basis of such variables and unpredictable diachronic and diatopic shifts in the perspective of cross-cultural factors, as evidenced throughout the present study, this constitutes the conditioning and reinforcing circumstances of trust and the ad sphere, and trust in translations, when expanding on the global market (Kenny and Ryou 2007; Muñoz-Calvo et al. 2008).

The choice of perfume brands and translation to conclude the present survey is a meaningful choice: nothing is more difficult to describe in

another language as scent, as perfumes invoke exoticism, orientalism, remote cultural implications, and creative metaphors (Goatly 1997). Furthermore, the words used in advertising and packaging all contribute to the expensiveness of global luxury branding. This may well epitomise the paradox and ambiguity inherent in advertising as a creative technique where on the one hand the choice of AELF words gives a sense of globalisation and strong power of luxury branding, and on the other the foreign words appeals to a certified and branded "localisation" where the ingredients of products come from. An exotic perfume with notes of Ylang Ylang (*Cananga odorata*) or Vétiver (*Chrysopogum zizanioides*)[43] will be like music to the buyers' ears, and enhance associative meanings of aromatherapy that a literal equivalent will inevitably dilute. This effect is lessened if another English Caribbean variety of "cockroach grass" or "cus cus" grass is used. The translator has to know that the terms are synonyms within the global world of advertising and varieties of English.

Notes

[1] The reaction was against a new game. In 2010, UNICO president Andrea Di Minol called for the release of the mobster simulator game *Take-Two* to be halted, calling it "a pile of racist nonsense." http://www.gamespot.com /articles/italian-american-group-protests-mafia-ii-stereotypes/1100-6274095.

[2] http://www.dolcegabbana.com/beauty/makeup/lips-products/sophia-loren-1-lipstick.

[3] Berlusconi's caricature ranked among The Best British Political Cartoons in 2013, by Tim Benson. Cartoonist Morten Moreland (*The Times*, 2013) drew the former Italian Prime Minister's house arrest while in the bath. The language used is a sort of broken-English Mafia talk: "Howa coulda you do dissa to me, eh?!'

[4] http://oppositelock.kinja.com/pig-in-a-cinquecento-leads-to-diplomatic-row-1784 487735.

[5] http://www.prmuseum.org/kendrix/trinity.html.

[6] Richard Spears comments on the word "darkie" and the shift in connotation, from mild and polite to a derogatory and provocative meaning (2001, 1).

[7] This toothpaste was produced in China by the Hawley & Hazel Chemical Company, later moving to Hong Kong and Taiwan. The logo was designed by the CEO of the company and inspired by Al Jolson**.** When global giant Colgate-Palmolive took over in the mid-1980s the case exploded, causing outrage. It was changed in 1989. http://newsone.com/2853883/darkie-darlie-toothpaste-colgate.

[8] The illustrator was Giorgio Muggiani (1887–1938) and the printers Società Grafica, Milan, for G. Modiano, wool exporters. The Gatto logo and brand (Filatura di Tollegno, est. 1900) is currently still manufacturing. Giorgio Muggiani was originally innovative in graphics and designed famous posters for the advertising campaigns of Vermouth Martini & Rossi. He also designed for Mussolini's socialist newspaper *Avanti!*

[9] In Italy the "Mamie" ceramic figurine for chocolate Venchi is still on display in shop windows. Sugar sachets for coffee in Italy still have deformed simian faces. Italian advertising and images of black women was highly ambivalent during the years of Fascism. Fashion magazines launched an Abyssinian look and dresswear. There were no caricatures, and the branding of perfumes was influenced by the exoticism of the time. The fashion magazine *Lidel* (July 1935) featured articles like "La donna abissina," as noted by Eugenia Paulicelli in *Fashion under Fascism. Beyond the Black Shirt* (2004, 144–5).

[10] http://edition.cnn.com/2016/05/27/asia/chinese-racist-detergent-ad. "The company behind the Chinese ad, Qiaobi, did not respond to requests for comment from CNN, and has not addressed the growing outrage on the Chinese web." (Griffiths and Lou 2016).

[11] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_8kgpeTGlgU&list=RD_8kgpeTGlgU#t=24. This commercial went viral, as seen from comments posted online.

[12] Chinese students attending postgraduate courses in advertising (University for Foreigners of Perugia 2010–16) were rather curious about the topic of "Black stereotyping in English," but not emotionally involved like Italian American students of families who migrated to the United States.

