
VOLUME 1

by

Aniswal Abdul-Ghani
(A. G. Aniswal)

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Surrey for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 2000
This thesis posits that advertising texts contain cultural messages. It identifies and analyzes the linguistic and paralinguistic contents of advertisements. The study highlights the various functions of advertising visuals and argues that visuals encode cultural and verbal messages. It is important for the translator to know how to disambiguate visuals and "read" them. A major part of the thesis is concerned with semantic interplays. Puns, idioms and metaphors are analyzed and an attempt is made at working out their respective typologies. This shows that lexical items encode cultural messages. This provides a means to work out possible translation strategies for translating figurative language. The relationship between visuals and semantic interplay is also highlighted. Gender issues are also explored linguistically and paralinguistically. It is shown that gendered values are prominent in English lexical items. The implications to English into Malay translation of gender related issues are identified.
Dedicated to

ORASA

© ANISWAL Abdul-Ghani
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people.

I thank the Universiti Sains Malaysia for the opportunity and the means to do this postgraduate research. Professor Mashudi Kader and Encik Ismail Shariff have greatly assisted me with their belief in my potential.

This work would not have been at all possible but for Professor Carol Sanders. I am very indebted to her for her supervision, her guidance, her friendship and most of all her patience. I have enjoyed our discussions and this learning experience. I believe I am a different person academically from when I first met her.

This study has been a hard-going experience but thankfully I am blessed with many wonderful friends. They have kept me motivated, happy and sane: Kak Aini, Kak Amni, Ainol, Asri, Bettina, Hari, Haizan, Hugo, Hye-Seong, En. Ismail, Lye, Maltika, Mariyani, Mrs Grew, Orasa, Rosy, Sepora, Sham, Sudha, Sunny, Kak Zah and En. Zainuddin.

It has been a journey of discovery.

This work is also dedicated to all those who have cared.
CONTENTS

Volume 1

1 Introduction: Investigating Culture in Linguistics

1.1 The Background to the Study: the Malay language and translation
   1.1.1 Translation in Malaysia: A Brief Perspective on the Current State of Affairs
   1.1.2 The Concerns of Translation to Malay Language
   1.1.3 Key Issues in Malaysian Translation Practices
      1.1.3.1 Quality of Translation - Optimal Transfer of Information and Knowledge (Message)
      1.1.3.2 Destabilizing Language Form - Stylistics
      1.1.3.3 Linguistic, Paralinguistic and Cultural Schemata
   1.1.4 Malay - English: A Need to Understand Contrastive Rhetoric.
      1.1.4.1 Characteristics of Malaysian English

1.2 Analyzing Advertising Texts
   1.2.1 Advertisements are Authentic Data
   1.2.2 Advertisements are Mass Communication
   1.2.3 Advertisements are Rich in Context

1.3 The Rationale of the Study
   1.3.1 The Aims of the Study
   1.3.2 Sources of Material
   1.3.3 The Size of the Corpus

1.4 Organization of the Study

1.5 Summary

2 Advertising As A Cultural Discourse:

Understanding Advertising and Related Literature Review

2.1 Background: What is advertising?
2.1.1 Advertising: Communicating Power

2.2 Studies in Advertising Relating to Culture and Cultural Issues

2.2.1 Globalization - Nationalization - Localization

2.2.2 Culture and Advertising: Interaction and Destabilization

2.2.2.1 Humour Across Cultural Boundaries

2.2.2.2 Culture - Far East vs. West

2.3 Advertising: A Discourse Type

2.3.1 English Advertising Language

2.3.1.1 Syntax

2.3.1.2 Stylistics

2.3.1.3 Words - Messages beyond SL Meanings

2.3.1.4 Words - Semantics in Style

2.3.1.5 Paralanguage - Participants in Semantics

2.3.2 Semiotic Analysis in Advertising

2.3.2.1 Contextual Elements

2.3.2.2 Culture and Advertising

2.3.3 Advertising: The Malaysian Experience

2.3.3.1 Stylistics and Syntax

2.3.3.2 Language and Acculturation

2.4 Advertising: A Discourse Type in A Cultural Context

2.4.1 Linguistic and Genre Convention across Cultures

2.4.2 The Cultural Schemata: A Translation Dilemma

2.5 Discussion and Summary

3 Analyzing Advertising Language:

Towards A Framework for A Methodology

3.1 Framing Key Issues

3.1.1 Text Typology: Features of Parallel Texts

3.1.2 Defining Culture

3.1.2.1 What is Culture?

3.1.2.2 Language of Culture

3.1.2.3 Elements of Culture

3.1.3 Meaning vs. Message

3.1.4 Aspects of Culture in Language

3.1.4.1 Registers

3.1.4.2 Visuals

3.1.4.3 Semantic Interplay

3.2 Textual Analysis
3.2.1 Macrostructure Analysis

3.2.1.1 Identifying Advertising Texts
3.2.1.2 Analysis of the Medium - Advertising
3.1.2.3 Analysis of the Layout
3.2.1.4 Visuals and Messages

3.2.1.4.1 Indexical, Iconic and Symbolic Representations

3.2.1.4.1.1 Colours
3.2.1.4.1.2 Typeface and Calligraphy
3.2.1.4.1.3 Signifiers and Signifieds

3.3 Microstructure Analysis

3.3.1 Linguistic Analysis

3.3.1.1 Puns
3.3.1.2 Idioms
3.3.1.3 Metaphors

3.4. Developing a Framework for the Study: Semiotics and Pragmatics
3.5 Summary

4 Register Analysis: Conveying Message in A Social Context

4.1 Determining the Registers of the Advertisements

4.1.1 De Beers

4.1.2 Nokia

4.1.3 Carefree

4.1.4 Proton

4.2 The Registers of the Lexical Items

4.2.1 The Message of the Lexical Items

4.3 Translation or Adaptation Strategies

4.3.1 The Social Context

4.3.2 The Formality of Registers

4.4 Summary

5 Visuals and Meanings: Implications of Culture and Advertising Resonance

5.1 Reading Visuals: Some Theoretical Models

5.1.1 Functions of Visuals

5.1.1.1 Sign

5.1.1.2 Stimuli
5.1.1.3 Information
5.1.1.4 Reflects Reality
5.1.1.5 Memorability

5.2 Culture and Visual
5.2.1 The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception
5.2.2 Some Cross-Cultural Factors Affecting Meaning
5.2.3 Imagery and Meanings
   5.2.3.1 Imagery - The Conflict of Cultures
   5.2.3.2 Implications to Meanings
   5.2.3.3 Modern Malaysian Perspectives vs. Foreign Perspectives
   5.2.3.4 The Effects of Cultural Interference

5.3 Advertising Resonance
5.3.1 Meanings within Frames
5.3.2 Resonance: The Incongruity between Visuals and Words

5.4 Discussion and Summary

6 Culture in Semantic Interplay 1: Puns, Double Entendres and Idioms
6.1 Puns and Double Entendres
6.1.1 Puns and Double Entendres: The Literary/Linguistic Status
6.1.2 Puns and Double Entendres: In Human Terms
   6.1.2.1 Working towards a Typology
      6.1.2.1.1 Puns and Play on Words
      6.1.2.1.2 Distinction and Definition: Puns and Double Entendres
      6.1.2.1.3 Puns and Double Entendres: The Visual Equivalents
      6.1.2.1.4 Wordplays: Semantic Activities
      6.1.2.1.5 Types of Puns: The Rhetorical Classifications
   6.1.3 Translating Puns: Strategies
6.1.4 Puns and Double Entendres in Advertising
   6.1.4.1 Punning Possibilities in Malay

6.2 Idioms
6.2.1 English Idioms
   6.2.1.1 Types of English Idioms
6.2.2 Malay Idioms
   6.2.2.1 Types of Malay Figurative Language
6.2.3 Idioms in Advertising

6.3 Discussion
Culture in Semantic Interplay 2: Metaphors

7.1. Working Towards a Typology
7.1.1 Messaging Through Metaphors

7.2 Metaphors in Linguistic Applications
7.2.1 Disambiguating Metaphors

7.3 Translating Metaphors
7.3.1 Types of Metaphors
7.3.1.1 Dead Metaphors
7.3.1.2 Cliché Metaphors
7.3.1.3 Stock Metaphors
7.3.1.4 Adapted Metaphors
7.3.1.5 Recent Metaphors
7.3.1.6 Original Metaphors
7.3.2 A General Methodology: Translating Metaphors

7.4 Metaphors in Advertising
7.4.1 Visual Metaphors

7.5 Discussion and Summary: Translating Imagery Linguistically

8 Gender and Language:
The Translation of Gendered-Communication

8.1 Gender: What and Why

8.2 Historical Perspectives: Gender and Language
8.2.1 Feminism and the Feminist Movement
8.2.1.1 Gender and Linguistic Injustice
8.2.1.2 Issues of Equality
8.2.1.3. Anglo-American Feminism versus French Feminism
8.2.1.4. Patriarchal Language: The Objectionable Bias
8.2.1.4.1 The Pragmatics of Communication
8.2.1.4.2 The Semantics of Communication

8.3 Gender and Translation
8.3.1 Gender and Language: Gendered Message through Translation
8.3.1.1 The Problem of Generics
8.3.1.2 The Problems of Pronouns
8.3.1.3 The Problems of Gendered Words
8.3.2 Gender: Translating Gendered Cultural-Coded Messages
8.3.2.1 The Problems of Focalization
8.3.2.2 Images and the Women
8.3.3 The Practice of Translation
8.3.3.1 Translation is feminine
8.3.3.2 Technical challenges
8.3.3.3 Politicizing Gendered Perspective

8.4 Discussion

9 Conclusion and Recommendations 303

REFERENCES 309
**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEng</td>
<td>British-English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>Bahasa Melayu/Bahasa Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Collins English Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KD/KD3</td>
<td>Kamus Dewan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KDIM</td>
<td>Kamus Dewan Inggeris Melayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPL</td>
<td>Kamus Peribahasa Lengkap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEng</td>
<td>Malaysian-English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTC's</td>
<td>NTC's English Dictionary Idioms Dictionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prag. trans.</td>
<td>Pragmatic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Source language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Source text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TL</td>
<td>Target language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>Target text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES:

Fig. 1.1 Demand and Supply of Academic Texts in University Teknologi Malaysia
Fig. 3.1 The Relationships between Visual and Message
Fig. 3.2 Schematic Representation of the Bufori Advertisement Layout
Fig. 3.3 Schematic Layout of COPY 11 and COPY 30
Fig. 3.4 Schematic Representation of COPY 31
Fig. 3.5 Schematic Representation of COPY 32 and COPY 33
Fig. 4.1 A Comparison of the Contextual Elements in Advertising Copy
Fig. 4.2 A Summary of the Contextual Elements of Advertising Copy: BM vs. MEng
Fig. 4.3 A Comparison of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Texts: MEng vs. BM
Fig. 4.4 A Comparison of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising Texts: MEng vs. BM
Fig. 4.5 A Schematic Scale of the Formality of You and Anda
Fig. 6.1 Influence of Cultural Association and Homophonic Identifications
Fig. 6.2 Malay Figurative Language
Fig. 7.1 The Relationships between Topic-Ground-Vehicle
Fig. 7.2 The Metaphor: Linguistic and Paralinguistic Elements
Fig. 7.3 How Message is Conveyed Figuratively
Introduction: Investigating Culture in Linguistics

This study attempts to investigate the ways in which translation (either represented linguistically and/or paralinguistically) is the communication of verbal messages across a cultural-linguistic border. It will look at the problems or issues involved in translation where the culture-specific elements or messages are embedded in the source language (SL) and as far as it is possible assess how far these messages have been transferred into the target language (TL). Misinterpretation or non-identification of these elements or messages may lead to mistranslation. The lack of awareness of SL cultural elements will influence the quality of the target language (TL) texts. My argument is that a translation of the same text or linguistic form is opened to varying interpretations because of cross-cultural factors. Thus meaning is destabilized and challenged. Hence one must pay regard to such factors in translating a text and in preparing texts. There are numerous studies in "Translation Studies"; for example, Newmark (1988a, 1988b) uses examples from French and German, and Ulrych (1992) looks at English and Italian. There are not many studies that have been published which dealt specifically with English and Bahasa Malaysia/Malay language. Catford (1965) only uses some examples between English/Malay. Ainon's (1987) work is basic and prescriptive as well as being limited in its scope. I will first describe the socio-cultural environment of this study.

1.1 The Background to the Study: the Malay language and translation

Malay or Bahasa Malaysia (BM), bahasa means language, in its present form is the national language of Malaysia. Bahasa Melayu (Malay language) as it is also known and in its classical form is a member of the Eastern Austronesian languages (Asmah, 1983: 36; Crystal, 1987: 317-318). Malaysian linguists and historians are yet to be convinced of this relationship of Malay with the Austronesian languages as early history of South-East Asia has many unanswered questions (Nik Safiah et al., 1996[1993]: 1). Nik Safiah et al. remind us that to many Malay linguists and historians, Malay ancient history is still to be explored fully and conclusively. The dearth of antiquities acts as an obstacle to scholarly investigations in this area of study. Earliest available written evidence shows that ancient Malay, i.e. Mo-lo-yeu
(Melayu) is mentioned in Chinese writings between 644 and 645 AD (Nik Safiah et al. 1996 [1993]: 6). The earliest example of written Malay is dated 683 AD (Nik Safiah, 1996[1993]: 7; Asmah, 1987: 3). The first Malay writing system was an adaptation of the Indian Pali script (Asmah, 1987: 3). The first available evidence of the word Malaya or Melayu was found on a statue dating 1286 unearthed in Padang Roco, Indonesia (Nik Safiah et al., 1996[1993]: 10).

Available historical evidence does indicate that the Malay language has been open to influences from other cultures and languages that include Sanskrit, Tamil, Arabic and Chinese. Asmah has documented the influences of Tamil in the dialect of Northern Malays (Asmah, 1987). These influences are retained in the language, evidenced not only in the lexical items (cf. Asmah, 1987) but also in the way language is used to reflect cultural practices. As an illustration, some traditional Tamils in present day Sri Lanka and some Malays still use the opposite meaning to describe a new-born baby. In the expression, 'What a bad-looking baby', or 'He's got flared nostrils' (The Board of National Unity, 1976: 4), the very opposite is meant. It is in fact a compliment. A new mother would not be so happy if the message was uttered literally. It is believed that this practice may be tied to beliefs in the supernatural, i.e. the belief that other beings are all around us and that it would best not to tempt them to mischief. These beings would do harm to the baby if "true" feelings towards the baby were vocalized.

The example above is of a type of language use that is akin to phatic language. This language type includes conversational phrases used to establish social contact and to express sociability rather than to express specific meaning. It could be argued that the above example is more like ritual language or "religious" language. There is a specific meaning attached to it. Whichever is the correct classification of type of language, the example is at one time the "expected" language. Failing to use it in the situation mentioned above was tantamount to committing a gross social blunder. This particular usage is now less common, particularly amongst younger urban Malaysians. Most contemporary young mothers would find its use grossly insulting. The point here is that this type of language use is culturally based and would undoubtedly pose some degree of translation dilemma. The translator who is not versed in Malay cultural schemata would have difficulty in determining when the
above example is phatic/ritual language and when it is literal.

It is believed that the earliest waves of immigration, for thousands of years before *anno Domini* to the Malay archipelago\(^2\), was from what is now South China. This was then followed by immigration from the Indian sub-continent. Tamil/Hindu and Buddhist influences brought Hinduism and Buddhism, and their respective ways of life to the indigenous inhabitants\(^3\). These influences were absorbed into existing animist practices. The advent of Islam in the 13th century brought with it elements of Arabic into the Malay language (Nik Safiah *et al.* 1996[1993]: 10; Widdicombe, 1990: 167). Malay was already established as the *lingua franca* of the region and was used extensively in administration, trade and general communication (Nik Safiah *et al.*, 1996[1993]: 8; Asmah, 1987: 2; Kratz, 1996: 1-6). Malay was fortuitously placed and served as the vehicle for the dissemination of Islam throughout the Malay archipelago. "Alien" Islamic concepts that are part and parcel of the religion and way of life formed a major proportion of the Arabic importation into Malay. Arabic influence is notable in the adaptation of Arabic scripts as the Malay written form. The Malay usage of the Arabic form is called *Jawi*. An accessible and reasonable account of the early history of the Malay archipelago is given by Widdicombe (1990: 166-168)\(^4\). Malay did not escape further borrowings and transference from other languages. Later influences include the Portuguese, Dutch, and further Chinese and Indian and English when the Malay peninsular was part of the British Empire.

Malaysia, now even more a melting-pot with immigrant communities, has continuously borrowed and transferred lexis from her immigrant communities' languages into Malay. Chinese contributions are notably gastronomically related. The government policy in the 80's of "Look East"\(^5\) has also introduced some Japanese concepts and practices into Malaysian culture (Rustam, 1987: 16). Some of these borrowings are subtle but others are less so\(^6\). The one result, some might consider it arguably positive (Widdicombe, 1990: 165-166), of foreign importations with regard to language and culture, is the absorption of new ideas into the socio-cultural environment of the peoples of the Malay peninsular. The easy borrowings of foreign linguistic influences into Malay to date could be argued as inevitable due to a number of factors. The following sections will provide some insights into some of these influences.
1.1.1 Translation in Malaysia: A Brief Perspective on the Current State of Affairs

The current state of affairs with respect to borrowings and loan-words is largely the result of the transfer of science and technology in post-independent Malaysia, particularly through education (Asmah, 1982: 44) and translation. The influx of borrowings and loan-words has been accelerated by the Education System that was originally modelled on the English Education System. Initially this meant, in schools a dependence on English source texts that were later to be supplanted by translated texts. The ultimate aim is to have original texts in BM. The early dependence on English source texts has been followed through into tertiary education.

Translation in Malaysia is currently considered to be synonymous with the growth and economic development of the country. Translation has always been seen as another avenue for the transfer of science and technology. It provides an opportunity for a developing Malaysia to expedite the transfer of knowledge at all levels of education. Rustam underlines, the 'importance of translation activities for a modernizing nation that has adopted a national language of its own cannot be overemphasized' (Rustam, 1987: 9). Mohd. Mansor endorses the importance of technology as the quick route to elevating the status of the race [speakers of the Malay language], (Mohd. Mansor, 1989: 41). The greater volume of translations in science and technology (cf. Quah, 1997: 16) seems to indicate that most Malaysian academics share Mohd. Mansor's view that literary language could be dispensed with for the sake of language development in the domains of knowledge (other than Literature) and technology,

Adakah perkembangan bahasa Melayu akan berhenti setelah ia menang di medan sastera, atau akan membeku dalam menghadapi dan menjawab tentang ilmu dan teknologi (Mohd. Mansor, 1989: 41).

(My translation:  
Will the development of the Malay language stop once it has excelled in the literary arena, and be limited when confronting and dealing with knowledge and in the field of technology?

Malay academics seem to believe that BM is inadequate to cope with modern ideas and development. This view, in which the Malay language is traditionally confined to Literature, is hardly surprising. Many of these academics, who are at the same time active in translation in one form or another, are mostly scientists and technocrats. The bulk of translation in Malaysia for the period of 13 years (1980-1993) has largely
been in the fields of Applied Science (Quah, 1997: 16). Quah has shown that out of a total of 185 books translated by Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, UTM (University of Technology Malaysia), 102 books were in Engineering (Quah, 1997: 16). No Malaysian universities undertook the translations of books in Sociology, Anthropology, Literature and Philosophy. This was left to Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) or The Institute of Language and Literature.

Considering the importance placed on the transfer of knowledge and technology for the development of the country, the government had in 1993 invested RM29.41 million by establishing the Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia Berhad (ITNM) or the National Institute of Translation Malaysia Ltd. (Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 1). Over a period of thirteen years one university produced 185 translated texts (cf. Quah, 1997: 16). This is considered a small volume, as there is constant need to produce texts across disciplines that are up-to-date to meet the educational needs of the country. The new organization, ITNM, was to consolidate translation work in the country. There had been calls for such an organization and a strong case was put forward by the President of Malaysian Translators (Mohd. Mansor, 1989: 35-42). With rapid growth and development in all sectors of science and technology all over the world, Malaysian's tertiary education relies on original second language texts, particularly English language references (Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 4-8). The Malaysian Education Ministry acknowledges that less than 10% of overall demand for books in higher education is met (Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 5).

Figure: 1.1 shows the volume currently met against the total demand in UTM. It gives an indication of the need for textbooks across the various faculties of the university. This picture is not reflective of other Malaysian universities. Quah has shown that only one other university, i.e. Universiti Sains Malaysia, USM (University of Science Malaysia) appears to be as prolific in translation (Quah, 1997: 16). The reason for this level of activity could be due to the university's specialization in science and technology. Despite all the efforts put in so far, Quah has highlighted that Malaysia's translation activities are still lagging behind her neighbours (Quah, 1997: 16, Rustam, 1987: 10).
Figure 1.1: Demand and Supply of Academic Texts in University Teknologi Malaysia
(Reproduced from Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 5)
Rustam, like Mohd Mansor and many other Malaysian academics, considers that translation has an important and profound role ‘... for a modernizing society such as Malaysia, i.e. the role of creating an intellectual infrastructure for a modern, rational and scientific culture in the indigenous (national) language’ (Rustam, 1987: 9). It is important to recapitulate that the key emphasis of translation in recent years in Malaysia is in science and technology. However, of greater importance is the transfer of information and knowledge in these domains. This thesis is concerned with the optimum transfer of various kinds of information and knowledge.

The above-mentioned need is nothing new. Apart from Islamic knowledge, Malay has absorbed information and knowledge translated from the Javanese socio-cultural environment. Interestingly the Javanese texts became known as Panji² Melayu when they should have been retained as Panji Jawa (Nik Safiah et al. 1996[1993]: 9). By being known as Panji Melayu, it appears here that these translated Javanese texts were subsumed into the Malay socio-cultural identity. This could be argued as a “mild” form of domestication (cf. Venuti, 1995). There could be a number of reasons for this domesticating of a “foreign” text to have happened and with ease. It could be argued that the two languages and cultures are considerably close. Although there are distinct differences between the two languages, they do belong to the same family of languages. The information and knowledge is thus interchangeable in form and context. It could also be argued in this instance that,

translation constructs a domestic representation for a foreign text and culture, it simultaneously constructs a domestic subject, a position of intelligibility that is an ideological position, shaped by the codes and canons, interests and agendas of [certain] domestic social groups [i.e. Malay]’ (Venuti, 1995: 10).

This same argument could be used with regard to the translation of Arabic texts into Malay. With the exception of the Quran, Malay has not borrowed Arabic linguistic form to the extent that it has affected its own linguistic forms. For example, my knowledge of Arabic linguistic forms reminds me that Arabic discriminates extensively according to gender. Malay has taken in Arabic and Islamic concepts without the need to fully adopt this gendered linguistic form (cf. Asmah, 1975: 41; 1982: 127). Largely the transference of information and knowledge, through the phenomenon of interference (Asmah, 1982: 123-134), from Arabic were reproduced in the Malay language and made “Malay”, for example through the Malay spelling
system and pronunciation (Asmah, 1982: 125-126). Thus the Malay language maintains its domestic ideological position.

The latest wave of translation is largely from English into Malay. This started in earnest in the periods after the Second World War and ironically more so after Malaysia's own independence from the British. Even though the British had already established their presence for nearly 200 years, the English language was not the key language of administration. English administrators had to learn Malay and had to pass examinations in the language before they could be confirmed in their posts (Nik Safiah et al., 1996[1993]: 18). The Malay language was never seriously undermined. Kratz reminds that 'Malay has been for centuries the language for diplomacy and learning' (Kratz, 1996: 4; also cf. Nik Safiah et al., 1996[1993]: 17-18). He argues that this was possible because the language was adequate to cope with its needs. He goes on to add,

> It was Malay which brought Islam and Islamic learning to the Javanese, it was Malay and its oral and written traditions through which the Chams who live[d] in present day Vietnam and Cambodia were introduced to Islam, it was Malay which created its own distinct literary genres, hikayat and syair, it was Malay in which Sultan Iskandar Muda of Acheh [who made Acheh] ... an important political, religious and cultural centre with its own written language and tradition, wrote to King James I in 1615, and it was Malay in which Nuruddin of Rander in Gujarat wrote his 17th century ...conduct for rulers. It was Malay that has brought education to groups of society which, under colonial ruler, had been deprived of this opportunity (Kratz, 1996: 4).

It was only in the 1950s that the Romanized form – *Rumi* popularly replaced the *Jawi* script. It was in this period that Malay scholars, of whom many were English or English educated, started pointing out that Malay could not express modern ideas. For many, modern ideas also meant Western ideas. Gullick says, 'The necessary words to express such ideas, i.e. English prose into other languages (Gullick's examples include magnetic mine) do not exist' (Gullick, 1953: 14). He admits that the Malay press of the time is a widely pervasive source of linguistic change. Gullick identifies a number of issues still pertinent today. Firstly, he notes that Malay journalists were much in contact with foreign influences. Many of them have had secondary education in English. 'After all', he adds, 'the Malay journalist is often a conscious innovator who considers that his language will benefit by development' (Gullick, 1953: 15). Many Malay journalists of the time were bilingual, i.e. were proficient in Malay and in English. Ironically it was these Malay journalists who "anglicized" the Malay language.
The effects on the Malay language have been a preference for English usage (Gullick, 1953: 16). The choice, unfortunately, is not always determined by the lack of known Malay equivalents (Gullick, 1953: 16). It is during this period too that Malay words acquired the metaphorical meaning of the English word to which they originally corresponded (Gullick, 1953: 19). For example, middleman is literally *orang tengah* (Gullick, 1953: 17). In some aspect, Malay has resisted English stylistics, for example, in journalistic headlines (Gullick, 1953: 20). Gullick feels that the Malay journalist is still struggling to develop a distinctively Malay style. I feel that Gullick's observation about the Malay journalists of his time not being given the resources to produce excellent translations properly is perceptive (Gullick, 1953: 15). I believe this observation has a lot to do with the Malay language not being seen to express adequately modern ideas in the form that English did. On Gullick's part this could be due to his lack of perception with regard to contrastive linguistics (cf. Kaplan, 1987; Kachru, 1995: 21-31; Connor and Kaplan, 1987: 71-86). It could also be due to his own personal understanding of what the Malay language should look like and be, i.e. on one hand, being different and distinct linguistically from English and on the other, being able to perform like English does in every disciplines. I contend that the above typifies and is the foundation to the current state of affairs with regard to the Malay language development and translation into Malay, i.e. destabilizing linguistic Malay-ness.

1.1.2 The Concerns of Translation to Malay Language

One major concern with regard to translation is the negative effects on the Malay language. Brown has shown the effects of English on Malay syntax (Brown, 1956). In retrospect, his strong assertion in the first line of his book, 'It may not perhaps be generally realized how much of contemporary Malay literature consists of translation from English' (Brown, 1956: 3), more than summed up the situation of that period. It is prophetic in view of what has continued to happen,

> But if he [the translator] has had an English education, he is apt to **think** in English the moment he puts pen to paper, with the result that what he writes is in fact a translation from English (Brown, 1956: 3).

He argues that at the time of his writing Malay has no linguistic forms to express abstract nouns. The English, 'the darkness alone protected them' would be expressed in the Malay language thus, 'they were safe because (or, perhaps, as long as) it was dark' (Brown, 1956: 18). The Modern Malay language would find little
or no fault with *kegelapan sahaja yang melindungi mereka*, i.e. literally 'the darkness alone protected them'. With regard to journalistic writing, Brown questions Gullick's assertion that Malay was 'weighed and found wanting' (Brown, 1956: 11; Gullick, 1953: 14-23). The result is that the Modern Malay language has picked up influences that has affected its classical form. Linguistic borrowings from English and other languages have affected its "Malay-ness".

The above is the very concern that many people are aware of but which has only been recently politically acknowledged (Tengku Sarifuddin, 1996). Many ordinary Malaysians do not find formal written Bahasa Malaysia an easily understood language. At a seminar on *Tamaddun Berbahasa Melayu Menjelang Tahun 2020* (my translation: The Usage of Malay Before 2020), a government minister voiced his concerns that Bahasa Malaysia as used by some Malaysian intellectuals is becoming a foreign language to many people, '... especially those in the villages'. The ordinary Malaysian is more than worried that too many words were created by language specialists which at times are confusing. As Gullick has earlier noted, 'generally English, Malay and all other languages absorb and develop new elements without evoking notice or protest from those who read and speak the language' (Gullick, 1953: 15). For concerns to be noted, the foreign influences may have reached a level that is felt and noted with unease. This level of influence may be affecting the general comprehension of the language by the language users in some degree. This in turn affects the transfer of information and knowledge. This is a concern central to this thesis.

Heah's extensive study adds further documentation of the influence of English on Malay syntax and lexis (Heah, 1989). She has also noted that paralinguistic considerations are essential elements in the process of borrowing from English saying, 'A careful delineation of the socio-cultural setting of the contact situation - the historical, political, economic, social, educational factors involved - is an essential part of a study of lexical influences' (Heah, 1989: 309). There are growing concerns that language transfers, either through borrowing or other influences on the language, have negative effects on the growth of the Malay language. This is interesting considering the fact that as already mentioned above, the Malay language over the centuries has absorbed other languages and cultural influences.
Heah's study has shown that the influence of English on the lexical expansion of Malay is extreme. She feels the results of lexical innovation, like the results of cultural transmission in general, should not be treated merely as the acquisition of additional elements. She does not elaborate on these effects but cautions that they bring in their wake a whole chain of consequences (Heah, 1989: 312). At the root of the problem is the current easy access of English influences on the Malay language, i.e. British English (BEng) in schools and American-English through mass communication. This is exacerbated by the fact that modern Malay Linguistics has been formulated based on English Linguistics. Za’ba, acknowledged to this day the “Father of Malay Linguistics”, wrote a series of books in the 1920s on Malay grammar and composition. Za’ba admits in the preface to the first volume of the *Pelita Bahasa Melayu* that his description of Malay grammar is based closely on the traditional model of English grammar (Heah, 1989: 76), just as English was based on Latin. Other linguists followed him in the 1960s and used the pattern set by him. This pattern has been retained in Bahasa Malaysia. It is interesting to note that this repeats another historical “event”. For centuries the description of English was largely based on Latin.

Secondly, the other concern is the effect on the Malay culture itself. It might be useful to clarify here that the Malay culture refers to the predominant culture which is tied to the native speakers of Bahasa Malaysia/Malay language and the practice of Islam, although the latter point regarding Islamic practices is sometimes questionable. It is useful to note that the various ethnic groups in Malaysia are individually quite distinct in their social and religious practices. However there are many values that are shared by these ethnic groups (cf. Robinson, 1996: 55-62). In addition many Malay cultural rituals are still largely Hindu in origin for example those relating to wedding ceremonies. It has to be accepted that the Malaysian culture is not synonymous with Malay culture in some respect. Although the Malay language is the national language of Malaysia, the culture associated with the Malay language is more pertinent to the Malay (ethnic group) way of life and the Malay world-view. This is an important point. For the purposes of this study, the Malay culture is the way of life associated with mother-tongue speakers of the language. This definition will take into account the Babas (the males) and the Nyonyas (the females) of the Strait States, i.e. Penang, Malacca and Singapore and other Malay speaking ethnic
groups. The Babas and Nyonyas are ethnically Chinese but they are mother-tongue speakers of Malay and in many respects have a traditionally Malay way of life.

As mentioned above, there is a belief amongst Malay linguists that the Malay language does not have sufficient vocabulary to cope with the transfer of information or knowledge, i.e. the vocabulary to express new ideas and philosophies alien to Malay. Brown acknowledges, 'No one ... denies that true Malay is deficient in vocabulary for the expression of many modern ideas' (Brown, 1956: 11). Hence the amount of borrowings through transference and loan-words. It must be noted, that this deficiency in vocabulary is felt by languages all over the world, more so now with the growth in new sciences and technologies, for example, the computers and the internet. Therefore, I contend that it is important to differentiate between borrowing and interference. For example, the simile *as white as snow* has the following equivalents in Malay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>as white as snow</em></td>
<td><em>putih bagai kapas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[white] [as] [cotton]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>as white as santan</em></td>
<td><em>putih bagai santan</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                         | [white] [as] [coconut milk/coconut cream].

Nonetheless *putih bagai salji* (snow) has crept into the language. The last equivalent is a more literal translation of the English. One could argue that this simile is redundant as Malay already has culturally acceptable equivalents. Naturally occurring "snow" in Malaysia is as alien as Spielberg’s *E.T.* and therefore would be meaningless to the majority of language users. But in this day and age, through globalization and mass communication, universality is an unavoidable normality. This is largely a true reflection of contemporary Malaysian society. The use of *putih bagai salji* should not be limited to specifically appropriate cultural context, i.e. describing whiteness that is literally snow or snow-related. It would be appropriate to describe other types of whiteness too and where the other two are also deemed appropriate. If one wants to be excessively exacting, the first simile in the list above is borrowed; i.e. *kapas* is from Hindi. It will never be easy and it might not be worthwhile to make a distinction between borrowings that cause interference and borrowings that do not. The only reasonable argument is against new borrowings when there are already adequate lexical items to convey meanings. My personal argument is against borrowings that cause the language to move away from its
immediate cultural environment.

The danger to the Malay language, it could be argued, is that the first two similes already found in the language, would through lack of use become redundant. Inevitably, the more culturally acceptable equivalents, particular the second one, might become "lost" through lack of use. This example shows that borrowing is not due to what Weinreich refers as ‘...the designative inadequacy [of the language] in naming new things’ (Weinreich, 1964: 57). Simpson endorses that much of what is translated even through foreign language education ‘may in fact go against the grain of the people’s culture’ (Simpson, 1988: 14). The eventual result of the spread of even an item of culture from people to people leads to cultural diffusion (Heah, 1989: 12). Once again, as with lexical borrowings earlier, similar effects to culture result as Linton has commented,

\[
\text{Culture change normally involves not only the addition of a new element or elements to the culture, but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements and the modification and reorganization of the others (Linton, 1940: 469).}
\]

It might be useful to be reminded that what was the original Malay language, if there was ever an original, has been accumulating newer elements into its culture throughout the ages. What is now Malay is the result of all this incorporation, linguistically and culturally. The important point demonstrated through the above example is that we must differentiate between the inability of language to express a new/alien idea, i.e. paraphrase, and the lack of the necessary equivalents to express those ideas, i.e. specific words. What is also worth assessing is that earlier language contacts, i.e. pre-Second World War appears to be Venuti’s \textit{domesticating} type (cf. Venuti, 1995: 25). In this instance, the new element introduced into the language and culture is seen from the cultural perspective of the borrower. For example, older Malaysians would refer to \textit{commission}, i.e. the fee allotted to an agent for services provided as \textit{kamsen}. The spelling of the borrowed word reflects some degree of the "domestication" of the foreign word, i.e. in the phonology and orthography. Later contacts have produced Venuti’s \textit{foreignizing} nature (cf. Venuti, 1995: 25). Latter borrowings of foreign words have retained the foreignness of lexical items, for example \textit{biologi}. Standardization of the Malay spelling rules reflects this foreignizing nature. Many earlier borrowings have changed into forms that reflect the latter attitude, for example \textit{komisen}, which is
closer in spelling and pronunciation is the current prescribed form. Both forms are grammatically correct and acceptable (cf. KD3: 569, 696). This means that "commission" was borrowed twice, albeit at different times. Their respective usage might reflect registeral considerations.

The views above are nonetheless consistent with the contemporary belief that cultural contact through translation has brought at least as many benefits as it has dis-benefits (Nuebert, 1992: 3). This is centred on the argument that language is the reflection of the socio-cultural environment of not only the people but also of the time. It could be further argued that the loss of existing lexical items from a particular language, as mentioned earlier, is inevitable in a world of increasingly good communication. Furthermore, it is worth being reminded that benefits through language and cultural contacts are not necessarily one way. Languages develop or they are developed. With modern technology and globalization, all languages in the present world advance not on its own, but do so due to various internal and external pressures (Singh, 1994: 401). The English language contains words such as amok, guru, sarong, desert and oasis. These words had no direct cultural or environmental referent to the English people but do now through historical and political contacts - Singh's external pressures. In semantics, words become obsolete or change their meaning through usage, for example, the English word "gay" has gone through such a metamorphosis that to be referred to as "gay" now has less to do with one's emotional state but more to do with one's sexual orientation. The evolution of new meanings cannot be seen as a negative outcome. Similarly, borrowing or transference can also help enrich the vocabulary of the language. However, it cannot compensate for the loss of words or for a vocabulary item that becomes obsolete at the expense of a foreign one. In this instance it can be argued that borrowing or transference does not enrich the language and the culture.

Thirdly, it is important to appreciate that the main aim of current translation activities in Malaysia is to effect the transfer of information towards the betterment of society (Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 4-5; Rustam, 1987: 9-17). There seems little or no obvious evidence to show that translation is carried out purely as a cultural interest. For a country like Malaysia, translation is considered to be a better, surer and faster way to develop. As Singh points out, innovation is theoretically ideal but it runs the risk of
being a failure and counter-productive as well as being time consuming. For a under-developed or a developing country, it is not economically clever to channel the already limited resources to "re-inventing the wheel". Original ideas and discoveries can still be explored by building on pre-existing and perfecting tried and tested ideas or knowledge. Thus it is not surprising that 'many of the underdeveloped and developed languages today start from a point where they attempt at translating metaphors, myths, proverbs, terms, cultures and language structures' (Singh, 1994: 401-402). In Malaysia's case, the current bulk of translation work is for higher education. This means that only certain groups will be able to utilize these translated and specific texts.

Nonetheless, translation has helped the language develop in domains that are not traditionally associated with historical and professional Malaysian socio-cultural environment, for example in the field of nuclear physics. This is a positive enrichment to the language that cannot be denied. It can be argued that the confusion that results with the growth of knowledge and the accompanying semantics is a natural development of language. Like English much earlier, Malay is currently evolving to accommodate communication needs in various domains, i.e. specific purposes. However, Bahasa Malaysia as a medium of communication should be easily understood to ensure acceptable and effective communication. This is where language planners have a role to play.

1.1.3 Key Issues in Malaysian Translation Practices
From the argument above, there are three key issues.

1.1.3.1 Quality of Translation - Optimal Transfer of Information and Knowledge (Message)
The first refers to the quality of translation. I have indicated above the heavy reliance on translated texts in major universities in Malaysia. This reliance on translated texts is felt in all areas of knowledge not least in science and technology. Therefore it is of utmost importance that translated texts are of the highest quality, so that the transfer of information and knowledge is optimal and accurate.

It has been shown by Hasnah that this is not necessarily the case even when the
translator is renowned (Hasnah, 1993). Her analysis concerns the translation of EAGLETON, T. 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. This is an important book in the source language (SL) and the translation provides an equally important reference in the target language (TL). Some of the translation errors she has highlighted could be considered as careless and ones that would not be tolerated even from a student translator. These include spelling mistakes and translationese effects. Unfortunately, these simple mistakes have major implications to the transfer of message. For example,

**SL:** The impulse behind this belief in the earlier work is a political one: signs which pass themselves off as natural, ... (Eagleton, 1983: 135).

**TL:** Impuls di belakang kepercayaan ini yang terdapat dalam karya awalnya, bersifat puitis: lambang-lambang yang berlalu sebagai sesuatu yang "semula jadi", ...

**Gloss of TL:**
The impulse behind this belief is in his earlier work, is poetical in nature: signs which pass as something "natural"... (Hasnah, 1993: 9).

To fully appreciate the differences between the SL text and the TL text many more examples should be looked at. However this one example highlights the concerns of some regarding message accuracy. In the example above, **political** has been translated as **poetical**. In addition, **natural** has been translated as **semula jadi** and placed in inverted commas. The first mistake appears straightforward but it affects the content and message of the TL text. In some text types, such mistakes may be dangerous and fatal. Imagine the consequences if sodium chloride (common table salt) is translated as sodium chlorate (bleaching agent or weedkiller).

We have to realize that for many, translated texts are the only accessible texts available to them. If a reader has a choice of two texts, i.e. SL and TL, it is often that the reader chooses the text in the language s/he is more proficient in. Whichever language the reader chooses, it is arguable that the reader will choose texts in both SL and TL, and cross-refer unless s/he is analyzing the two texts. Thus, for many TL readers there is no cross-reference between the SL and TL texts. A reader would not automatically assume that the translated text is grossly inferior to the SL text. Therefore, when a reader chooses the SL text, s/he would not be bothered with the TL text. Conversely, if s/he chooses the TL text, it could mean that the SL text is inaccessible. The TL text is unavailable and/or the SL is inaccessible due to the reader's language difficulties. With the example above, it is the reader who chooses the TL text who would be severely disadvantaged.
This problem is noted, 

Kelemahan penterjemah terserlah dalam kegagalan mengekalkan makna yang terkandung dalam teks sumber serta gaya terjemahan ke dalam bahasa Melayu menyamai sifatnya dengan gaya teks sumber (Yusof et al., 1996: 96).

My translation:

The weaknesses of translators are obvious when they fail to retain the meanings of the source texts as well as producing translationese effects in the Malay language texts (cf. Yusof et al., 1996: 96).

Importantly, and pertinently the example above highlights the need for the translator to have more than linguistic knowledge. In addition, both the socio-cultural schemata of the SL and the TL are vital in aiding the accurate transfer of message. This view re-inforces what has been said all along with regard to the knowledge and skills required by translators (cf. Yusof et al., 1996: 96).

1.1.3.2 Destabilizing Language Form - Stylistics

The second key issue is the effect on language through language contact. With respect to my study, language contact encompasses borrowings and transference through everyday language interaction, as well as more formally through translation. The following is an example of lexical ambiguity that arises from interference from English (Norliza Hani et al., 1995: 8).

\textit{Hess mengerat dua limaunya.}

[Hess] [sliced] [two] [oranges+his] [.]

The gloss appears perfectly straightforward. Thus from the gloss, it would be easy to assume that the translation is,

\text{Hess sliced his two oranges.} \[1\]

However, the correct translation is,

\text{Hess sliced his orange into two.} \[2\]

The Malay equivalent of [1] is

\textit{Hess mengerat dua biji limaunya.}

[Hess] [sliced] [two] [(determiner for fruits)] [oranges +his] [.]