[13] The Chinese were not involved in African or Indian colonisation. They had no slavery route and plantations with Africans or Amerindians slaves and are not a country receiving migratory waves from the EU. Nor were they involved in the racist laws and extermination of the Jews. Their attitude to racism is devoid of the sense of guilt of the Western conscience. The posts that followed, however, signposted a cultural distance in the attribution of values and belief on racism and copyrights "This is disgusting marketing, they treat consumers as idiots and they are being shamed overseas. I will never use this brand's products." "Aside from the racism, how about telling us why you ripped off the creative idea of an Italian commercial? And how about why you deleted our comments?" "Foreign media is using their values about race to judge us. But actually most Chinese don't feel strongly." http://www.china.org.cn/business/2016-05/30/content_38563904.htm.

[14] In his exhaustive analysis, Windley notes differences in runaway slaves and their autonomous lives before and after the Revolution.

[15] The selected ads are from the *National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox The Making of African American Identity*: Vol. I. 1500–1865. http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/enslavement/text8/virginiarunawayads.pdf.

[16] http://www.history.org/history/teaching/runaway.cfm. There are many such online sites and archives related to counties and states that can be accessed. In the United Kingdom, the Robert Opie collection does not feature racist packaging (i.e. Pears Soap).

[17] http://tobacco.stanford.edu/tobacco_main/images.php?token2=fm_st168.php&token1=fm_img5043.ph. See also http://neatdesigns.net/22-shockingly-racist-ads.

[18] The use of such speech forms has been lexicalised and codified in Caribbean English, and in particular Jamaican English is no longer seen as a stigma but as the language of liberation (Devonish 1986).

[19] Abraham Aaron Roback (1890–1965) was an American Jewish psychologist who pioneered and revived the study of literary Yiddish, and coined the term in 1944. His Dictionary records English and international slurs.
[20] Ola Hudson was mother to Slash (Saul) Hudson, guitarist of Guns n' Roses.
[21] American edition *Playboy*, June 23, 1969. The first Black woman to appear on British *Vogue* (1966) was African American model Donyale Luna.
[22] Brain Resnick, November 1, 2011.
http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2011/11/racist-anti-immigrant-cartoons-from-the-the-turn-of-the-20th-century/383248.
[23] *The Wasp* was a satirical magazine founded in 1876 in San Francisco by migrant Francis Korbel and his brothers. Ironically, they were former migrants from Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia). Korbel was also in the cigar manufacturing business and a winemaker.
[24] "Simianising" or the likening of black people to apes, is an issue that has recently been raised in South Africa in the exhibition *The Circus and the Zoo*, which Nkule Mabaso put together: "Animalisation is widespread racist dehumanization, manifesting itself in a lethal combination of sexism and racism; it remains a malicious and effective instrument of desocialization denying human characteristics" (Carl Collison, *The Capetowner*, June 30, 2016).
[25] The brand produces several other liqueurs like black Sambuca, white Sambuca, and Amaretto, which are predominantly distributed in Australasia where the products are used as ingredients for cocktails (such as Golden Cadillac, Harvey Wallbanger, and Golden Dreams). Galliano also makes Galliano Ristretto, a coffee-flavored liqueur and Galliano Balsamico, a vinegar-infused liqueur. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galliano_(liqueur).
[26] Lamborghini, or Lambo, or even Ghini, as featured in rap and pop songs.
[27] http://www.songlyrics.com/gucci-mane/get-low-like-a-lambo-lyrics/#o7eFRwrqAw6DgQMz.99. 'Eud': 'the sickest name for weed' (urbandictionary.com).
[28] Three EU schemes known as Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), and Traditional Specialities Guaranteed (TSG) promote and protect names of quality agricultural and alimentary products.
[29] Online information reports of Australian origin (198) and the first brand name Alora in 1985, marketed by MasterFood. In 1989 the name was changed to Dolmio, and is currently part of the Mars Group, with Uncle Ben's.
[30] The videos were shown to advertising classes of English to multilingual groups of students (2015–16). While some students from Eastern Europe found it jocular and harmless, Italian students were disturbed and annoyed by this cliché, especially when they heard the "f" word.
[31] Adding to racial and offensively sexual language, in comes Urbandictionary.com, where "dolmio" is entered as a nickname for an "ossified drunk that goes down on a woman at the wrong time of the month," correlated to an "indistinguishable woppish scent" as in dubbing, even in their Glaswegian and Australian versions.
[32] On the question of Dolmio, *The Telegraph* reported that: "An Italian entrepreneur has slammed the UK's obsession with cheap pasta sauces and bad parmesan, claiming that 'imitation products' are driving down prices of Italian products and affecting the country's output. Oscar Farinetti, founder of Italian