This example underlines one of the interesting point made by Brown regarding the diverging nature of English and Malay in expressing ideas and concepts (Brown, 1956: 3-4).

1.1.3.3 Linguistic, Paralinguistic and Cultural Schemata

What has also been readily ignored is the vital concept of \textit{berbahasa}, i.e. "have
language". This concept is also expressed as *tahu bahasa* or "know language" (Kratz, 1996: 4). Although Malay does not differentiate gender, it is very particular about the proper way of address, especially towards the elders. Kratz reminds that the 'differing grades of sophistication in the use of Malay' reflects on the education and skill of its users (Kratz, 1996: 5). This is also true for English but in a different way. It is equivalent to being "cultured". The differences between English and Malay will be highlighted in Chapter 3 through an analysis of registers and identification of figurative language competencies.

A case in point is gender. Syarifah Zainab reminds us that Malay is a language that does not have a gender category (cf. Asmah, 1975: 41; 1982: 127). She claims that the Malay language reflects a world-view of its speakers who do not discriminate according to sex (Syarifah Zainab, 1995: 50). This is not to say that there is no gender bias in the society. I think what Syarifah Zainab is saying is that the language itself has no in-built systems that encourage gender bias. In other words because the Malay language does not differentiate gender it is not a sexist language and linguistically is not potentially sexist unlike English (cf. Doyle, 1995; Miller and Swift, 1995[1981]; Mills, 1995). It is sufficient for the Malay speaker/receiver and/or reader/writer to refer to *dia* - third person pronoun that refers to both gender, i.e. female and male. Similarly, the *owner of* ..., is *tuan* ..., who could equally be the *mistress of* ... or the *master of* ... A collorary of this gender issue is the English tendency for gendered connotations, i.e. *mistress* has negative connotations which *master* does not carry.

The effects of these negative connotations have largely been to direct attention towards a need for a non-sexist language. The effects of translating a "sexist" language into an apparently "non-sexist" language are interesting. With respect to the English speaking world, there is an aggressive consciousness to redress the gendered issues through a feminist framework. With regard to Malay, the opposite to the movement for non-sexist language has resulted. Gendered equivalents were coined to resolve ambiguities. All these issues are explored in Chapter 8.

Another problem identified in Malay translated texts is the problem in translating captions and labels (Yusof et al., 1996: 96). Translators' incompetencies have been
noted in the translations of texts with accompanying illustrations. Yusof et al. contend that translators are careless and indifferent. The resulting translations show the discrepancies between texts and illustrations. I would argue that there is more to the translation of texts when illustrations or other paralinguistic elements accompany the texts. Understanding the contents of visuals requires some degree of competence in the cultural schemata of the subject matter as well as the SL audience. In addition, how the visual is composed and organized are key considerations in decoding the contents of its accompanying text. This issue is explored in Chapter 5.

1.1.4 Malay - English: A Need to Understand Contrastive Rhetoric.

There are differences at syntactic levels between Bahasa Melayu/Bahasa Malaysia/Malay Language (BM) and English. There is also a need to further explore differences at the rhetorical level between the language pair. Studies involving other language pairs have shown distinct differences at a rhetorical level, for example, between Japanese and English (cf. Wakabayashi, 1991: 414-423) and Arabic and English (Lomholt, 1991: 28-35; Hatim, 1989, 1997).

Wakabayashi has documented that where English paragraphs are constructed around a topic sentence, Japanese paragraphs often have no topic sentence at all. In addition, an English writer would normally make a statement or generalization and justify it. A Japanese writer is more likely to enumerate various reasons before stating the conclusions. It is not unknown for writers to leave the reader to infer the intended conclusion (Wakabayashi, 1991: 417). To the Japanese, justifying one's actions in explicit, logical terms is regarded as "sissy" or apologetic (Wakabayashi, 1991: 419). Hatim (1989, 1997) has always argued that argumentation in Arabic is largely based on cultural schemata. Counter-arguments occur less frequently in Arabic than in English (Hatim, 1989: 31). The implication for translation is of course in the processing of the texts and inevitably in the message transferred.

To give some idea why there could also be some differences in rhetoric between the English that is used in Britain and Malaysia I will briefly described key features of Malaysian English.
1.1.4.1 Characteristics of Malaysian English

Malaysian English (MEng) is the term given to the variety of English used in Malaysia that emerged during colonial times. It is characterized by the various lects – the acrolect, the mesolect and the basilect - indicating the level of proximity to the English of Received Pronunciation (RP) (Asmah, 1994: 68-69). However, MEng usually refers to 'a more or less controversial variety that centres on the colloquialisms of those educated at the English medium schools' (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 640). In Malaysia, English language is taught as a second language in all schools up to the equivalent of the British GCSE level. It is also a reading language in higher education. A high percentage of the population is passive users of the language. Users of the language are bilinguals and code-switching is common place (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 640). McArthur notes that about 20% of the population, i.e. about 3.4 million understands English and about 25% of urban dwellers use it for some purposes in everyday life McArthur, 1994[1992]: 640). English is the language that is used prominently in the media, business and until very recently, law. Active users of the language are generally urban middle class and professionals.

There are some features that are characteristics of this variety of English. Foremost is the influence from the Malay language, the mother tongue of a large number of the population and the national language. MEng, commonly referred as Manglish by Malaysians, is quite similar to Singaporean English or Singlish. What differentiates the two is that the Chinese language is a major influence on Singaporean English. Another feature is that the pronunciation of MEng is marked by 'a strong tendency to syllable-timed rhythm and a simplification of word-final consonant clusters as in /I'Xv/ for lived (McArthur, 1994[1992]:640). It is also notable for the countable use of some unusually uncountable nouns and innovations in phrasal verbs. For example,

Come and wash your feet and hand(s).
(Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984: 48)

and,

He threw out his hands in despair, instead of; He threw up his hands in despair.
(Platt et al., 1984: 82)
I'm going to voice out my opinion at the... instead of, I'm going to speak up at the...
(Platt et al., 1984: 86)

Another feature of MEng is the use of reflexive pronouns to form emphatic pronouns,
for example, *Myself* sick, instead of, *I am* sick. The other characteristic is the multi-purpose use of the particle *–lah*. Examples include,

You comelah to my house.
Timelah. Why you late.

The influence of Malay in this variety of English is noticeable through local borrowing (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 641). Malay words are borrowed or are literally translated and used in MEng. The Malay idiom, *goyang kaki*, emerged literally as “to shake legs” with the meaning of ‘being idle and lazy’. When a womaniser is referred to as a “crocodile”, it is because *buaya* literally crocodile, is the Malay language’s figurative equivalent. Another feature of this variety of English is with regard to tag questions. MEng speakers use “…is it?” for nearly all form of tag questions. For example,

Your husband also read Jawi, is it?
(Platt et al. 1984: 130)

In Malaysia the variety of English that is acceptable academically and approved formally is RP. This is the variety of English that is taught in schools and are used in the media and in a number of professional fields, for example in medicine and management. Interestingly an investigation into the English proficiency of Malaysian students in Australia noted that errors made by the students were in actual fact instances of MEng (Bradley and Bradley, 1984: 193 cited by Asmah, 1994: 69). This seems to suggest that the features that characterize MEng have become subtly ingrained in the English used in the country even at the higher level of proficiency.

Therefore it might be important in this research to distinguish between the English advertisements in the study as being of the British English variety (BEng) and of the Malaysian English variety (MEng). It would also be interesting to be able to observe how much MEng present in the Malaysian English advertisements. In addition, differentiating the two variety of Englishes might aid the analysis of the respective texts. This might help in understanding covert cultural messages. Consequently this might have some effects in determining the appropriate translation strategies to utilize.

1.2 *Analyzing Advertising Texts*

To ascertain the nature of influences of culture on the linguistic and paralinguistic elements in the communication of verbal messages across cultures, an analysis of a
particular sort of discourse will be carried out. Advertisements, while constituting a
discourse type, nonetheless span a wide range of domains of activity. The language
used in advertising ranges from general to technical and other specific purposes
encompassing the socio-cultural environment of the society that uses the language.
Advertisements will be the main source of data for analyzing SL and TL texts. Cook
(1992: 5) points out that, due to their prominence, advertisements can tell us a good
deal about our society and our own psychology. The main reasons for choosing
advertisements are briefly discussed below.

1.2.1. **Advertisements are Authentic Data**
Analyzing advertisements allows for the analysis of 'attested, naturally occurring
textual data' (Stubbs, 1996: 3). In analyzing advertisements as a type of discourse,
the focus will not be just on language, but also on
the context of communication: Who is communicating with whom and why; in what
kind of society and situation; through what medium; how different types and acts
of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other (Cook, 1992: 1).

According to Crystal and Davy, to accumulate a store of information about the
varieties of language is valuable for the many people who are interested primarily in
finding out more about how language works (Crystal and Davy, 1969: 8). It is
equally useful to know the nature of the overall relation between language and
society, man and his environment. Basic linguistic understanding in the varieties of
language is essential for coping with socio-cultural communicative realities. As much
as it is important for example, for a person to understand hire-purchase agreement,
i.e. a genre of legal texts, an understanding of advertising texts is valuable to the
potential consumer in knowing the choices s/he has and in finally making the right
decisions financially.

1.2.2 **Advertisements are Mass Communication**
This argument relates to the very nature of the advertising industry. Advertisements
are produced for a specific audience or market. Advertisements work if they are
understood by their audience and fail if that does not happen. Whatever advertisers
say about why they advertise, advertisements cost money and in any commercial
concern the investment has to be justified. Advertisement costs must be recovered
through profits and this is usually achieved through the increase in sales of the
advertised product. As Pollay notes, although not all advertisements accomplish the
basic aim above, ‘...much of it must. Advertisers, after all are not fools and are not financially extravagant’ (Pollay, 1986: 18). As communicative discourse, advertisements must be financially effective.

There are many ways in which we can measure, to some degree at least, the effectiveness of advertisements. The "crudest" and the most immediate measuring tool is through actual sales volume. In reality there are other factors that influence sales (cf. Kover, Goldberg and James, 1995: 29-38). On the other hand, if the market or audience understood the subliminal messages embedded in advertisements then it could be argued that the advertisements were effectively communicated. Therefore they are ideal sources of culture or cultural elements.

Both the original advertising copy, i.e. SL text, and the copy produced for the "foreign/different" market, i.e. TL texts are cross-cultural communications. In addition, as communicative “texts”, advertisements are pervasive and widely accessible to the whole cross-section of the society - from children via children’s television programmes and magazines, etc., to adults via the various medium of communication. Cook notes that ‘an ad is not a tangible or stable entity; it is the dynamic synthesis of many components, and comes into being through them’ (Cook, 1992: 3). This is important as it allows for all communicative elements to be taken into account.

1.2.3 Advertisements are Rich in Context
Advertising texts as discourse are rich in context. This enables the study of language to take context into account. Cook (1992: 2) points out that ‘language is always in context, and there are no acts of communication without participants, intertexts, situations, paralanguage and substance’ (Cook, 1992: 2). Analyzing advertising texts will enable language and context and ultimately, culture to be viewed holistically (Cook, 1992: 1). Furthermore the products that are advertised can be drawn from a variety of domains: from computers and computer softwares to cars and medicine and services like laundry as well as mundane everyday products like soap. The language in advertisements ranges from the general to the technical, to the scientific and other specific purposes. Advertisers are very responsive to consumer profiles. Cook (1992: 1) acknowledges that the advertising industry expends enormous effort on attempts to categorize people effectively and to target
the categories (Cook, 1992: 1). Increasingly with global communication, it helps to create a new global culture that ignores national boundaries. It also reflects differences between cultures, for example, Cook's example of a Japanese advertisement for a marriage agency (Cook, 1992: 13).

1.3 The Rationale of the Study

1.3.1 The Aims of the Study

The main objectives of the study are to:

a. carry out a linguistic analysis of the contents of advertising texts
b. identify specifically covert cultural elements in the advertising texts
c. investigate strategies or approaches to the transfer of the covert cultural elements that will not undermine the TL texts, in this instance, the Malay language texts.

Therefore this is a study of advertisements from the perspective of translation and culture, in other words, mass cross-cultural communication. The study will identify and then compare the transfer of cultural messages or contents between three languages, British English (BEng), Malay (BM) and Malaysian English (MEng), the variety of English as used in Malaysia.

It is hoped that this may, in the long term, contribute to providing more consolidated strategies for dealing with cultural elements in SL texts and the translation or transference of those in the TL texts. It is hoped that this will address the issues identified earlier with regard to translation quality and the transfer of information into the Malay language. Ultimately it should have a positive effect with regard to translation work and translators training in Malaysia, particularly between English and Malay language pair.

1.3.2 Sources of Material

As already stated, the data for this study will be of a general nature and advertising texts will be the main source of examples. These texts are taken from within the period of the study, i.e. October 1994 to December 1999. Some texts from earlier dates before the period covered by the study are included because of the relevance to the point being made. The bulk of the selected texts will be taken from the following:
1. daily newspapers and tabloids in England specifically,
a. The Guardian
b. The Times
c. The Observer
d. The Sunday Times
e. The Daily Mail.
f. The Sun
g. The Mirror, etc.

and Malaysia, specifically,
a. Utusan Malaysia
b. Berita Harian
c. Berita Metro
d. The New Straits Times
e. The Malay Mail
f. The Star

Most of these newspapers represent a selection of "serious" journalism and would have the register associated with "high" or quality journalism. The tabloids, i.e. The Daily Mail and The Sun, offer an alternative kind of journalism which is sensationalist and designed to appeal to mass readership characterized by more colloquial language content. This provides another perspective of the socio-cultural environment of the SL and source culture. It must be noted here that although Malaysia has tabloids, the similarity is arguably limited to the physical format, i.e. size of the newspaper. The contents of Malaysian tabloids do not resemble The Sun or The News of The World. Malaysians tabloids generally deal with micro social issues for a smaller readership, for example, Harian Metro is a paper for Kuala Lumpur. The Star is a national daily in tabloid format. It is published with significantly different local contents for four market regions, i.e. the Northern edition has local contents that are not incorporated in the Southern edition and vice-versa. In this instance, the tabloids are not unlike The London Evening Standard in London, i.e. a local paper. Other sources of texts would be the internationally distributed newspapers for example, Herald Tribune. This newspaper is published throughout the world for different markets. It would provide a good source of texts that were devised for a specific profile of readership that the paper caters for. As an illustration, Reader's Digest is an international magazine published all over the world. However no two publications of the same issue are identical, for example, the January 1996 issue in England and Malaysia are two different publications. Like The Star above, the two Reader's Digest publications may look similar in format and content structures but are in actual fact two different editions.
2. widely read magazines in England and Malaysia
   a. *The Economist*
   b. *The New Scientist*
   c. *Time*
   d. *Cosmopolitan*
   e. *Wanita*
   f. *Nona*
   g. *Jelita*
   h. *Female*
   i. *Her World, etc.*

With the exception of the first three, the others are women’s magazines, a genre that is widely read in England and Malaysia. Other journals and magazines are also referred to and are indicated. Basically the selected texts, as already stated, will be advertising texts although other short and suitable texts of a general nature will also be used wherever relevant.

1.3.3 *The Size of the Corpus*

The corpus is believed to be large enough, 129 advertisements, to be able to draw sufficient material from it for the study. At the same time the corpus has to be small enough to be manageable for the time available to the study. From the beginning of the study I looked for advertisements from newspapers and magazines in England. Initially I looked at newspapers daily but once I had accumulated a sufficient corpus, I followed them up weekly and then occasionally or when there was a specific occasion or need to do so. For example, during the Football World Cup 1998, newspaper headlines provided a wealth of examples for puns for Chapter 6. At the same time I acquired similar materials from Malaysia. This is a qualitative study. In addition advertisements do reoccur throughout the period of the study. The advertisements for this study are selected because they are parallel texts, i.e. texts dealing with similar topics and/or having similar contents but are in different languages (cf. Hartmann, 1980: 37-38; Chapter 3; 3.1.1).

1.4 *Organization of the Study*

*Chapter 2* reviews the literature relevant to advertising as a cultural discourse. It posits that advertising conveys content within a cultural context.

*Chapter 3* discusses the framework of the study in detail. It further sets out the relevant literature which underlines the following chapters.
Chapter 4 identifies and analyzes the register of advertisements and further explores the relationship between register and cultural message.

Chapter 5 highlights the great significance of visuals in conveying message within a text. A central argument is that visuals are functional in a variety of ways. The major functions of visuals are outlined and discussed. The key function of visuals is to contain the content or message of the discourse. Therefore visuals help to disambiguate the written discourse. It is vital that the techniques of visuals are understood. It is also important that the translator knows how to "read" or disambiguate visuals. This will assist in determining the messages from an advertising aspect.

The relationship between culture and visuals are explored. Culture is an important element in deciphering visuals. The contention here is those identical visuals may generate different meanings and message in different languages. An assertion derived through the analysis of a single visual in different languages seems to suggest that cultural connotations lead to widely different meanings and messages.

Another issue explored is that of advertising resonance. This means that the relationship between headline or caption and the visual orientates the meaning and message of the two together. In isolation, each would not produce the meaning and message of the two combined. The significance of this to the translator is twofold. Firstly, visuals cannot be summarily dismissed as mere cosmetic accompaniment to the text. Secondly, visuals add further ambiguity to the written text.

Chapter 6 analyzes puns and idioms. Chapter 7 analyzes metaphors. The two Chapters highlight the implications of translating across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Chapter 8 initially looks at gender as understood in language and linguistics. This brings into the discussion the gendered social values incorporated into language. This further leads into the areas of feminism and the feminist movement. The discussion on grammatical gender leads onto to gendered connotations. This brings us back to the most central issue of this thesis, i.e. the transfer cultural knowledge
and information.

Chapter 9 summarizes and draws conclusions from the study.

1.5 Summary

I am adding to the argument that translation is not a simple one-to-one equivalence because of cultural factors. Therefore all possible meanings have to be explored. The major argument is that in translation this feature between languages has an effect on the transfer of meaning and on translation theory and practice. This leads on to the function or task of the translator. This question is central to the teaching of translation and training of translators. I will refer to translation practices and theory (cf. Newmark, 1988a, 1988b, etc.) but will argue for a greater sensitivity towards cultural schemata in decoding texts and in effecting the optimal utilization of current strategies.

Endnotes:

1 A Sri Lankan colleague offers this information. This language use is also typical of other ethnic groups, for example, the Ibans (The Board of National Unity, 1976).
2 This area covers Malaysia (both East and West), Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Brunei.
3 A Bangladeshi professional related his amazement at finding traditional sweet cakes with their corresponding ancient Indian names amongst the Northern Malays. He has only ever heard them mentioned and they have certainly been "lost" from his contemporary sociocultural environment. Unfortunately he did not mention the names of the sweet cakes (Personal contact).
4 Widdicombe’s discussions on the Malays and the language are perceptive but limited to a sub-section of a community. His observations regarding the various ethnic groups, especially the Malays and Chinese is arguable and is interestingly dated considering that he wrote in the late 1980s.
5 In the 1980s, the Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad encouraged investments from Japan. Many Malaysians went to Japan for tertiary education particularly in the Electronics and Engineering fields and many more went there for further training in the skilled sectors of Electronics and the Motor Industry. Malaysia produced her first car as a joint venture with Mitsubishi.
6 Shoshogana is a Japanese management practice that has been adopted as a national policy. This is an example of a "prescriptive" borrowing. There is no evidence that the general public is aware of this terminology except probably unknowingly in their day-to-day work ethics.
7 This is a government agency set up in 1959 with the sole aim of developing language and literature. There were further changes made to the basic aim in 1978. These included to: develop and enrich the national language in all fields including science and technology, assist literary talents, particularly in the national language, print and publish or help in the printing and publishing of books, magazines.
8 Since its initial establishment, ITNM has gone through major organizational changes. Its emphasis on translation is still paramount.
To date translation has largely ignored source texts from other languages, for example, French, German and Japanese. At best, these languages have been minimally translated into Malay.

This figure is reproduced from Ahmad Zaki, (Ahmad Zaki, 1993: 5).

Panji or panji-panji means flag(s) (normally triangular in shape) or bunting. To be di bawah panji (literally to be under/beneath panji) is to be "under the protection of". This definition is given by KD3: 975. I believe the social meaning attached to panji is "identity" and similar to the figurative use of "flag" in English.

This was reinforced by the Language Act of 1963 which states that 'the script of the national language shall be the Rumi script' (Asmah, 1982: 4).

Contemporary headlines in English language seem to reflect the styles of British English tabloids.

My translation is inadequate, as I am unaware of the context of the seminar. I will show the translation dilemmas I face with regard to the title of the seminar.

[Tamaddun 2020][Berbahasa][Melayu][Menjelang][Tahun]

Possible meanings of
- Tamaddun: Civilization; Tradition; Practice; Habit
- Berbahasa: Using language; Cultured
- Melayu: the Malay language
- Menjelang: to visit; very near; to see

Possible dynamic translations:
1. The Dynamism of the Malay Language Before Year 2020
2. Year 2020: The Malay Language and its Practices

The Malaysian Constitution defines a Malay person as a person who adopts the Malay way of life and practices Islam as a religion. It is possible for a person to "lose" her/his original ethnicity and become a Malay "ethnically" through naturalization.