gourmet marketplace and restaurants Eataly, said he was shocked by the Italian food served in many UK restaurants. 'In Italy, spaghetti Bolognese will have 90g of spaghetti and 85g of ragu,' he said. 'In the UK, in an Italian restaurant that is not really Italian, you get 80g of spaghetti and 200g of ragu' (Burn-Callender, 2015). http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/retailandconsumer/11662252/The-UKs-obsession-with-cheap-pasta-sauces-is-causing-a-food-crisis-in-Italy.html.

[33] There are articles posted on the web in defense of localisation and specificity: http://www.vesuviolive.it/ultime-notizie/28215-napolina-quando-napoli-ti-fa-essere-marchio-venduto.

[34] The name Belgian dark chocolate, although regulated by Belgian law since 1884, has no trademark recipe—it just must be produced in Belgium. The Italian dark chocolate is produced in Modica, yet packaging information relates historical facts of its coming from the Hispanic invasion of the Sicilian east coast in the seventeenth century and their use of chocolate adopted from the Aztecs. The use of candied fruits and spices is a Sicilian Arabic tradition.

[35] The choice of translator was to upgrade the hierarchy of titles to nobility, equating it with royal importance in administration, without having a geographical size and dimension to be recognised as a kingdom.

[36] The orange tree can be ascribed to the Medici family, as five golden globes of the family coat of arms. The scientific binomial is *Citrus medica* or *Citrus medicea*, and was considered a symbol of the Medici family (Masiola 2002, 169-79).

[37] His divine attributions of beauty have been conceptualised in Western philosophy by Friedrich Nietzsche (*The Birth of Tragedy*) with the term "Apollonian" defining "harmony" and balanced rationality, and counterpoised to the other side of the myth, Dyonisos (Bacchus), as "Dionisiac" or chaotic and irrational. For such reasons, Apollo presided over the golden rules of harmony in architecture and sculpture. The Medici Apollo is a copy of a Greco-Roman original at the Uffizi in Florence, and the Bargello Museum has Michelangelo's unfinished statue of Apollo. Lorenzo Bernini (ca. 1622, Galleria Borghese, Rome), Michelangelo. There is also a first century Greek imitation of a third century BC Hellenistic original, and the Apollo del Belvedere in the Vatican Museums is a copy from a Greek bronze statue by Leochares (ca. 350–25 BC). Florence is resonant with the myth of Apollo.

[38] The overall poetic strain seems domesticated. The "pateresque" incipit ("To burn always with a hard gem-like flame") and the initial position of the original "Rimanere folgorati" are levelled to standardised English. The landscape is also a reflection of D. H. Lawrence's *Sea and Sardinia*, as seen through the eyes of British travellers.

[39] Giacomo Puccini's "O mio Babbino" from *Gianni Schicchi*. Puccini was from Tuscany (Torre del Lago). The first fashion show launch of Italian haute couture to a select audience of American buyers was staged by Florentine nobleman Marchese Giorgini in his Renaissance Villa in February 1951.

[40] There are similar internet websites offering fashion bag cakes in London and customers can contact cake designer for fashion cakes. Some brands of luxury

cakes offer those shaped like Italian and French shoes, bags, purses, jewels, etc. http://www. cakesandcupcakesmumbai.com/2013/01/13.

[41] Images can support and define possible textual ambiguities, yet the choice of words and their synesthetic effects can be enhanced by compensation strategies in translation (i.e. /S/: the sensuous scent of the narcissus).

[42] The nose behind the perfume was Olivia Giacobetti.

http://www.fragrantica.com/perfume/L-Artisan-Parfumeur/Dzing--1953.html. All materials and case studies of the survey have been implemented and tested by the authors in the English studies classes and seminars of the postgraduate course on advertising communication and promotion of Made in Italy, University for Foreigners of Perugia (1999–2016).

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