Hasnah notes that the translator was favourably reviewed in Asiaweek Vol. 9, No. 18, May 1983. He was said to be experienced and "the ideal" translator for those who do not understand English (Hasnah, 1993). Hasnah's commentary on his translation of the above-mentioned text questioned the favourable assertion on his competence as a translator.

One of the most expensive advertising campaigns to date must be that of Pepsi Cola. They have signed up Claudia Schiffer for US$ 6 million. Their previous celebrity was Michael Jackson who was given US$ 5 million in 1984. It is not documented how successful the campaign with Claudia Schiffer was. The campaign with Michael Jackson was unsuccessful because of Jackson's child abuse allegations in the late 80s.

In actual terms, it is very difficult to ascertain whether this is through advertising or other marketing strategies or external factors in the society.

In America, in 1990, The Children's Television Act limits the amount of commercialization in children's TV programming and requires operators to carry at least some programming designed to meet children's educational and information needs. This also applies to cable television networks (info@AdAge.com).
Advertising as a cultural discourse: Understanding Advertising and Related Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature in advertising with particular reference to the cultural elements in advertising. The main emphasis here is to explore the presence of cultural messages in advertising texts. The first part briefly discusses the nature of advertising. It further develops the idea that advertising is a suitable text type through which to study the cultural contents in texts. It attempts to show how cultural contents can affect translation. The second part looks at the research in advertising relating to marketing and economic considerations. The third part reviews literature on discourse that is relevant to this study.

2.1 Background: What is advertising?

Advertising can take many forms and appears in a variety of media. An example is the print media that includes magazines, newspapers and hoardings. Another example is the audio-visual media such as television and promotional videos. Yet another example is the multi-media, which includes CD-ROMS. The latest fast growing and dynamic multi-media is the internet.

Advertising can be for both "commercial" and "non-commercial" motives (cf. Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 1-3). In this thesis, I am only looking at commercially motivated advertising. Advertising is mass communication of information intended to persuade buyers to maximize the financial profits of the advertisers. Cook sees advertising as 'the promotion of goods and services for sale through impersonal media' (Cook, 1992: xiv). Johnson and Blair see it as an attention getting-device with a persuasive hook. Advertising is designed to attract the consumer's attention and to create a favourable climate for the product advertised (Johnson and Blair, 1983: 247). Harris and Seldon define advertising as public notice 'designed to spread information with a view to promoting the sales of marketable goods and services' (Harris and Seldon, 1962: 40). Anholt, not so surprisingly, feels that current advertising is a practice which aims at promoting a range of alternatives for the consumers (Anholt, 1996). One of the renowned gurus in the profession, Ogilvy asserts,
I do not regard advertising as entertainment or an art form, but as a medium of information. When I write an advertisement, I don't want you to tell me that you find it 'creative'. I want you to find it so interesting that you buy the product.

(Ogilvy, 1983: 7).

Professionals in advertising would undoubtedly argue for a positive definition of advertising compared to other commentators analyzing the genre (cf. Jenkins, 1982: 13-41). The positive or "constructivist" vis-a-vis negative or "nonconstructivist" (my terms) debate regarding advertising is a reasonable perspective to assess the views on advertising. Underlying the constructivist view are the benefits advertising brings to modern society. At the very least the constructivist view is that advertising has no negative effects. In contrast, the nonconstructivist position is that advertising is not only an undesirable form of promoting consumer goods, it is an alarming form of manipulation (cf. Packard, 1957). In its guise as a conduit for information about consumer products, advertising transmits hidden cultural messages. The nonconstructivists are concerned that 'the cumulative effect of the cultural baggage attached to advertising process may unwittingly be tantamount to ... cultural invasion' (Frith and Frith, 1989: 181). It is this issue, relating to culture, that concerns most nonconstructivist commentators on advertising (cf. Slater, 1984a; 1984b; Ricks, 1993; etc.). There is a third attitude towards advertising. This can be termed as neutral or "unemotional" (my term) perspective. There are many commentators who do not feel strongly either way about advertising. Advertising is neither good nor bad by itself (cf. Cook, 1992).

Advertising is arguably the "official art" of the advanced industrial nations of the West (Dyer, 1982: 1; cf. Frith and Frith, 1989: 179). Dyer asserts that advertising influences the policies and appearance of mass media. This suggests that the mass media is of central importance to the economy. It is through advertising that ideas and values which are indispensable to the growth of the economy in question are enhanced and projected (Dyer, 1982: 1). Dyer is not alone in identifying this relationship between advertising and the capitalist economy. Pollay, echoing Packard (1957) has a far more alarmist attitude. He strongly believes that advertisements are designed to change attitudes and to command our behaviour (Pollay, 1986: 18). To quote another writer, 'Ours is the first age in which many thousands of the best trained minds have made it a full-time business to get inside the collective public mind ... to get inside in order to manipulate, exploit, and control'
The underlying theme is that advertising exercises power over social infrastructure and especially over its addressees. That advertising is a sly form of persuasion is a recurring nonconstructivist belief that cannot be readily dismissed (cf. Williamson, 1978; Packard, 1957; Key, 1981[1972]; Wilson, 1968, etc.).

At this stage, it is important to accept that the basic aim of advertising is to sell a product. This is important because only by accepting this aspect of advertising would we be able to appreciate and understand the efforts and creative input in the production, and the rhetoric of, advertising texts. It could thus be summarized that there are three basic characteristics of advertising texts, the first being that the “true” message of any advertising texts to any reader-cum-consumer, is ‘buy the product or service’ mentioned in the text. This is the one message that is shared by all commercial advertising texts. The second characteristic, which is a collocary of the first, is that “relevant positive” information about the product or the service and/or the advertiser, etc. constitutes the content of the above message. Finally, it also follows that the message in question is communication within a specific socio-economic context. There is a speaker/writer of the message, i.e. the copywriter-cum-advertiser. The receiver of the message is the reader/listener-cum-consumer. They each function within the conventions and assumptions of a particular society.

2.1.1 Advertising: Communicating Power

Many have argued that advertisements project and perpetuate the ideas and values that are indispensable to a particular economy (Dyer, 1982; Williamson, 1978). These ideas and values do not only depict reality but also appear to promote a desired reality beneficial to the profits of the advertisers (Williamson, 1978; Pollay, 1986; Robinson, 1996). Advertisements also appear to cash in on present ideas and circumstances. At the height of the environmental pollution that engulfed Malaysia in 1997, the following, COPY 1, capitalized on a real need. Malaysians, many of who were school children and motorcyclists created a demand for such a product. The product became a “vital piece of clothing” upon leaving the home. The advertising copy is an opportunistic attempt to promote the advertiser’s main commercial products. Opportunistic practices may not always be necessarily linked to economic expediency. Advertisements can be silly, inaccurate, misleading, just
plain irritating or good and originally creative. Whatever the ideas and values that advertisements promote, Dyer warns that the ideological function of advertisements should not be ignored. It is wise to keep in mind that advertisements usually aim to promote the economic expediencies of their communicators. It has been said that advertising keeps the economic atmosphere suitably consumptive (cf. Dyer, 1982: 6). There are vested interests behind the superficial gloss of advertisements (Dyer, 1982: 1-2; Williamson, 1978).

Dyer highlights the power of advertisers. These are the people who have products and/or service to promote in the market place. The demise of the Daily Herald in the 1950s showed what advertisers could achieve purely through financial motivation. The newspaper had a high circulation and was "popular" with its readers. Unfortunately, according to advertisers at least, the newspapers' readership was perceived to be the wrong kind of people. The readership of the newspaper was generally older men. In addition this readership was predominantly working class (Dyer, 1982: 68). These people were perceived as addressees who were not responsive to advertising. They were not wealthy. They did not drive cars. They were not young. These were not the characteristics desirable in "consumers". There was no future in cultivating the readership's custom. The newspaper eventually went out of circulation. It was unable to generate viable revenue from advertisers. Mass sales of the newspaper alone could not sustain its economics.

A contemporary example of the power advertisers exercised through advertising could be observed from the growth of commercial television channels in Britain. Commercial television companies are able to generate massive amount of income by providing advertisers a medium to advertise to an already established captive audience. This audience could be easily translated into a targeted market. Many commentators believe that one of the major reasons the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is unable to provide as many live sporting coverage as in the past, is because the BBC has to compete with commercial television companies. Rights to live broadcasting have increased in financial terms. The advertisers the television companies could attract determine the types of programmes that are available on television. This is equally dependent on the number and the profile of
the audience the television companies could deliver to advertisers. Inevitably, advertisers are able to exercise the dominant power in mass communication (Pollay, 1986; Packard, 1957). Some caution that this manifests attempts of certain groups to dominate communication per se. It is the intentions of these groups to represent the world in forms that reflect their own interests and the interests of their power (cf. Dyer, 1982; Hodge and Kress, 1988). This argument reminds us of a key, albeit an unwitting participant in advertising. It seems to imply that the receiver of the communication, i.e. the advertisement, has less or no power in the communication. The advertisers who initiate the communication are dictating to the receivers of advertising. Importantly, advertisers have come to realize that any insensitivity towards their addressees could be very costly (cf. Ricks et al., 1974; Ricks, 1993).

It could be counter-argued that the target consumer being addressed directly and/or indirectly determines the communication. Consumers exercise a certain degree of power in the communication. The very fact that advertisers, in their attempt to attract consumers' attention, devise advertisements that speak the language of the consumers would suggest that power is not wholly in the hands of advertisers (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985; cf. McQuarrie and Mick, 1996; Stern, 1988; Fairclough, 1995). The degrees of power that addressees have in this communication activity will be obvious at the end of this study. It is still possible to argue that the balance of power in the communication could lie with either the advertisers or the addressees. On the one hand there are the advertisers promoting their economic interests. Advertisers have the resources to make advertisements available to such extents that addressees could not do nothing but receive the communication. On the other hand, addressees do have some control in the communication. They could choose whether to “process” the communication or not, i.e. cognitively respond to advertisements. Addressees as the receivers of the communication can respond with their “pockets”.

I would like to argue that the ultimate power in the communication is the communication itself. In this respect, language and everything associated with it, as the medium of the communication can affect the balance of power between advertisers and addressees. Language, therefore is another powerful player in the communication. The ultimate power in any communication lies in how language is
utilized. Vestergaard and Schröder successfully exemplify one aspect in which
textual structure disguises the advertiser's message with the following,

*If only you could see through some other soaps.*

The pure amber transparency of Pears soap shows
you why it is different from any other soap you can buy. (a)
Pears is pure soap, free from additives that
could cause harm to delicate skin. (b)
(Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 20)

There is no logical connection or coherence between (a) and (b). A natural link
could be supplied by *because.* That would also make the text explicit. However, it
is illegal for advertisements to make explicit claims that are impossible to
substantiate. In addition, such claims are considered professionally unethical
(Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 20). It appears that the advertiser has put an
unverifiable message as "gospel truth" across legally. The way language is utilized
here put the "balance" of power with the advertiser.

For the reasons above, *cohesion* and the lack of *coherence* are much used
linguistic devices in the communication. In advertisements, it is a practice that the
outer formal cohesion is not matched by the inner, semantic coherence. Other
linguistic devices, for example, declarative sentences give the impression of
authority to messages. This authoritative tone can be further emphasized with the
correct choice of accompanying image or visual. In audio-visual media, the use of
words, the accent of the voice-over and the sound effects coupled with the image
can significantly alter preconceptions (Fairclough, 1995: 8-9). Vestergaard and
Schröder’s example above highlights that behind a stated content there is a covert
message. It is these and other linguistic devices, which are utilized and which will be
the basis through which I will analyze the cultural content of advertising to reveal,
borrowing Frith and Frith's term, the "hidden" cultural messages (Frith and Frith,

Language can thus be utilized in the communicative act to certain "responses" from
the audience. It is important to advertisers that they should not appear to be
imposing themselves on their audience. If addressees perceive that advertisements
are too obtrusive, they are very likely to react negatively to the message.
Advertisers have come a long way to overcoming their problem in trying to observe
consumers' sensitivity. At the same time they have, through advertising agencies,
perfected their craft in making people buy their product or not (cf. Myers, 1986: 50-51) in such a way as not to offend their target consumers. The ultimate power of the communication is that it produces effects that are neither obvious nor proven (Dyer, 1982). Many writers claim that advertising has a decisive influence on the perceived world. It would be unwise to underestimate the contribution the world of commerce makes to the cultural climate of the consumer societies. The effects from advertising are more diffused and long-term. Many of the things that we could argue as the natural development of our society may have been assisted through advertising. There is some acceptance that advertising plays a part in defining "reality" in a general or anthropological sense (cf. Williamson, 1978; Robinson, 1996). Advertising projects the goals and values that are consistent with and conducive to the consumer economy and socializes the public into thinking that they can buy a way of life as well as goods. Therefore to some extent this study will explore how, advertisements manipulate rather than inform, distort rather than reflect the quality in our society and are the products of the decisions taken by an unrepresentative, unelected group of powerful business is harmful (Dyer, 1982: 78).

The above echoes the manifestation of power: that of addressers over addressees (Fairclough, 1995). The two distinct instances of this are: producers, advertisers, etc., over the masses and the power of men over women.

2.2 Studies in Advertising Relating to Culture and Cultural Issues

Research in advertising is generally interested in identifying factors such as marketing policy and consumer behaviour. These are factors that will enhance the effectiveness of advertising as well as justify its cost. The following section will look at some of these studies and highlight issues that impinge upon culture and have cultural significance.

2.2.1 Globalization - Nationalization - Localization

Ricks, Arpan and Fu (1974) seem to be the earliest to claim that a lack of cultural awareness produces the most varied and colourful advertising errors. The oft-quoted example is "Come alive with Pepsi" which became "Come out of the grave" in German and "Bring your ancestors back from the dead" in Chinese (Ricks, 1993: 83-83). The highly successful and apparently non-cultural specific promotional slogan in the United States, "Avoid embarrassment - use Parker Pens" was
unknowingly promoting pens as contraceptives in Spanish. The word "embarrassment" is used as a euphemism for pregnancy (Ricks, 1993: 78-79). Awareness of and sensitivity to what are often subtle cultural differences may be the major determinant in the success of an international business venture. In fact, many international advertising blunders occur because of a failure, on the part of advertisers, to fully understand the foreign culture and its social norm (Ricks, 1993; see also Slater, 1984a). In many instances, these blunders occur because knowledge encompassing the wider cultural environment would not be immediately available to the foreign advertiser, particularly those pertaining to euphemistic language (see the example above) and connotations. In this case, such cultural blunders could be argued to be unfortunate.

However it could also be argued that such blunders are inexcusable. An example is the laundry detergent promotion in the Middle East that forgot that some people read the printed text from right to left (cf. Ricks, 1993: 53). In the first instance, it reflects the lack of professionalism in devising the copy. At least a few of the target audience should have been contacted and a preliminary copy piloted. More importantly, it reflects the arrogance on the part of the addressers, i.e. the advertisers, in not sensitively focussing on their addressees, who are in this instance, a foreign target market. In another example, Séguinot points out that the way a kimono closes can visually verbalize "death". Air Canada failed to appreciate this cultural message and printed a photograph of three Japanese women wearing traditional kimonos in reverse (Séguinot, 1995: 59). Such cultural miscommunications are avoidable. However it does require the translator to have an extensive grasp of the target language cultural schemata.

Advertisements that somehow fail to reflect the local lifestyle often wind up as wasted effort. Yet another example is that the Japanese consumers consider any form of "hard sell" as extremely impolite. According to Ricks et al. (1974), Japanese consumers respond best to advertisements that emphasize the product's practical advantages. They found that many American advertising campaigns, although they are very successful in their home market, fail overseas. These advertisements are found to be insensitive and do not incorporate the foreign culture and its social norms into the campaigns. These differences emphasize and could influence the
choice of language, rhetorical styles and the **positioning** of the product. Positioning refers to how the product is placed in the context of the consumer's socio-economic and cultural environment.

As an example, some writers had earlier argued that the caption 'Put a tiger in your tank' (Slater, 1984b; Ricks, 1993) was responsible for a decrease in sales for the petrol being advertised in Thailand. It was initially thought that it was because the Thais do not have that high regard for animals. Connotatively the caption was as good as saying, 'Put a weakling in your tank'. Ricks later argued that this was not the true reason behind the decrease in sales. The drop in sales was caused by actions of overzealous competitors who had planted the negative interpretation above (Ricks, 1993: 156). Whatever the true reason was, it does show that cultural knowledge could be manipulated to suit an agenda. This very same caption works well in Malaysia. Malaysians, right from infancy, have a very favourable image of the tiger. The antics of *Sang Harimau* (The Tiger) and the other occupants of the jungle are the bread and water nursery tales and didactics of Malay culture. The tiger in children's Malay classical literature and myths denotes strength and bravery. The same qualities are symbolized in the national and most state emblems. Thus, in devising advertising campaigns, the right balance between local autonomy and central co-ordination for any multinational companies is needed (Buzzell, 1968: 113). Local autonomy must be able to vet the content so that those messages are not culturally compromised in one way or another. Local autonomy is invaluable in providing a resource for the wider cultural knowledge. Buzzell acknowledges that there are differences among nations and these differences should be recognized in marketing planning.

Yet neither an entirely standardized nor an entirely localized approach is necessarily satisfactory (Peebles, Ryan and Vernon, 1978). Peebles *et al.* advocate a programme management approach as a useful framework for the co-ordination of international advertising campaigns. This 'cuts through the "standardized vs. localized" debate and offers a method for determining and implementing effective campaigns in several markets areas simultaneously' (*Peebles *et al.*, 1978: 30). The "standardization dilemma" is really a question of coming to terms with the consumer's cultural environment and the attitude and
perception of foreign consumers to an international advertising message (Hornik, 1980). When advertisers convey anything across culture boundaries, there may be a great difference between what was intended and what was received, as has been shown in some of the examples above. Knowledge and identification of culturally related differences in attitude and perception are of critical concern for advertising research (Hornik, 1980: 37). The dilemma continues due to the lack of empirical data. Most international advertising studies to date have been descriptive and general, rather than analytical. In most instances, bad sales and reactions to products are the crude market results that are unavoidably effective indicators (Kover et al., 1995).

In this issue of cross-cultural communication there are two school of thoughts. One contends that the differences between cultures are of degree and not of direction. Basic human wants and needs are similar everywhere. Therefore, the same products can be sold in any cultural climate with similar promotional appeals. The other accepts that no two cultures in the world are the same. Therefore, although basic human needs, for food and shelter for example, are shared by all human beings they do not demand the same things to satisfy these needs across cultures. In addition there are other needs which may be influenced by tradition, political systems, life-style, economic considerations and the media system. The ways these wants and needs are addressed communicatively is not universal. According to Kanso, 'Communication is largely determined by cultural conditions' (Kanso, 1992: 12). Communication and culture are so closely bound together that virtually all-human communication is culturally bound (Hornik, 1980: 36). Therefore Hornik suggests that the 'international advertiser must constantly be on the alert to cultural variations' (Hornik, 1980: 36).

Onkvisit and Shaw (1987) look at standardized international marketing and propose a decision-making framework for advertising standardization. Standardization of advertising copy can bring about economies of scale (Anholt, 1996). Cutler and Javalgi quote that IBM reacts 'to intense competition in the European Community personal computer market by standardizing advertisements, changing only the language' (Cutler and Javalgi, 1992: 71). The advertising visuals were filmed in various European countries. The campaign consists of a collection of the
advertising visuals from the various countries and is edited to form a complete story board. Subtitles are used when the voice-over is in a foreign language. The concept behind this campaign is to promote the global-ness of the company. It is also to reflect IBM's corporate image. In addition, the message is that the product in question does not cater to a particular segment of the market only³ (Anholt, 1996).

It would be of some interest to analyze the contents of the various visuals in the IBM campaign. This might provide information regarding the extent culture messages differ from one language to another. I would contend that the storyboard is a narrative. The contents in one language are not translated into another language. The contents are not identical, i.e. it is the sum contents from the various languages that form the narrative. This would seem to imply that language is not a deterrent to a unified message. What is significant is that the blunders documented by Ricks, et al. (1974), Ricks (1993), Slater (1984b), etc. above are due 'to blatant rejection of existing customs and innocent insensitivity to the environment' (Kanso, 1992: 10-11).

2.2.2 Culture and Advertising: Interaction and Destabilization
Kanso (1992) is concerned with the effect of culture on advertising. Advertising in addressing human wants and needs is largely determined by cultural conditions (Kanso, 1992: 13). Visual components of print advertising emphasize that there are differences in visual perceptions culturally (Cutler and Javalgi, 1992). A significant implication is that the standardization of advertisements even across the European community will not be simple.

Ramaprasad and Hasegawa compare the creative strategies in American and Japanese television commercials (Ramaprasad and Hasegawa, 1992). They caution against complete standardization. Equally important is the need to consider the transferability of concepts across cultures. Zanpour, Chang and Catalano (1992) examine differences and similarities that might exist between American, French and Taiwanese advertising practices in terms of strategy, content and execution. They find that strong product identification, use of celebrities, and testimonials are acceptable in the United States. The French and Taiwanese are
more accustomed to subtle and symbolic advertising with very few direct and reasoned arguments. Interestingly, this is different from the Japanese preference for more informative advertising copy (Ricks et al., 1974). Having generalized strategies with major groupings for the Far East and the West therefore would not automatically work.

2.2.2.1 Humour Across Cultural Boundaries

Alden, Holder and Lee (1993) find that humour is achieved through incongruent cognitive structures in the United States, Germany, Korea and Thailand. Any similarity identified may help copywriters-cum-advertisers formulate a guide to the development of globally standardized communications. Message content however, appears to vary along major national culture dimensions such as collectivism vis-à-vis individualism (Alden et al., 1993: 74; cf. Robinson, 1996). Thus, Alden et al., acknowledge that there are instances and certain aspects of the advertiser’s message that have to be adapted for a specific national culture.

2.2.2.2 Culture - Far East vs. West

Schmitt, Pan and Tavassoli (1994) look at cross-cultural differences between the Far East and the West particularly with regard to the self and social behaviour. They find that cross-cultural factors seem to affect brand loyalty, gift-giving and customer satisfaction. Their research has the potential to greatly improve understanding cross-cultural differences. They found that Chinese consumers are more likely to recall information when the visual memory trace is accessed. In contrast, English speakers seem to be more likely to recall information when the phonological trace is accessed and less so from the visual trace. The experiment that was carried out employed 60 Chinese students and 59 American students. The students were exposed to advertisements that comprise a variety of modes,

1. language: Chinese vs. English
2. presentation mode: auditory vs. visual
3. memory mode: spoken vs. written for recall
4. recognition: auditory vs. visual.

The students were not speakers of the other language. Schmitt et al., argue that the result is consistent with the linguistic differences between the two languages. Chinese is a language with an emphasis on the written form. It also has
phonological diversities. This means that a character in Chinese is standard but its pronunciation is varied. The Chinese speaker is very aware of homographs and tonal differences in the spoken language. English, on the other hand, has "fixed" pronunciations. With minor exceptions for the different type of Englishes, there is no other way a word can be pronounced. The characteristic of Chinese pronunciation mentioned above is exploited in rhymes and verbal puns. This is not unlike what happens in contemporary British advertisements. However, unlike English, Chinese has a greater diversity in meanings beyond the standard, i.e. Mandarin, the Chinese equivalent to the Received Pronunciation (RP) of English. Unfortunately, due to the varieties of dialect of Chinese, it is not easy to exercise this beyond the many dialects of Chinese. This may explain why the Chinese students in the study are able to remember the visual form better.

Cheng (1994) looks at human emotions and identifies "modernity", "technology" and "quality" as three predominant cultural values manifest in Chinese advertising over the past years. He documents studies that have similarly evaluated transnational advertising's influence on indigenous cultures. He also looks at the decisions taken by advertising professionals as to the strategies they have to adopt in overseas markets (Cheng, 1994). The emergence of the new consumer culture in China has given rise to changes in cultural values conveyed through Chinese advertising. Cheng notes that although the majority of products advertised are imported from the West, advertisers are increasingly exploiting Eastern values (Cheng, 1994: 169). This finding is similar to another study on American and Japanese advertising (cf. Cheng, 1994: 169). The latter reports that even though there is clear evidence of increasing Americanization in Japanese advertisements, deep seated Japanese cultural values still remain distinct (cf. Cook, 1992: 15). Robinson suggests that although there are major cultural-based attitudinal differences across countries, Asians tend to share similar values (Robinson, 1996). Product success can be linked to these values, for example Asians are conformists. This explains why new products find it difficult to get a foothold in these markets. When a product finds favour in the market, it is successful right across the consumer society.

James and Alman look at consumer expectations of information content in advertising (James and Alman, 1996). Although their study should be taken with
some degree of caution, an important conclusion is that it shows that consumers are alert to the unnecessary hype or puffery in advertisements. What we have is that advertising in the West is a form of communication that is apparently understood by its addressees (cf. Pateman, 1983). The same assertion could not with certainty be similarly accepted in the East. Advertising is undoubtedly a sophisticated form of communication that conveys a complex variety of information. The following section will explore ways to better understand this discourse.

2.3 Advertising: A Discourse Type
This section reviews some of the significant literature in a discourse analysis approach to advertising texts. The issues that will be discussed revolve around advertising and how discourse analysis deal with these linguistically and paralinguistically. I will explore these issues from the English language advertising perspective.

2.3.1 English Advertising Language
2.3.1.1 Syntax
Leech is one of the earliest to produce a comprehensive study of advertising language (Leech, 1966). He speaks of English advertisements as a type of disjunctive discourse characterized by simplicity of structure, shortness of sentences, unconventionality of style and implicitness of cohesive connectivity (Leech, 1966: 105-161). Leech's very detailed study concentrates on linguistic aspects of style with a description of the grammar of advertisements. He notes that,

one of the interesting aspects of advertising language is its delicate compromise between conformity and unorthodoxy: between following a prescribed path of advertising clichés and exercising the freedom to deviate from it, ..., to deviate from the rules of the English language ... (Leech, 1966: 4).

This is still typical of current English advertising (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985; Toolan, 1988; etc.). This deviation from prescribed linguistic rules further challenges cross-linguistic communication. The disjunctive syntax of advertising texts has the tendency to chop up sentences by making them shorter using full stops. This produces a "jazzy" or "trendy" style, a feature of 1960s advertising texts (cf. Leech, 1966: 149-150). Ordinary, general texts on the other hand, would use commas or no punctuation at all. The textual structures utilized influence verbal
communication (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985; 18-27). A point to note is that Leech looks at advertising language from a single language analysis. Pinchuck on the other hand, focuses on sentence features in advertisements with a contrastive agenda (Pinchuck, 1977). He compares German and English technical language and contrasts the former with advertising language. He asserts that advertising language has features that are likely to cause difficulties to the translator.

2.3.1.2 Stylistics
Leech believes in the importance of selecting language appropriate to a particular category of consumer (Leech, 1966: 63-64; cf. Cook, 1992: 9-12). He has noted that, ‘Often no attempt is made to adapt the advertising approach or advertising language to different audiences’ (Leech, 1966: 63-64). This had resulted in identical advertisements appearing in a variety of publications of varying “quality” (Leech, 1966: 64). At the same time he is aware that differences of language are observable in advertising addressed to audiences differing in social or educational standing’ (Leech, 1966: 64). The former observation may have been true at the time of his study but this is less the case particularly from the 1980s onwards (cf. Myers, 1986: 63-66).

The advertising industry has expended enormous efforts in categorizing "consumers" effectively and targeting these categories (Cook, 1992: 11). Research has produced invaluable information that is largely successful in segmenting target consumers and superimposing them onto the “appropriate” target products (cf. Myers, 1986: 48). A manufacturer no longer produces one product for one market. Cook points out that those products or services have target markets (1992: 9-12). Basic products, like detergents, admittedly have a more widespread target market. Very often a variety of marketing strategies, for example packaging and positioning, ensure that the same product speaks differently to the different social groups within the whole community. In addition, product developments allow variations of a product to be repackaged and repositioned for more specific audience.

The above is observable in wide ranging products from cars to female sanitary products. The car manufacturer Peugeot is not alone in producing and marketing different types of cars for today’s social transport needs. Language used in the
advertising copies (COPY 2, COPY 4, COPY 5), or the "apparent" lack of it (COPY 3), hints at the intended target markets of the Peugeot 106, Peugeot 306, Peugeot 406 and Peugeot 206 respectively.

The Peugeot 106-target consumer appears likely to be more concerned with cost even though the car is at the lower end of the price range. It could also be argued that this copy is typical of newspaper advertisements. The Peugeot 206-target consumer appears to be fashionable and discernibly eclectic. The Peugeot 306-target consumer presumably would have rocked-and-rolled with the hippest of the late-1960's and 1970's bands, for example, The Kinks, The (Rolling) Stones and Dire Straits. The Peugeot 306-target consumer still has romantically “dangerous” motoring requirements - South of France and skids in mud or wet, wet, wet conditions. The Peugeot 406-target consumer is not defined as the “average person” but is a family person. The Peugeot 406-target consumer could have but did not choose a Mercedes or a BMWs for her/his motoring needs. At the top of the range, Mercedes speaks to its target consumer, 'your own boss and give yourself on Bosses' Day' (COPY 6). In COPY 7, the following lexical items - rigor mortis, Black Monday, appointments and symphony hint at the identity of the target consumer. The differences in the language in the advertising copy of female sanitary products also reflect the range of the target consumers. These differences are observable at a glance: the young schoolgirl in COPY 8, the confident young teenagers in COPY 9, the street-wise teenagers in COPY 10, the professional woman in COPY 11 and the fashionably "politically correct" man-hungry woman in COPY 12 and COPY 13. The stylistics of the copy immediately reflects the characteristics of the target audience of the advertised product.

Pinchuck notes that advertising language departs from the more sober style of technical writing (Pinchuck, 1977). In addition, he identifies another key feature of advertising language: the use of various stylistic devices as integral to the genre. He argues that devices such as puns, idioms, metaphors and alliteration, etc. add a "national flavour" to the genre, and claims that it is such devices which can make advertising texts a less formal genre. As an example, Pinchuck asserts that the following headline for a German beer: Bitte ein Bit! Literally the headline means, Please a bit!, is 'an untranslatable play on words' (Pinchuck, 1977: 170). Similarly,
Pinchuck sees *Don’t be vague - Ask for Haig*, as “culturally embedded”. Pinchuck fails to satisfactorily explain his concept of “culturally embedded”. The two examples do not reflect any immediate “national flavour”. However, I am inclined to believe that Pinchuck is trying to highlight the differences in rhetoric inherent in languages. Any difficulty in translation is likely to be due to the range of denotations and social meanings of the lexical items.

There are two elements that are shared by the two examples above. The first is the argument that the linguistic system of a particular language has no one-to-one correspondence in another language. In this respect, although the lexical items in the examples may not appear to be culturally specific lexicons, they nonetheless have more than a simple denotational meaning, i.e. extra meaning(s) that could only be appreciated within the respective socio-cultural environment. For example, the name *Wally* is most likely to be just another English name to a German while to be called *Wally* particularly in 1980s England was to be the butt of many insulting jokes. Such meanings could be termed as associative or connotative meanings. As exemplification, in humour there has to be a shared knowledge between the producer and the receiver. It is usually the incongruity between what is said and what is to be said and/or what is thought to have been said, that makes a text successfully humorous. Usually this incongruity is socio-culturally determined. These perceptions, because they could only be appreciated through the socio-cultural environment, lead Pinchuck to term such wordplays above as the “national flavour” of the language. The two above are examples of parallelism. They are examples of figurative language. They reflect a register that is more colloquial - more everyday life, more culturally reflective of the language. This is possibly Pinchuck’s “national flavour”. Pinchuck argues that this feature makes the texts accessible to a wider readership. On the other hand, technical discourse is specialized and the readership is a smaller group comprising of like-minded professionals.

The other argument develops from the first. Because the lexical items reflect their socio-cultural environment they contain respective socio-cultural meanings. On one hand, there are the meanings of the lexical items to be transferred into TL. On the other hand, there are the phonetic arrangements that would not be reproduced in
the TL. There are, as Pinchuck rightly acknowledges, values attached to lexical items in one language that are not shared in the equivalents or near-equivalents in another language. This could be why Pinchuck believes that his examples are untranslatable. Pinchuck’s examples reflect the general difficulties with translating lexical items and texts that convey more than the literal meanings. Therefore, Pinchuck has a point in saying that the objective in the translation of advertisements is not to achieve a one-to-one correspondence, ‘...but to absorb the mood of the utterance and to attempt to recreate that mood in the TL’ (Pinchuck, 1977: 170). However, Pinchuck fails to underline that what he suggests is a pragmatic translation strategy which would reduce the untranslatability of such “culturally embedded” texts.

Since Leech’s study, advertisements have developed further. Leech concentrated mainly on print advertising and verbal language in print. Leech ignored visuals and the inter-relationship between the printed text and its accompanying visual. This may be a reflection of the less significant function of visuals that accompany texts at the time (cf. Cook, 1992: 48-49; McLuhan, 1964: 246). Crystal and Davy later highlight the linkage between the text and the visual in advertising copy (Crystal and Davy, 1979: 218). In addition, they produce phonetic transcriptions of advertisements and direct attention to the significance of phonology in television advertising and, graphology in press advertising. They acknowledge that Leech has produced a comprehensive linguistic description of advertisements. Leech’s grammatical framework of English advertising language is unarguably invaluable.

2.3.1.3 Words - Messages beyond SL Meanings

Cook shows that there is more to meanings in lexical items than initially observed (Cook, 1992: 107). As not all meanings are directly transparent, it follows that advertisements have to be “actively” decoded to obtain all the possible messages embedded in them. This is pertinent when loan-words in some form are incorporated in an advertising copy. Cook’s analysis of *Ma Griffe* shows that there are more denotational meanings in the original language (cf. Cook, 1992: 107). The polysemous nature of *Ma Griffe* lends itself well to all the possible denotations and favourable connotations of the perfume. In addition the lack of similar denotational meanings in English and its very Frenchness underline its connotational meanings.
in English (cf. Cook, 1992: 107). Similarly, Nielsen and Nielsen show that *L'egg* (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 47-48) brings into the text meanings which are not directly transparent in English but have connotations which are of things French. This is similar to the *Panzani* of Barthes’ analysis (cf. Barthes, 1977[1964]: 33-34; 2.3.2; 3.1.4.2). There are two points here. The first is that polysemy is present in any language. The second shows evidence of cross-linguistic connotations and cultural connotations.

### 2.3.1.4 Words - Semantics in Style

Williamson asserts that advertisements use language to ‘produce different effects - we decipher a certain meaning from the *style* of the language use, the way in which it is written’ (Williamson, 1978: 85). Her examples include the *Kit - Kat* and *Gauloises* in which the decipherable meanings are not conveyed through the verbal message. Meanings are conveyed also through the calligraphy (Williamson, 1978: 85-86). The calligraphic styles function as a *sign* signifying childishness and Frenchness respectively. The examples above (cf. 2.3.1.3) of *Ma Griffe* (Cook, 1992: 107) and *L'egg* (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 47-48), also fall into this discussion. The ability of language to convey decipherable meaning aids the transmission of the “transparent” or overt meaning, i.e. meaning carried by the words. At the same time, language functions as a sign and thus evokes the “latent” meaning implied by the values embedded in its significance as a sign. Williamson terms the second level of meaning as “hermeneutic” meaning. This brings us to the subject of signs and their meanings, i.e. semiotics.

### 2.3.1.5 Paralanguage - Participants in Semantics

From the above (2.3.1.3 and 2.3.1.4) it is apparent that the meanings in and the messages of the print advertising copy are conveyed in two *modes* (cf. Cook, 1992: 37), i.e. language and visuals. Discourse analysis tools analyze language. Yet as Cook points out, ‘Any analysis of the language of ads immediately encounters the paradox that it both must and cannot take ...the pictorial modes into accounts as well’ (Cook, 1992: 37). Semiotic analysis offers a methodology to analyze paralanguage.

48
2.3.2 Semiotic Analysis in Advertising

A major work in early semiotic analysis is by Barthes (Barthes, 1977[1964]). Barthes' analysis is very pertinent to decoding visuals. He shows that photographs comprise two types of message - denotation and connotation. In his argument, Barthes systematically decodes the levels of meanings of an image. In advertising, Barthes argues, the signification of the image is unquestionably intentional (Barthes, 1977[1964]). The signifieds of the advertising message are formed *a priori* by certain attributes of the product. In addition, these signifieds have to be transmitted as clearly as possible. Barthes believes that if the advertising image contains signs then 'these signs are full, formed with a view to optimum reading: the advertising image is *frank* or at least definite and clear (Barthes, 1977[1964]: 33). Thus, 'If our reading is satisfactory...', Barthes further argues, an analysis of an advertising image, 'offers us three messages: a linguistic message, a coded iconic message, and a non-coded iconic message' (Barthes, 1977[1964]: 33).

The linguistic message is the first and the most immediate message. This message is instantaneously denoted from the accompanying caption of the advertisement. Barthes sees this as a coded message. The code, in this instance, is the language of the message. Barthes' well-known example of his analysis is the advertisement for *Panzani* in French (Barthes, 1977[1964], plate XVII). In this instance, the linguistic message is simultaneously denotational and connotational. The denotational and connotational message is *Panzani*. This is the name of the manufacturer and/or the product. The name is coded in signs, i.e. the alphabets being representational codes of the language. The connotational message is in the assonance, which is an additional signified, i.e., that of "Italianicity". Barthes argues that the French reader or any reader for that matter, decoding this linguistic message has to have the additional knowledge about "Italianicity" to decode the connotational message. This is a coded iconic message. The reader with no additional knowledge about "Italianicity" will only be able to identify the denotational message.

The identification of the second message is also dependent on a varying degree of 'a generally cultural knowledge' (Barthes, 1977[1964]: 35). This second message is derived from the visual connotations derived from the arrangement of the elements.
in the photograph. These include the freshness of the advertised products through
the presence of the vegetables. "Italianicity" is visually coded in the photograph in
the three colours similar to those in the Italian flag. The third message is not coded
and cannot be drawn from "institutional stock", i.e. specifically cultural knowledge. It
is the level of reading the reader brings into the text and appreciating the relation
between signified and the signifier that makes the third message decipherable. This
is the "literal" denotation of the elements in the photograph. Barthes keeps
emphasizing that decoding connotational meaning comes from cultural knowledge.
However, he was not specific in what he defines as cultural knowledge. None the
less, the significant part of Barthes' work is that he highlights an inter-relationship
between "external meaning" and the messages coded in the discourse. As other
writers have used Leech's work as the basis for analyzing advertising language,
Barthes' work provides the basis for analyzing paralinguistic messages.

Williamson develops the inter-relationship between the signifiers and the signifieds
through her concept - referent system (Williamson, 1978). Her analysis of the
Goodyear Tyre advertisement indicates that there is an ostensible meaning from
what is present in the advertising copy (Williamson, 1978: 18-19). The
advertisement has a visual that shows a car parked very close to the edge of a jetty.
The jetty, she argues, signifies risk and danger. The position of the car in the copy
(presumably the car is fitted with the advertised product), indicates an earlier action.
The reader is "lead to believe" that the car had been driven out towards the sea, at
a high speed along the jetty and only the effective deceleration of the car had
stopped it from plunging into the sea. This is one message. This is a narrative that
describes the function of the product. That the car stops just short of the edge of
the jetty provides another message. The second message is also "directed" by the
jetty. The visual resemblance and function of the jetty to the advertised product,
according to Williamson, equates the former to the latter. Everything that is
accepted and understood about the jetty, i.e. tough, strong, withstands erosion and
does not wear down, could be assumed to be true of the advertised product
(Williamson, 1978: 18). This level of meaning is based on the appearance, the
juxtaposition and the connotation of the jetty. What this shows is that meanings are
beyond the copy, i.e. "external meanings" directs the reader to the intended
meanings and messages of the copy. This "external meaning" is what the
copywriter and the reader share, i.e. the cultural knowledge. Williamson seems to indicate is that the signifier gives an overt meaning. The overt meaning in turn creates another meaning. This second meaning is less obvious but inherent. The inter-relationship between the two is the referent system. This inter-relationship also manifests itself through other signifiers - colours (Williamson, 1978: 21-23), celebrities (Williamson, 1978: 23-29), calligraphy and graphology (Williamson, 1978: 85), etc.

Williamson's argument is based on acknowledging a link between a representation of a physical element and its associative values. For instance, white, an example of the former, is a colour. Its associative values could be clean and pure, etc. By a further association, the associative values evoke emotion and other significations. As a further illustration of this linkage, Williamson compares the perfume advertisements of Chanel 5 with Catherine Deneuve and Babe with Margaux Hemingway (Williamson, 1978: 23-29). Substituting the values associated with the respective celebrities disambiguates the messages of the respective advertisements. Catherine Deneuve signifies glamour and beauty and these values are transferred to the perfume. Similarly, the characteristics associated with Margaux Hemingway and her pose in the copy: young woman = youth = vitality; "karate kick" pose = vitality are transposed onto the perfume. What seems to have happened here is that the advertised products have no initial meanings and values. The meanings and values of the products are derived through the signifiers present in the advertisement. What this further underlines is the external meaning or cultural knowledge brought into the advertising texts for disambiguating the messages. Another significant aspect of Williamson's analysis is that her interpretations of meanings and messages of advertisements are beyond the simplistic immediate interpretation. The meanings are not limited to the message that any user of the perfume resembles the model /to be as beautiful or feminine or energetic, etc., use the advertised product. Williamson's emphasis is on the interpretation of the signifiers - a second level of meaning.

Vestergaard and Schrøder acknowledge that unlike verbal texts, and with the exception of the history of art, there is not much study in the analysis of pictures (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985; cf. Cook, 1992: 49; McLuhan, 1964: 246).
Educationists like, Goldsmith (1984), etc., and psycholinguists like, Bagby (1957), Segall et al. (1966), etc. have contributed significantly towards "verbalizing" pictures (cf. Hillis-Miller, 1992). Similarly, research in advertising and psychology has also found that verbal decoding of visuals are extremely illuminating (cf. Chapter 5). To be fair to Vestergaard and Schröder, at the time of their study, research into mass-communication texts that incorporate verbal and visual elements had yet to develop satisfactorily and be disseminated widely. Adopting Barthes' approach, Vestergaard and Schröder note that images are potentially even more ambiguous or polysemic than verbal messages (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 34). There are a number of aspects to note about the relationship between visuals and text, which are listed below.

2.3.2.1 Contextual Elements

Advertising practices have also undergone other major changes over the years. Leech notes that advertising uses language and matches that with "honesty of purpose" (Leech, 1966: 26). This no longer holds true as advertisements have gone further into the realm of fantasy, both in language and in context. For example, one audio-visual advertising campaign for Levis jeans (shown in 1996 on terrestrial televisions) appears to be set in a futuristic world. Leech had earlier noted that advertising differs from other types of propaganda 'by confining itself to basic human drives such as gain, emulation, protectiveness, and the physical appetites' (Leech, 1966: 26). What copywriters-cum-advertisers do now, is to project these values onto another level of mental consciousness in order to identify with their target consumer. Copywriters-cum-advertisers have also capitalized on the "green" sensitivity - political correctness, that is the soundbite of the present time. Environmental and ethical issues seem to be a safe theme to position an advertising campaign, for example, the Co-operative Bank 1996 advertisement, which informs its audience that the bank does not invest in negative developments that pollute and destroy the environment.

There are two issues here. Language and image are the vehicles for the contact between the advertising copy and the reader. Secondly, that the point of contact is still centred on human basic drives as Leech has noted. However these basic human drives have intimate cultural immediacy to the target reader-cum-consumer.
This is evidenced by the more specific target reader-cum-consumer language and product specification as shown earlier (cf. 2.3.1.2). This leads to the other key element of my study, i.e. culture. I will discuss this later through other research on translation that focuses specifically on advertising. The language of the advertisements analyzed by Leech appear archaic compared to the conversational nature of contemporary advertisements (Leech, 1966). None the less, his analysis is the basic framework to understand advertising and advertising language.

2.3.2.2 Culture and Advertising

Like other writers, Vestergaard and Schröder accept that advertisements reflect the culture of the consumer communities (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985). They acknowledge that the job of advertising is to influence consumers towards buying the product being advertised. However, they point out that it is a tenet of all propaganda that the propaganda cannot create new needs but only retard or accelerate existing trends. They appear naive in this assertion (cf. Myers, 1986). Therefore they argue, if advertisers 'know their jobs then advertising can be expected to reflect pretty closely the current trends and value systems of a society' (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 10). According to them, the copywriter-cum-advertiser transmits the meaning of the communication or the message of the advertisement to the reader-cum-consumer, i.e. the addressee. Any act of communication takes place in a situation in which the addresser and the addressee are placed together and at all times in context. The context includes the wider cultural context of the addresser and the addressee and the knowledge that they share about their total situation and their culture (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 15).

Cook also focuses on the context of communication (Cook, 1992). In this respect, it could be argued that his work is the most comprehensive to date. He incorporates all the elements in advertisements. According to Cook, advertisers believe the most important categorization of advertisements is by consumer. Advertisers realize that certain products are associated with certain consumer groups. This fact is a cultural reality and knowledge of it helps advertisers devise effective advertising campaigns, as I have shown above. International marketing and advertising practices have also helped create a new global culture that transcends national boundaries. At the same time, consumer product associations also reflect differences between cultures (cf. 53).
Cook, 1992: 14-15). Unfortunately with most of the studies above, the writers did not satisfactorily define their concept of culture. The exceptions are Frith and Frith, 1989, Ricks (1993).

2.3.3 Advertising: The Malaysian Experience

Malaysia has never been a closed and an anti-capitalist society. In fact, Malaysia due to its historical past has always been receptive to changes and influences from the West. At times, Malaysia appears to develop in tandem with the West. According to Anderson 'Western concepts like “development” and “modernization” tend to mean about the same thing to Malaysian policymakers' (Anderson, 1984: 198). Western style advertising in Malaya is a feature of newspaper advertising as early as 1904 (Anderson, 1984: 199; cf. Deng, Jivan and Hassan, 1994: 158).

The Malaysian advertising industry is dominated by a handful of large multinational agencies that are largely headquartered in London and New York. This is why there are concerns, particularly felt in the 1980s, about the so-called Madison Avenue culture (Anderson, 1984: 198-237; Frith and Frith, 1989: 179-184; 214). Frith and Frith voice their concerns of ‘the far-reaching effects of the Madison Avenue culture on the culturally constituted world’ of the countries of Southeast Asia (Frith and Frith, 1989: 179). Their concern centres on the belief that,

advertising is a complex technology that has been transferred from West to East; that advertising is also a cultural form; and that, as commonly practised, much multinational advertising represents a potentially damaging cultural invasion...

(Frith and Frith, 1989: 180).

The effects of Western-style advertising on Malaysian advertising was not only to reflect but have encouraged ‘mindless imitating of alien lifestyle’ (Anderson, 1984: 220).

Over the years, there have been calls, particularly from the government, for advertisements to reflect a Malaysian flavour. The images created in advertising have very little relation to the local environment and what the government hopes will be achieved in the society. There is a certain degree of mindless aping of bourgeois values and styles of the middle and upper classes in the West (Ghazali5 cited in Anderson, 1984: 219-220). Western imagery of lifestyles is superimposed on locally produced goods as well. This so-called aping of the West is inevitable on two
counts. Firstly, there is a strong dominance of multinational advertising agencies in Malaysia. Anderson has provided an illuminating account how this dominance developed and why this is still the state of affairs (Anderson, 1984: 215). It is a reflection of the political and economic environment of a multi-racial country that has to reconcile sensitive racial and economic issues without undermining the "status-quo" (Anderson, 1984: 213). In addition, local "practitioners" in the industry have 'still a long way to go before their practices and professionalism could compete with multinational agencies' (Idris cited in Anderson, 1984: 228).

It is therefore not surprising because managers of multinational advertising agencies are usually expatriates or Western trained (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180; cf. Anderson, 1984: 224-229). Malaysians recruited into the large multinationals are largely useful bridgeheads with political and business connections with the ruling elite (Anderson, 1984: 226). Other staff are trained abroad or acculturated on the job (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180). Consequently,

Indigenous culture tends to be a largely unknown quantity to the expatriate, and tends to be abandoned as old-fashioned by the local recruit bent on adopting the values held by management (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180).

In addition, multinational-advertising agencies also used imported concepts and commercials. The argument for using imported materials was that it costs more money to create locally (Anderson, 1984: 221). At one stage, about 80% of imported commercials came from the United States or Britain (Anderson, 1984: 220). The social concern was that these imported commercials had nearly all Caucasian imagery and evangelized foreign trends, norms and values which largely ran counter to the indigenous social and cultural sensitivities (Anderson, 1984: 220; cf. Deng et al., 1994: 157-162). The backlash to the "cultural invasion", borrowing the term from Frith and Frith, resulted in the government policies for "Malaysian identity" and "Made-in-Malaysia" in advertising (Frith and Frith, 1989: 181). These policies have made inroads into eliminating imported commercials. The use of Caucasian models or even voices on radio and television is prohibited (Anderson, 1984: 220; 221). Multinational agencies were forced to get to know the indigenous consumers better (Anderson, 1984: 221). Nonetheless some took the easy way out. Ogilvy and Mather, a huge multinational agency with a big market share, notes that there are advertisers who adapted overseas campaigns in which 'copywriting becomes mere translation' (cited in Anderson, 1984: 221). Compare the following advertisements,
One of the challenges to Malaysian advertisers is to communicate to its audience in as many as five different languages. The national language is Malay. However, politically Malaysia accepts the diversity of its racial mix and allows each ethnic group to use its language and practice its individual culture. Culturally, there is no major difference except on matters relating to religion (Deng et al., 1994: 157-161). As Islam is the main religion, there are controls regarding advertising alcoholic beverages and nudity (Deng et al., 1994: 159-161; Anderson, 1984: 221). Government efforts to "Malaysianize" advertising have produced some interesting results. Advertising contents and productions in television and radio have largely been malaysianized. The government's efforts have fallen short of the private newspapers and magazines. Western images and values and the use of non-Malaysian models have not been eliminated. In fact, some Western advertising copies that are used in the private Malay print media without a word being translated.

The concern of Frith and Frith regarding "cultural invasion" is pertinent in the Malaysian context. The concerted efforts in promoting a "Malaysian identity" reflect the Malaysian government's recognition of the potential of advertising as a powerful communication. Its intervention in the mass media allows the government to 'control of the flow of information and to stimulate greater communication within its nation's still separate communities' (Anderson, 1984: 222). The effects have been towards formalizing a set of values and goals that have a common Malaysian consciousness (Anderson, 1984: 222).

2.3.3.1 Stylistics and Syntax

In the Malaysian context, Asmah looks at the rhetoric of advertising language. Her framework for analysis appears to be largely based on Leech (1966). Asmah identifies hidden meanings in the type of language used by advertisers. According to her, the objectives of advertisers are, ‘...memperkenalkan (to introduce), memberitahu (to inform), memujuk (to persuade), dan mengajak mencuba (invite to try), dan akhirnya membeli (to buy)' (Asmah, 1992: 154). These objectives are cleverly disguised in the creative use of the language functions such as, qualification,
comparison, definition, reason and prayer, in the production of the advertisements. *Meaning* is supplemented through the paralinguistics employed. The electronic media use music and sound effects as well as songs, coupled with slides and video visuals. Asmah acknowledges that in print advertising, monochrome and colour photographs and graphics are the paralinguistics employed. She fails to elaborate on the relationship between content and paralinguistics. Thus it is not surprising that Asmah believes that language is the core of advertisements and paralinguistics are *mere* (my Italics) accessories to appeal to the senses.

An important feature of Asmah’s study is her disclosure of the nature of “inference” implied through rhetoric. For example,

 Teknologi terbaharu X.  
*[Technology] [latest] [X].*

 Lebih nyaman, lebih senyap dan lebih dari itu.  
*[More] [please/comfortable] [and] [more] [quiet] [than] [that].*

Prag. trans.:  
X has the latest technology.  
A lot more comfortable, a lot quieter and a lot more.

The first sentence implies that all the other ‘technologies’ are dated and redundant. This is the inference from *terbaharu*, i.e. latest. The second sentence implies that this product has *lebih*, i.e. a lot more positive characteristics than its competitors. Other advertisements that use similar device, i.e. *lebih* are:

 Itulah yang menyebabkan X lebih mahal, lebih maju lebih ekslusif.  
*[That] [what] makes X greater, more advanced, more exclusive.*

*Dengan X cucian lebih bersih.*  
With X your wash is a lot cleaner.

Similar use of superlatives includes *paling* and *ter-* (a prefix).

 Bank X Bank anda.  
Bank X is your Bank.

The inference is that because the bank belongs to you, i.e. the reader-cum-consumer, the bank provides good services and has positive characteristics: friendliness, respect, etc. that make you feel at home with it, as if you own it. These characteristics presumably remove the dreaded environment of the unfriendly bank manager.

Basically, Asmah’s examples show that statements can always be conveyed positively. She argues that because advertisements say all the positive things about
a product, it is also saying negative things about other products. This is an important aspect of language and introduces the sociolinguistic elements of language. In a similar way, to say to someone, 'You are not being very clever', is better than to say, 'You are being stupid.' Although the message is the same in the two sentences, the first is more diplomatic and emphasizes a more positive approach. Asmah feels that the use of language above is a positive way to convey negative information. It is interesting that she seems to make a special point of this. She might indirectly be referring to the Malay way of saying the opposite to what is meant (cf. Asmah, 1992; Chapter 1).

Asmah also discusses the use of graphology that represents consonance, assonance, and rhyme, etc. For example,

*Alat rakam baru yang serba sempurna,*  
the use of consonance in..  
[Tool] [record] [new] [which] [all] [complete] [.]  
The new sophisticated recording machine.  
‘r’ and ‘s’ is repeated.  
*Set periuk keluli kalis karat.*  
[Set] [pans] [steel] [resistant] [rust].  
Stainless steel (pan) set.  
‘k’ at the beginning of the words and ‘l’ is repeated.

Incidentally, the consonance could be retained in English, although not in identical form, i.e. through ‘s’ and ‘t’, without any loss in meaning - *keluli kalis karat* is stainless steel.

the use of assonance,  
*la putih bersih ... baunya pun harum,*  
through ‘i’ and ‘u’.  
the use of rhyme,  
*Segak, beraliran zaman dan tampan.*  
*Membina badan cergas, otak yang cerdas ...*

Interestingly, Asmah seems to feel that linguistic devices in advertisements have a lot to contribute towards the teaching of the language although she did not clarify the areas of language that could be taught with advertising language. In this, Asmah seems to echo Western linguists’ approach towards understanding texts and languages, for example Crystal and Davy (1969). Asmah’s assertion is nonetheless pertinent to the situation in Malaysia as advertising is a borrowed form from the West. As a consequence, Malaysian advertisements have developed from a foreign language perspective through translation and adapting Western advertising into BM.
It is fair to point out that Asmah is concerned with the effects of advertisers not following Malay grammatical rules. However, whilst English copywriters could be argued to be innovative and creative through their conscious lack of reverence to English grammar, that could not be said about BM copywriters. What could not be denied is Asmah’s argument that Malay language use in advertising could contribute to make Malay language more dynamic.

2.3.3.2 Language and Acculturation

Lim identifies gimmicks in advertising language (Lim, 1992: 513). One feature for which he adopts the term *weasel*, allows the copywriter-cum-advertiser to make statements that are not absolutely true or correct. For example, advertisers have a tendency to use phrases like ‘... you feel like ...’. In this instance copywriters-cum-advertisers tempt consumers with a possibility and this invokes a positive expectation. Should the outcome be the opposite, it is very much due to the expectation of the consumer. If the consumer is dissatisfied, there is no tangible standard of measurement and therefore this claim will be difficult to prove either way. This is similar to Vestergaard and Schrøder’s discussion earlier (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985; cf. 2.1.1).

What is significant in Lim’s analysis is gimmicks used by copywriters-cum-advertisers to tempt consumers generally reflect the values Malaysian would aspire for.

a. *Fumikilla pilihan ramai*
   
   [Fumikilla] [choice] [many] (people)
   
   Fumikilla - the people’s choice
   
   or,
   
   Fumikilla - chosen by many

b. Join the Pepsi People

The presumption is that Malaysians are generally conformists (cf. Robinson, 1996). If we look at advertisements, the captions above are typical examples from Malaysian advertisements and reflect this presumption. What Lim failed to highlight is another aspect of Malaysian attitudes. This is the reverence placed on things “foreign”. This could be seen in the use of the foreign brand name. Although, phonologically Fumikilla appears to be Malay, it has all the signs of a loan-word. The product, Fumikilla, is an insect killer - *fumi* from ‘fumigate’ and/or ‘fume’ and *killa* from ‘killer’. It is sold in a spray can.
Although, the significance of the brand naming, as in the example above, may be lost to the majority of the consumers (cf. Cook, 1992: 107; 2.3.1.3), "foreign" brand names are common. Other examples include, Carefree and Stayfree for female sanitary products, Fab for washing detergents and Mopiko for an ointment for mosquito and insect bites (see also Tanaka, 1994). Foreign brand naming is a form that has found favour with Malaysian consumers. The wider dissemination of meanings and messages may not necessarily be understood by all. Lim accepts that advertising is now part and parcel of culturalization and socialization of consumers.

2.4 Advertising: A Discourse Type in A Cultural Context

There are two studies that looked specifically at the translation of advertising texts.

2.4.1 Linguistic and Genre Conventions across Cultures

Sidiropoulou's analysis is an examination of the translation of advertisements (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191-204). Most other studies have analyzed advertising (Dyer, 1982; Myers, 1986), advertising language (Leech, 1966; Toolan, 1988) and advertising texts (Williamson, 1978; Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985; Cook, 1992; Tanaka, 1994; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996; Forceville, 1997, etc.). The above studies have looked at advertising largely from one language and one cultural perspective. Tanaka analyzes the language of written advertising in Britain and Japan and how advertisers communicate with their respective addressees in each of the language and cultural environment (Tanaka, 1994). Sidiropoulou has specifically looked at and compares the translation of 55 English-Greek advertisement pairs (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191-204). She finds that the translator should be sensitive to conventions applying across genres in a particular culture. In addition, 'conventions associated with genre-internal variations, as 'soft-sell' and 'hard-sell' approaches to advertising are shown to require different types of interferences, in the translation process, for appropriateness to be achieved' (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191). Sidiropoulou highlights the various strategies and techniques that have been employed for persuasion in the target culture in order for the intended perlocutionary effect to be realized (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191-204).

Sidiropoulou identifies two significant differences between SL (English) and TL
(Greek) advertisements. The first is with reference to the content and content organization, also known as “strategy” (cf. Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191). This concept involves ‘the decision about what is to be said’ (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 192). Rearranging text fragments in the target version may also conform to cultural considerations about priorities (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 192). In the Greek advertisements, the tendency is to place the value of the advertised products on the promise of social distinction and recognition. This is in contrast with the SL advertisements in which values are placed on the target consumer (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 192-193). Generally a rearrangement of the product advantages suggests that priorities are given to ‘innovation announcing’ (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 192-193). This makes the structure of the target discourse more recognizable (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 193).

In addition, there is the tendency for humour to disappear in the target advertisements (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 193). This reflects that advertisements are culture bound (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 193). The translations were more explicit in contents as a result and also very “informative”. Readers-cum-consumers are informed and there is little or no “processing” of the texts to get the information, i.e. readers are being told rather than having to work out from the rhetorical devices the information intended. This is rather different from the type of text processing identified by Tanaka (1994), Pateman (1983), Toolan (1988), etc. Whole text fragments that created humorous effects are omitted in the target version (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 194). The omissions of the text fragments conform to favoured cultural norms of informativity (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 195). My lack of Greek makes it impossible to appreciate whether informativity could still be achieved through linguistic devices and yet maintain some degree of the humour of the SL. A different type of interference with content is that avoiding particular implications following from the source structures. This allows for humorous effect to be compatible with the target readership’s cultural model (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 195). Content is, therefore interfered within advertisement translating according to established target conventions.

The second difference relates to the linguistic devices constructing a particular type of sender-addressee relationship, also known as “technique” (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 61)
This concept involves how it is said, i.e. the implementation of the advertising strategy (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 192). The difference in the relationship constructed between advertiser and consumer is realized through two sets of modifications introduced in the target version. One set of modifications is the 'expected' set, which systematically appears in other English to Greek translated media discourses. The 'expected' set of modifications includes:

a. raising the degree of certainty as far as the force of promises, predictions and suggestions are concerned
b. enriching the cohesive network of the target version
c. enriching the evaluative texture of the target version.

Highlighting contrasts, and other cohesive links, is another widespread type of interference. This occurs in press news translation in general (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 197). There is a tendency on the part of the translator to enforce a stronger version of the oppositional view of the world by explicitating implicit contrastive shifts in translation (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 198). Another expectable interference is enriching the evaluative texture of the target discourse. This modifies the text-type by enforcing the argumentative quality of the discourse (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 198). The choices above, which Sidiropoulou considers more or less, expected, create a stronger directness effect with respect to the relationship between producer and target consumer. It appears that the Greek reader-cum-customer does not have much to do in processing advertising texts unlike her/his British, Japanese and American counterpart (cf. Leech, 1966; Cook, 1992; Tanaka, 1994; Pateman, 1983, McQuarrie and Mick, 1996, etc.). In this, Greek advertising language is quite similar to Malay advertising language as identified by Asmah (Asmah, 1992; cf. 2.3.3.1).

The other set of modifications includes:

a. avoiding imperative sentences
b. silencing first and second person pronouns.

Direct addresses of audience members with you are among the textual features widespread in advertising discourse in English and these create a 'synthetic personalization of the audience member' implying an individual addressee (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 199). In her Greek data, Sidiropoulou finds that imperatives and first/second person pronouns are occasionally avoided (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 199). The use of the imperative mode is very common in advertising in English.
Avoiding an imperative in favour of expository (rather than argumentative) devices - i.e. description is preferred over exhortation - reduces the immediacy of the advertiser-consumer relationship, thus creating distance. Another distancing device used is avoiding first and second person pronouns. The effects are indefiniteness and abstraction. These are preferred over definiteness and informativity (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 200). Another rather unexpected device is the use of comparative forms in the target text, even though it was not used in the source version (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 201). Sidiropoulou sees the use of comparatives as compatible to the competitive nature of the advertising (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 201).

Generally Sidiropoulou finds that the Greek advertisements were more information sensitive than impression creating. Humorous effects or suspense-creating techniques are avoided and understatements are rendered in terms of strong statements. Social constraints are respected and taboos issues are avoided reflecting compatibility with the target cultural models. Sidiropoulou also finds that distancing devices are employed. The producer does not sound certain about what s/he is promising, suggesting or predicting. This is in contrast to that identified by Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985. However, the persuasive strategy, in Greek, makes the producer sounds less biased and allows the consumer more mental space to process the information offered. This is a different reader “processing” strategy of the advertisement (cf. Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996, etc.). Sidiropoulou also notices that there is a non-uniform manner of the translator interfering through the data. The question arises as to whether the translator’s behaviour varies according to the type of product advertised (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 202). It is shown that within the same genre the translator’s behaviour fluctuates with respect to the product type advertised. Sidiropoulou makes an interesting observation in that in advertising, translators should be aware that there may be genre-internal types of variation that govern translation practice (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 202). The factors are associated with potential readers or the product itself. Sidiropoulou echoes the Malaysian government’s concerns regarding advertising (cf. Anderson, 1984). She sees advertising as an ‘awareness institution’ in that it shapes people's concept of how the world operates and what kinds of lives are worth living (Sidiropoulou, 1998: 191).
Shakir's study is illuminating (1995). He employed students - 20 school teachers pursuing a BA degree in English and 6 MA Translation students - who were asked to translate into Arabic five English sales advertisements. Four of these were from *News Week* and the fifth is from Brown and Yule (cf. Brown and Yule, 1985). The fifth advertisement was used as a contextless text that has a culture-specific content. Shakir also had another group of students analyzing the translated advertisements. Shakir's analysis also involved a study of fifty-seven authentic Arabic advertisements. The analysis shows that they share similar linguistic features with English advertising texts, i.e. shortness, simplicity and disjunctiveness. The translated texts produced by the students are not typical of the genre. The other illuminating element produced by the study is that although students have access to dictionaries, they fail to select the correct lexical items in their translation. The main reason for this is, the context of usage in the source text is alien to the concept in their culture. It is significant to note that the students fail to appreciate the full message of the advertisements.

Shakir has highlighted three major issues with regard to the translation of advertising texts. Firstly, the level of surface features needed to be available in translated advertisements in order for the translation to have the impact on and appeal to the target language audience as they did in SL. Secondly, there is the need for the knowledge of the cultural background (schematic knowledge) of the language in determining the criteria that can be adopted for checking the appropriateness of the translation. Finally, student translators and translators must be made aware of the cognitive strategies they could employ in the process of handling culturally opaque advertisements.

In summary, Shakir observes the following in his study:

1. **sentence structure**

   Authentic Arabic advertisements share similar linguistic features to English advertisements in that they are made up of short, simple and disjunctive sentences. It could be accepted that the genre is fairly universal regardless of the language. One could argue that modern advertising is a western export to the rest of the world.
The students-translated texts are long and heavily loaded. They do not promote the smooth processing of the message of the advertisements. This alienates the mode of presentation and blurs its communicative impact. Therefore some elements of translation theories, in general, could not be readily employed in translating advertisements.

2. lexical choices
The students have incorporated vocabulary items from formal discourse in their translation. Authentic texts utilized vocabulary items from general usage. Another feature of advertising language is its wide appeal to the public (cf. Pinchuck, 1977).

3. cohesion
A good percentage of the translations are here unduly explicit, thus removing from the advertisements their suspending and persuasive power.

4. the relationship between text topological focus and surface features
The rhetorical features associated with authentic advertisements, for example, exaggeration, colourful style - the strategies and tools of persuading and inviting - are missing in the students' translations. The students produced texts in the passive form. This is typical of formal academic texts. This further argues for another inspection of existing translation theories.

5. encompassing cultural schemata
An important part of the study argues that advertisements are culture-specific. Shakir argues that the correct choice of lexical items is dependent on a wider understanding of how lexical items are used in the cultural environment.

SWAP a Child this Summer
Family Centre Special Education
Centre

Shakir argues that the usage of SWAP in the context above is alien to the culture of his students. He explains that the concept of bartering in their culture, although it is not alien, does not include the exchange of items not related to trade. Shakir says, ‘... the students renounce such a schema as being contradictory to and completely incompatible with another schema they have about children's status in a civilized society' (1995:). An important point here is to appreciate that advertising itself is a "cultural activity" and that there is a cultural schemata attached to the practice and the language. It could be argued that although the students are exposed to advertising in their culture they are not familiar with many facets of advertising.
The use of SWAP in the context of the above advertisement would also pose difficulty to a native speaker in the Western context. A native SL reader might have similar problem accepting that SWAP could be use in the context above. I believe the cultural schemata involved are not the denotational nor connotational disambiguation of lexical items. What is more important is accepting that advertising as a genre uses words in contexts which are far from normal for a variety of reasons, humour, self-deprecating attitudes, irony, etc. It is this which makes up the cultural schemata of the SL text. These uses of language may not directly correspond to the uses in another language. It is also important to be reminded that advertising language is always in context and parasitic on accompanying discourse. This could further explain the difficulty in understanding the cultural argument in the choice of lexical item above, even for a native SL language user. The translator needs to know the wider context in which the advertisement was originally placed. There might be allusions to other experiences in SL culture.

Shakir's study is invaluable because it highlights that the translation of advertising texts could not be the same as the translation of a more general text. Shakir's use of students learning another language, and translation underlines the need to appreciate that learning another language also means learning the whole cultural climate of the language. Translator training needs to impart this awareness as well as "teach" whatever is required. Background knowledge or cultural knowledge are important elements which carry "national flavour" (Pinchuck, 1977) that translators have to acquire at some point in time. In the token, '[A]dvertising brings a wholly new meaning to the discipline of translation' (Slater, 1984a: 41).

2.5 Discussion and Summary
Advertising texts are chosen to form the bulk of the source data texts for this present study for four reasons. Firstly, advertising texts are a type of authentic text with authentic language, i.e. a text that is prevalent within a community and one which is produced in a language as it is used in the community. For the moment, this is a basic parameter for this study. Secondly, as advertisements are a form of mass communication, it follows that a large section of the public is exposed to them. Thirdly, and as a result of the above two reasons, advertising copy are placed with
great care within the cultural context of the product and its target reader-cum-consumer. This is best summarized below,

Advertising, designed more to impress and persuade than to entertain or enlighten, represents an array of communications whose effectiveness can be observed and substituted by its success in changing people’s behaviour. Possibly no other genre of communication has such a need for practical applications for movement of messages between cultures [Italics mine] as does advertising (Slater, 1984a: 41).

Although advertisements are creative communications, their functions in the society make them ideal examples of natural context-rich communication for a mass audience. Finally and importantly for this study, the context-rich communication exemplifies what Venuti argues as the dilemma of foreignizing versus domesticating communication (Venuti, 1995: 9-25).

To appreciate the last point, we have to understand the concept of marketing. Slater states that advertisers normally conduct market research for market advertising to ensure optimum effective communication (Slater, 1984b). The tendencies in the past were for advertisers to utilize the market research developed in their home market to guide them in cross-cultural advertising assignments in foreign markets (cf. 2.2.1). Inadvertently, this effects the transfer of their own-value system into their perceptions of the new and foreign market (Ricks, 1993). Thorough market research in a foreign country can be expensive. Interestingly, it is when these original advertisements failed to produce the expected desired response that the problems of cross-cultural communication are felt (cf. Ricks et al. 1974; Ricks, 1993).

One important element to be exploited in advertising is the association within the community of the product or service, either directly or indirectly, to a symbolic situation, i.e. something that already has association with a certain set of feelings, attitudes and values” (Slater, 1984a: 42). For example, colours reflect mood, diamonds in Western culture symbolize eternal love, etc. Readers decoding advertisements within a framework of their own cultural myths, may not attribute to these messages the same significance as do the copywriters-cum-advertisers (Slater, 1984a: 43). Therefore, copywriters-cum-advertisers must explore in greater detail the symbolic forms and concepts embedded in their home market advertisements before transposing them into advertisements in a foreign market.
and in a foreign language. Any information transfer must be the outcome of careful examination and explanation of the precise, nature of cultural disparities, perhaps along the line of a decodification of communications behaviours. Slater is only one of many writers who has highlighted the problems of international advertising resulting from inadequate understanding of foreign cultures and the mistaken belief that translating advertisements is sufficient and easy (see also Séguinot, 1995). This is pertinent to translation as Slater sums up, 'Advertising brings a wholly new meaning to the discipline of translation' (Slater, 1984a: 41).

Advertisements are texts in context and Cook's definition of context includes all the following: substance, music and pictures, paralanguage, situation, co-text, intertext, participants and functions. To Cook, language is always in context and he categorizes advertisements as discourse:

**Discourse** is text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants (who are both part of the context and observes of it). The task of discourse analysis is to describe both this phenomenon in general and particular instances of it, and to say how participants distinguish one type of discourse from another. To do this, it needs to pay close attention not only to human cognitive processes in general, but also to features specific to a given culture (1992: 2).

Cook goes beyond accepting advertisements as acts of communication whose primary purpose is to sell a given product. Cook's work is not on the translation of advertisements *per se*. However by identifying the text and context of advertisements, Cook helps linguists understand advertisements in greater detail. To the translator, the knowledge of the discourse assists her/him in decoding and interpreting the text. S/He would be able to identify and understand all the messages within the texts and within all the modes of communication employed by advertisements. Cook also points out the parasitic nature of the substance within advertisements on meanings and messages. The interaction between advertisements and the situation, for example, accompanying discourses, can create another level of meaning that can be quite different from the obvious one (Cook, 1992: 28). Decoding the various meanings helps the discourse analysts to decipher the messages. It may not be of much interest to the translator to transfer all the messages from the SL text into the TL text. However, s/he would be able to make better choices in determining which message to translate and in the choice of lexical items and syntax.
The central issue in discourse analysis is deciphering meaning. Meaning is conveyed through all the devices employed in the production of the discourse. The decoding of these devices is centred on knowledge of the systems within and outside the discourse, i.e. the cultural knowledge the decoder has in his make-up. Elements, in advertisements, which convey meanings with cultural overtones, identified above, will be further analysed in the next chapter.

Endnotes:

1  Simon Anholt is the Managing Director of World Writers, an advertising company that provides copy and consultancy for international advertising. His company has Volvo and IBM as some of its major clients. He presented a talk at the University of Surrey on the 24th January, 1996.


3  This advertising campaign was heavily aired in 1996. IBM is not a major player in the personal computer market. It has always been dependent on others, particularly Microsoft, who has provided IBM the means to venture into this market. IBM is traditionally the leader in main frame computers. It would like to capture the personal computer market which was worth US$ 100 billion world wide (Channel 4: 17. 21 and 24 April, 1996, ‘Triumph of the Nerds’).

4  *Wally* is a slang word meaning a stupid person (CD, 1994[1993]: 1728).

5  Tan Sri Ghazali bin Shafie was then the Minister of Special Functions and of Information. This was part of a speech, “Advertisements and Our Society”, given at a luncheon of the Advertisers Association and the Institute of Public Relations, Federal Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, 2 December 1971.

6  Initially Idris had a partnership in Idris Lim Associates. In 1977 the multiracial partnership broke up. Idris remained in what became a wholly Malay owned advertising agency. Idris had experience working with a multinational advertising agency in London (see Anderson, 1984: 227-228).

7  Advertisers have been known to influence “culture”. For example, Santa Claus was originally green-suited. It was a Coca cola campaign some time ago that changed his suit colour to red. One of Coca cola’s trademark is after all the colour red. Santa Claus has been dressed in red ever since.
The previous chapter has highlighted areas that are potentially relevant in the discussion of culture and discourse. I am now going to explore these areas in more detail for the purposes of my study.

3.1 Framing Key Issues
3.1.1 Text Typology: Features of Parallel Texts

I have presented literature on advertising, in the last chapter, which strongly emphasizes the fact that advertising is a cultural discourse. Here I will briefly explore further the reasons for which advertising texts are ideal for exploring cultural messages.

Advertisers follow a set of procedures when producing advertisements in a foreign market (cf. Onkvisit and Shaw, 1987; Pebbles et al. 1978). Some advertisers are known to adapt their original campaigns. Others have a policy of encouraging some degree of localization (cf. Chapter 2; Buzzell, 1968; Hornik, 1980). It is acknowledged that multinationals in Malaysia translate their original advertising campaigns for the local market (cf. Chapter 2; Anderson, 1984). This practice is sufficient to justify the use of advertising texts in at least two of the three languages, i.e. BEng and BM or MEng and BM, for the textual analysis in this study. The Malaysian advertising texts that are translated from an English language source text, either BEng and/or MEng are unarguably ideal for interlingual textual comparisons. All the texts in the three languages, i.e. BM, MEng and BEng, are true parallel texts.

For the text analysts who might be less familiar with advertising practices, I will further justify why advertising texts are true parallel texts from a linguistic point of view. I shall adopt Hartmann's categorization of parallel texts. Hartmann identifies three types of parallel texts. The first, termed "Class A", are SL texts and their TL translations (cf. Hartmann, 1980: 37-38). Class A texts are undoubtedly the best examples of parallel texts for text-analysis purposes. Most of the advertising texts in this study would fit into this category, for example, COPY 14 (BEng copy from Marie Claire, April 1996), COPY
15 (MEng copy from Her World, November 1995) and COPY 16 (BM from Jelita March 1991). The BEng and the MEng texts are identical. The BM text is a translation of the BEng/MEng texts. Other examples in this category are COPY 17 and COPY 18 of the Phillips advertisements.

The next category, is "Class B" types. These are texts in which the TL texts contain an adapted version of the source texts' message. Examples of this class type are COPY 19, COPY 20 and COPY 21 on the Lancôme's Primordiale promotions. The BEng text and the MEng text, COPY 19 and COPY 20, are similar but not identical. They have similar contents that are organized slightly differently. This seems to suggest that one is an adapted version of the other. The BM text, COPY 21, is a translated version of the MEng text. The relationship between COPY 19 and COPY 20 is that of Class B type. The relationship of COPY 20 and COPY 21 is of Class A type. In most cases we could generally assume that when the TL texts have the same product(s) suitably positioned for the TL market, both the SL text and the TL texts would qualify as those of Class B. Such TL texts would still qualify as parallel texts.

The third category is "Class C". These are parallel texts that deal with similar events but which are unrelated (cf. Hartmann, 1980: 37-38). In this instance, I would define "events" as the promotions of a product or service by an advertiser-cum-copywriter. The following, COPY 22 and COPY 23 would fit into this category. In addition, I would also argue for SL text and TL text that use similar linguistic devices and advertising format to be of the Class C category.

Texts advertising the same products, although in different languages, would inevitably have similar product information. Of course, this could not be assumed to be the practice in all advertising strategies. It is worth noting the following Hydrabase advertisements, COPY 24 and COPY 25.

COPY 24
[Treat] [your] [lips] [to] [the] [colour] [nature] [did not] [dare] [to] [give] [them] [,]
[Layan] [anda] [bibir] [dengan] [w] [warna] [t] [berani] [beri] [mer] [merka] [,]
Prag. trans.: Warna bibir anda dengan warna yang luar biasa.
The advertiser is the same, i.e. Chanel. The visual is identical. Yet there appears to be a major difference in the message. There are two issues on content here which could have produced the difference in message. The first is the concept of “nature” as an entity. This is difficult to translate into Malay. The second relates to cultural norms. This might be contentious amongst the younger generation but Malaysians, as a social group, are less likely to do something that is not natural, i.e. luar biasa. The change in meaning to the message could have been influenced by this belief. An additional point to note is the grammatical error in *di kurniakan*, which should be *dikurniakan*. These points will be taken up later. The difference in message could be the result of the considerations above or could simply be a translation error. There is already one in the grammar. Despite these arguments, I contend that these two copies fit into Class A type. Therefore, based on Hartmann’s categories, it will always be possible to find advertising texts in two different languages or three in this case, which are parallel texts.

3.1.2 Defining Culture

I am interested in culture and its representations through language. The elements in advertisements that have a cultural element are uppermost in this study. The other interest is the role of the translator as a communicator of this cultural communication. Tied to the first, the second raises two issues. The first question is the role of the translator in disambiguating and comprehending these cultural messages in SL texts. The other question is the role of the translator as the medium in disseminating these cultural messages into the TL texts. It is important to note that I do not see translation as more of a cultural activity and less of a linguistic exercise (cf. Bassnett, 1998: 72).

I am, nonetheless interested in that aspect of translation which is involved in communicating messages which are pertinent to the SL socio-environmental content and context and also pertinent to the TL socio-environmental content and context. Culture, I contend, is manifested through or *in*, language, i.e. culture is expressed through language and there are elements of culture in language. This view, at a glance,
appears to be opposite to Bassnett's 'And language is always embedded in culture (Bassnett, 1998: 72). However, it is not this study to ascertain the relationship of language and culture. My main contention is that culture, although not wholly so, is the content in, and the context of language. It is the elements or parts of this content and context that are cultural which interest me. It is not important for now to ascertain the exact relationship between language and culture. That there is a relationship is acknowledged but not defined. I will first explore briefly the concept of culture that I will use in this study.

3.1.2.1 What is Culture?
Culture means many things to many people. The commonest understanding is that it refers to people's way of life. It generally brings to mind the differences between groups of people particularly that of different nationalities. According to Newmark, it is '... the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression' (Newmark, 1988: 94). Tylor's (1871) concept of culture, as cited by Aziz, seems to be the most appropriate for this study and it states that,

... complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Aziz, 1982: 25).

A definition in Collins dictionary states that culture is 'the total inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge, which constitute the same bases of social action' (CD, 1994[1993]: 387).

Lyons makes the distinction between the above concepts of culture and what is also understood as cultured or has culture (Lyons, 1981:302). Kluckhohn also mentions this differentiation in his interesting discussion of the concept: '... a person who has "culture" is someone who can talk about Debussy, T.S. Elliot, Picasso, and those people' (Kluckhohn, 1962: 20). Cultured is a divisive definition that appears to polarize society. A feature of this is the way people use language in everyday speech. It does mean that even within a particular society or a group of what appears to be homogenous, there are still features that classify and demarcate its members.

We have come into the realm of sociolinguistics. To illustrate the last point, consider the
following:

Apa kowe mangan sega lan kaspe saiki? (low form) (a)
Napa sarapan adjeng neda sekul lan kaspe saniki (middle form) (b)
Menapa panjenengan bade dahar sekul kalijan kaspe semenika? (high form) (c)

These are only a few different registers in Javanese to express the simple English sentence,

Are you going to eat rice and cassava now? (d) (Geertz, 1960: 255).

Therefore, the question must be why there is more than one way of saying the same thing. Such differences in register are also observed in Tagalog (Roman, 1987: 125-147). One could further argue that there must be more in meaning and/or message than just (d) - the referential meaning of all the three, i.e. (a), (b) and (c) - in the different ways the same message is presented. I argue that there is more in meaning and/or message than just (d) in all the other three ways of saying the same thing. There are other messages behind the pragmatic message of (d). These messages must be explored and ascertained.

There are two points to be explored here. The first point must be the intention of the speaker towards the listener. Speaker's intention is rather complicated. Therefore there could be two or more possible responses from the listener of any discourse. The first could be termed as a "cohesive" response, i.e. a direct answer from the listener, 'Yes' or 'No' or any similar equivalents. I will term utterances that elicit such a cohesive response as first level message or transparent or immediate message. This first message is in a way a direct disambiguation of the meanings of the lexical items in the discourse. It could also be the connotational meanings that carry the message. This first message is derived from the definitive semantics of the lexical items. These could be denotative or connotative or any of the other meanings that are "transparent" or immediate. Borrowing from Pateman, I will term these types of meanings as operative (Pateman, 1983). These types are the stabilized meanings.

The second response would be that which could be termed "coherent" response. The listener may respond in another way, as a result of the discourse, for example, warm up the rice and cassava or keep/store the rice and cassava, etc. This is like being asked for
the time, when the speaker may actually want to convey another message, i.e., 'We are running late', or 'You aren't dressed yet? The coherent response does require the lexical items to be developed further from their basic meanings or operative semantics.

This second level of message carries more than the transparent operative semantics. In the examples above, i.e. (a), (b), (c), there is other information. We could infer from the discourse, for example, who the speakers are/ who would use these discourses; who the listeners are/ to whom would these discourses be directed to; what situations would the speakers and listeners be in, etc. In other words, if we know the language system, in this instance Javanese, we would be able to appreciate the relationships between the speaker(s) and listener(s). We could also cognitively perceive other information. We would be able to determine the context of the discourse. We would then be very certain of the content of the discourse - the desired response of the listener(s) by the speaker(s).

Consider the following, COPY 26 (cf. 8.3.2.1) and COPY 128. Immediately then, if we are conversant with the cultural context of the discourse, we could have some idea of the following: socio-economic background of the speaker and listener; and possibly even the identify the gender of the speaker; the gender of the listener; etc. This information would aid a greater pragmatic comprehension of the discourse. This second level of message is what I would classify as schematic message. The meanings of the lexical items are not much destabilized from the operative meanings. Yet, they require some degree of extra "processing" for comprehension.

In another example, Geertz quotes what he interprets as an elaborate hypercorrect empty formalism in a lamaran, a formal marriage proposal, when a groom's family formally requests the hand of a bride:

Frost in the morning means rain in the evening... (Geertz, 1960: 53).

The speaker means to communicate that the problem he has come to discuss is a "cool" one - in a hot climate, "cool" is metaphorically a pleasant one. This gives an indication to his listeners of the likely content of his communication (although his listeners may have been informed of his intention informally before hand). The gender of the speaker is nearly always male. This is the cultural norm although by no means rigid. There are
other variations to the form above, for example, one Malay equivalent is, ... *would like
to pick a/the flower in your garden.* This is the proper mode of going about such
things within the society or cultural group. If someone does not "play", i.e. communicate
according to these pre-set rules, i.e. observe the "correct" language forms, that someone
may just find herself/himself severely disadvantaged communicatively, i.e. to the extent
of being excluded from the community. On the other hand, if a person wants to
effectively convey her/his message, it is best that the message is presented in the form
that is acceptable to the intended receiver, i.e. the correct *register*. On the surface of it,
this procedure of doing things shows respect and conveys the seriousness of the matter
in hand. At the same time it injects some elements of "high culture" and romance into
the proceedings. Bialystok and Hakuta have noted in the Javanese example that the
selection of the proper registers is dependent on the entire system of Javanese beliefs
and etiquette (Bialystok and Hakuta, 1994:164).

From the above discussion, it is noted that register is also very important to the
translator and will be discussed in greater detail (cf. *Chapter 4*). For the time being it is
enough to note that it is vital the translator understands the culture or cultural elements
within the SL text in the translation process, to be able to effect satisfactorily a cross-
cultural communication. For that is what a translator does in translating a text from one
language into another. It suffices to say at this point that culture differentiates societies
and the varying degrees of having "culture" produced sub-sets within a particular
society. Thus we have language use representing or reflecting culture. In other word
"cultured", the concept as used by Lyon, refers to differences within the same culture,
i.e. intra-cultural and or differences between the levels of development of differing
cultures - a relative measurement mechanism from the perspective of a chosen culture

There are two important points here. The first is that meaning leads to message(s). The
second is that *registers* code a variety of messages, not least, cultural messages. The
issue of culture versus cultured is not pertinent. What is pertinent is the pragmatic use
of language. Thus, I am interested in registers. I am interested in the functional use of
language. I am interested in the features of language that facilitate communication.
3.1.2.2 Language of Culture

From the discussion of culture above, we come back to the key feature, i.e. language. Language can be seen as the formal system of signs by which a particular society expresses itself. It is one of the first distinguishing features of differing societies and consequently hints at a relationship between it and the culture of the society it represents.

It is of some interest that a single language may cross several cultural boundaries (Aziz, 1988). Salzmann goes a bit further and believes that 'no correlation has yet been established between cultures of a certain type and a certain type of language' (1993: 151). He points to the North American Indians of the Great Plains, who are easily distinguished by at least six different language families, and whose cultures possess the same or very similar characteristics. There is something in Salzmann's belief, but it is not the universality of culture that is of interest in this study. What is universally understood would not impede communication. It is the differences that are problematic. These differences may not be great in terms of numbers or quantity but are vital if they cause major misunderstandings. It is these differences, or rather the identification of these differences and their respective disambiguation, which are of interest in this study. It is important to keep in mind that my interest at all times, is the transfer of knowledge and information, i.e. content and context. Ricks has documented such misunderstandings: the respective sources and the ill consequences due to mis-transfer of content and context (Ricks, 1993; cf. Chapter 2).

People can still appear to communicate in the same language and yet find that they have not communicated their message(s) across or at best only managed an unsatisfactory communication. In many parts of the world where Britain was once a colonial influence, English is the language for communication for example as in India, or has produced a variety of Englishes, for example Malaysian English (cf. 1.1.4.1), Jamaican English, Singaporean English and Nigerian English. An obvious effect has been in variations of meanings of the same word and in the fact that some words are more standard or more commonly used in a particular community. As an example, the differences in denotations,
What has happened is that the same concept is more commonly represented by another word similar in meaning or, a particular word has developed other denotative meaning(s) through usage within the society in which it is being used. These differences in meanings must be appreciated for in reality they bring about similar problems to false friends.

The following examples illustrate the problems of determining equivalents. In different contexts, the lexical item, segan does not offer the same denotational meaning.

1. You can borrow the book if you like. (English equivalent)  
   Segan. (Malay response)

2. Could you make me a cup of tea? (English equivalent)  
   Segan. (Malay response)

3. Why didn't you come over to be introduced? (English equivalent)  
   Segan. (Malay response)

The word segan can convey reluctance; lazy; shyness; timidity, and embarrassment, depending on the context. In the first two examples, the meaning is quite clear but it can convey all the other possible meanings too. In this instance, it is important to understand the context and "cultural background" of the respondent. This can be confusing even to Malay speakers because although all the denotations are acceptable in the standard form, the preferred usage could be regional and/or dialectal. Similarly the use of semalam: last night; yesterday; must be interpreted by identifying the "cultural origin" of the speaker/writer. The translator translating from English to Malay must be aware of this difference and her/his choice of the appropriate lexis must be based on the context of the SL text. One could argue that this is a matter of determining the vernacular(s). The main issue is still centred on semantics.

Cultural differences are most easily discernible when the differences between two or more cultures involved are very marked. One culture that is alien to the other may appear exotic and consequently, and paradoxically, easily comprehended. As Newmark rightly points out "cultural" words are easily detected, although they cannot be literally
translated (Newmark, 1988a: 95). As they are more easily noticed, the translator tends to be careful. When there are no cultural equivalents, translators generally have two options, i.e. transference or componential analysis (Newmark, 1988a: 96; cf. Nida, 1975). Thus these cultural words may pose less problem to cross-cultural communication. There have been many works, particularly that of Nida's (1975) and Newmark's (1988a), dealing with these cultural words which are really referents to elements of culture, for example,

**sari** distinct dress form, worn by Indian women  
**sake** Japanese wine

The real problem and one that may still be unappreciated particularly to the Malay translator is in dealing with cultural concepts that are not expressed by "cultural" words but by ordinary lexical items. For instance,

**He is a rat.**

(e) **[Dia/Lelaki] [e] [satu] [tikus] [.]**  
(f) He could be a person who is like a **rat**. Therefore, it could not be the literal meaning that carries the message. **Rat** has to be used in the figurative sense here. It would then disambiguate as "an unpleasant person". The "true" message is, **He is an unpleasant person. Tikus**, i.e. the equivalent of **rat** in Malay also has a figurative usage in Malay. The meaning of which is "a coward (person)". A "coward" could also be an "unpleasant person", but the message (e) would not be transferred through the literal Malay equivalent, **tikus**. The "true" figurative equivalent in (e) is **buaya**, i.e. crocodile or alligator or **ular**, i.e. snake.

There is another lexical ambiguity. This is centred on **He**. The English language's penchant for referring to animate and animals in the third person pronoun has to be noted. If this is so in the example above, then **rat** is used in the non-literal sense. If rat were an animal, the pronoun would be **it**. The fact that the animal, rat, is given a gender and "humanized" must also carry with it some message.

Wittgenstein argues that 'the meaning of language is not found in its denotative dictionary-like definitions but in its uses in everyday life' (cited in Bialystock and Hakuta, 1994: 169). Bialystok and Hakuta note that this is an important concept in second or foreign language teaching (Bialystok and Hakuta, 1994: 169). Effective language
teaching must be culturally sensitive. Similarly, the translator has to be culturally sensitive. At the same time, there is another issue to this cultural sensitivity. For example, many Malaysian Muslims would find it offensive encountering words like ham, pig or pork. Yet removing them from the contents will affect the contexts of the discourse and replacing them with suitable alternatives might not be optimal transfer of information. In addition, if alternatives were used, the TL text might not be saying the correct things about the SL culture.

Similar cultural problems were encountered much earlier in Malay society, which is predominantly a Muslim one. Shakespeare's Macbeth was once translated for performance and to be enjoyed by a greater section of the general public (Nik Zaitun, 1994). It was also an exercise for English language learning (Nik Zaitun, 1994: 93). God was translated to Allah, the name of God in Islam, and sword was replaced by kris, a Malay dagger. Kris/keris arguably carries similar reverence and historical-cultural value of the "English" sword. Yet the characters retain their original names and act in decidedly un-Muslim behaviour by drinking alcohol. In other words, apart from cultural items, i.e. overt cultural markers, the cultural and social narratives were retained in the translation. It was therefore not surprising that the resultant clash of culture was treated with contempt and suspicion (Nik Zaitun, 1994: 95). This is an interesting mix of domesticating and foreignizing (cf. Venuti, 1997).

3.1.2.3 Elements of Culture

Newmark has produced a categorization of cultural elements and a framework of procedures to translate them (Newmark, 1988a). The translator has a "tool-kit" of procedures and strategies to aid and increase the speed of his work. Although this "tool-kit" is invaluable, its use is limited in that it deals with overt cultural markers, for example saree/sari, which the translator would already know about. The "tool-kit" strategies do not provide much in the way of dealing with covert cultural markers; for example, He is a rat. The interest in this study is with covert cultural markers - the less obvious cultural differences, i.e. when "culture" is not expressed in specific "cultural" words.

Overt cultural markers could also carry covert cultural message(s). Séguinot has shown that the visual of kimono-clad Japanese women conveys verbal message(s) to the
discerning reader(s). The key message is noted by the reader(s) with adequate schematic knowledge, i.e. Japanese social etiquette. In her example, the additional message, which triggered other verbal messages, is that the Japanese women are widows. We have cultural message(s) being represented in two instances. The first is specifically through overt cultural markers. As with Séguinot's example, the cultural message is represented by the *kimono*. The overt cultural representation leads to further cultural messages that are less overt, i.e. the kimono lapels of the women indicate that they are widows and that they are in mourning. Cultural messages could also be represented through non-cultural elements or universally non-cultural specific elements, for example colours and everyday items such as spoons and sugar. It could be argued that such universally non-cultural specific elements do not really exist. These apparently universal non-cultural specific elements may have socio-cultural value(s) attached to them. Through socio-cultural associations, these items have connotative meanings that are socio-culturally determined.

Therefore Newmark's "tool-kit" strategies would be far from adequate. The limitation of such strategies would be in identifying covert cultural markers and in the subsequent disambiguation of the respective meaning(s) and message(s).

### 3.1.3. Meaning vs. Message

One important point raised above, is the difference between *meaning* and *message*. To reiterate, in this study, meaning is the operative semantics or the denotations and connotations, etc. of lexical item(s) as commonly understood and immediately perceived by the language users. In discourse, *meaning* is the physical representation of *message*. It is only by disambiguating meaning that *message* is decoded. In addition, there are at all times in advertising texts (as will be shown later), at least two levels of *messages*. The first is what I term as *transparent* message. This is the message that is derived from operative semantics or stabilized meanings of lexical item(s). The second message is the *schematic* message. This is derived from the de-stabilized meanings.
3.1.4 Aspects of Culture in Language

From the above discussion, I will explore the following aspects below:

1. registers: the configuration of connotations that are related to particular social situations and contexts
2. visual: the representation of cultural messages through perceptible signs and markers
3. word play: atypical usage of lexical items in coding cultural contents
4. gender: linguistic representations of the social relationship between the sexes.

3.1.4.1 Registers

One of the more prominent works on register is by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964). Halliday and Hassan have produced a summary of aspects of language in a social-semiotic context (Halliday and Hassan, 1985). I will however be using Hatim and Mason's classification of language variation (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 37-54; see in particular their Fig. 3.3 page 46) which is largely based on Halliday et al. (1964). The classification takes into account use and user. Hatim and Mason's framework is suitable for a number of reasons. Firstly, it not only provides an adequate basis for looking at register but as this study deals with communication, it is a more practicable reformulation of Halliday et al. (1964). It is concerned with the relationship between addresser and addressee. Advertising is a discourse that involves the speaker, i.e. the advertiser, and the addressee, i.e. the consumer. Importantly Hatim and Mason's classification is appropriate, as it is a more specific application of Halliday et al. (1964) with regard to translation. In addition, Hatim and Mason occasionally make references to advertising texts. Below I will briefly define some of the concepts in use in register analysis.

There are three components of register in the Hallidayan tradition: field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse. Field is the kind of language use that reflects the language activity. This is pertinent to the activity of advertising that is to sell a product or service, in which the field of activity is, the language, used. Leech and Cook amongst others, have shown that advertising language draws upon language types from a variety of genres in addressing the variety of consumers it attempts to address effectively (Leech, 1966; Cook, 1992).
The other element is **mode** and this refers to the medium of the language activity. It is the manifestation of the nature of the language code being used (Hatim and Mason, 1990:49). Once again, although the advertising copies being analyzed are print advertisements, the arguments of Leech and Cook above apply. Written texts could be further classified into writings which fit into Hatim and Mason's classification of user variations (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 49, see in particular their Fig. 3.4; cf. Leech, 1966 and Cook, 1992). The written text of a print advertisement could be any one of the following:

a) transcript of a spoken text
b) written text produced in,
   1. formal written language
   2. a mixture of formal and casual written language
In the immediate category above (b.2), the copywriter uses certain features of spoken language for stylistic purposes.

c) a "silent" dialogue between copywriter and reader

Finally, the relationship between the addresser and addressee is the **tenor** of the discourse. There are two types: personal and functional. The former covers the degrees of formality (Hatim and Mason, 1990: 50). The latter is concerned with why the language is being used (Hatim and Mason, 1990:51). With regard to advertising texts, the **producer** or the **source** of a text is the copywriter(s) who has/have produced it for an advertiser marketing a product or service. The target audience of the advertising text is always the reader-cum-consumer of the print publication.

Advertising appeal or the advertisement's selling message, for example the price, can be conveyed to the target consumer through a variety of copy formats, i.e. how the text or body of the advertisement is organized as a message. Copy formats can be straightforward, direct presentation to the buyer benefits and reasons for buying, i.e. the relation between the salesman and the consumer. A favourite copy format is the testimonial variety where a celebrity or a prominent person talks about the benefits of the product, i.e. celebrity vs. public as in a number of washing detergent advertisements on British television. Testimonials can also come from an ordinary person, i.e. the person-on-the-street or a supposedly current user of the product extolling its virtues — a
housewife as a representative of a peer of the reader. In fact as will be seen later (cf. Chapter 4), there is a variety of role relationships beyond the real role relationship of copywriter/advertiser and consumer for example, stranger and stranger, salesman and consumer, friend and friend and man/woman and potential partner/lover.

There is a lot more work done on English language and linguistics with particular reference to register analysis. BM has had its share of studies but there is still a dearth of detailed work comparable to that in English. Furthermore, studies that have been carried out on the languages of interest in this particular study, i.e. British English (BEng), Malaysian English (MEng) and Bahasa Melayu/Bahasa Malaysia/Malay Language (BM), are not necessarily directly comparable in subject area or in the degree of emphasis and detail.

A second point to note and an equally important one with regard to register, is that BEng is a more stratified language socially with the Queen's English or the BBC English generally considered as the standard or Received Pronunciation, (RP). Although recent trends in the British mass communication media seem to indicate that it is acceptable for television and radio presenters to have some degree of dialectal accent, this is mostly still limited to pronunciation and does not apply to the other features of language variations like lexical items. BM is not as stratified socially as English. At least it is not with respect to language variations as a demarcation of social class. In the recent past, the distinct social stratification in BM language was strongly obvious through the differences between court/royal language (Bahasa Di Raja) and ordinary standard language of the common people. BM dialectal differences show differences between speakers geographically but have little or no significance on social stratification. This is opposite to BEng where the correlation between British dialectal differences and social class is high.

At present there are two acceptable varieties of standard BM. The two are differentiated predominantly through pronunciation (Asmah, 1993), as in the final syllables, and in lexical items. For example in kereta (= car), the first is known as the a-variety where the final “a” is pronounced as in BEng car and the r as in road. Kereta is therefore pronounced /kaɾeːta/. The second type of pronunciation is referred to as the schwa-
variety. In this type, the final "a" is as in BEng *cat* and the *r* is silent. The pronunciation of *kereta* is */kærətə/. Geographically, the first variety is also known as the Northern dialect or Kedah dialect and the second is the Southern dialect or Johor dialect. Beyond these two acceptable standard varieties is the refined language and high vocabulary of the court or royal language that is now largely associated with classical BM.

A point to note which appears to emerge from the analysis of advertisements which follows (cf. *Chapter 4*), is that formal spoken BM is phonologically, syntactically and lexically much closer to formal written BM than formal spoken English is to written English. This formality of the spoken BM is however, not reflected in the way in which Malay and Malaysian social interaction actually takes place. Generally once a formal relationship is established and prolonged, the relationship tends to lose its formality in tone and moves towards a friendlier and less formal form. A key feature of spoken BM is the use of honorific terms that reflects the role relationship between communicators. Although honorific terms are readily a measure of formality, they are more correctly an indication of the *respect* communicators acknowledge towards each other.

BM has been in the past more of a spoken language than a written one. However changes to the social structure of the Malaysian society particularly since independence in 1957 has created new demands on the language in its written form as well as the spoken form. These social changes have come hand in hand with changes in education and the economic growth of the population. An interesting outcome is that more and more dialectal lexical items are being accepted into standard BM. This results from policies and practices in terminology work that has to cope with the growth of new language domains reflecting the socio-economic and cultural changes of the population. Heah has cited how borrowings from dialects and related languages have been brought into greater use in standard BM (Heah, 1989). The importation of dialects into mainstream language, i.e. *bahasa baku* equivalent to Received Pronunciation, RP, particularly through lexical borrowings underlines the lack of emphasis on social stratification in the language as a whole, unlike that of BEng (Heah, 1989). One could also argue that the need for language development and growth is far more important than social stratification. Such borrowings or the formalization of dialects is fortuitous not only for the language, i.e. BM but the social community that shares the language and
is serviced by it. This particular study will also reflect these socio-economic and cultural changes and highlight one area of language use where BM has had to cope.

3.1.4.2 **Visuals**

I now come to the functions of visuals in advertisements. Visuals are accepted as useful in the promotion and the persuasion of marketable products. However in the schemes of things, visuals play other roles in our everyday life and in our perceptions to our environment. It is these roles that I am interested in for these would provide a wider context towards our understanding of visuals and thus would aid our efforts in determining meanings and messages embedded in them.

We can observe that visuals convey meanings and messages beyond their aesthetic and beyond their denotative functions. This is observable through the various styles of painting in the depiction of natural objects. In our early history, human beings have been depicted as lines, as can be observed in prehistoric cave drawings in various parts of the world. This visual representation has over the period of our known civilization, developed and become very sophisticated. We observe this development in children's drawing over the period their development and growth into adulthood. On the one hand, we have developed the techniques to produce "the still-life". On the other hand, we have photography and cinematography. From an early age, children in modern education are being taught techniques in representation through various learning activities, in particular, through drawing and painting subjects in schools. The artistic ability to represent almost life-like visual representation is in this present day and age, a learned art. A horse drawn by Degas although both will be perceived as horse. It has been documented elsewhere that judgements of what looks life-like vary a great deal over time and across culture.

The arguments above are known as *pictorial conventions* or *conventions of representations* (Scott, 1994a: 261). It is important to realize that pictorial conventions are neither natural nor self-evident. They are devised for the purposes of representation and the viewing habits of the particular culture as well as limited by the resources available to the cultural environment. Leonardo da Vinci made significant contributions in the depiction of human anatomy. He had access to human corpses and his close
study had added much to the knowledge of his time. Degas life-like depictions of horses owed much to his enquiring mind - he wanted to know the positions of a horse's legs when it is in motion. A close study of the art of the early Middle Ages of both the East and the West will show that they are largely two-dimensional and lack perspective. However most of Western art, with the exception of some, for example, abstract art, are now more realistic in terms of colour and perspective. This development in techniques is relatively new (Segall et al., 1966: 56). By contrast, most of Eastern and Oriental art, for example, Indian paintings are almost still two-dimensional and notably lacking in perspective (cf. Segall et al., 1966: 55). Segall et al. note that it has come to the stage where these various art forms have been sanctioned stylistically and culturally: any variations from set conventions, would not only veer away from its individual aesthetic tradition but lose the "trademark" of the so-called art form.

With regard to visual representations through photography, the argued convention is that the visual form codes two messages (Barthes, 1977[1961]: 17). The first message is paradoxically without a code, i.e. the photographic analogue. The other message is with a code. The code arises from the art, or the treatment, or the writing, or the rhetoric, of the photograph (Barthes, 1977[1961]: 19). Kress and van Leeuwen also talk about representational manipulation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 66-67). They have shown that cropping can affect the narrative of a photograph (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; see Peracchio and Meyers-Levy, 1994). Bonsiepe also discusses how illustrations impose a visual rhetoric that in turn is connected to verbal rhetoric (Bonsiepe, 1961). Barthes in analyzing the photography of the Panzani advertisement shows how the reader is being clued into the concept of Italianicity through the signs present in the photograph. An important point to note, Barthes acknowledges that an Italian would miss this message of Italianicity because it is based on French knowledge of what something Italian should be (Barthes, 1977[1964]: 33-34). This seems to support Segall et al.'s position on cultural relativism (Segall et al., 1966: 55).

Barthes sees all imitative arts as comprising two messages (Barthes, 1977[1961]: 17). The first is the denoted message, which is the analogon itself, and the second is a connoted message, which presents the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it (Barthes, 1977[1961]: 17). Cook emphasizes that,
'advertising, [...] operates in all modes and media at once, and must be treated accordingly [...] pictures are part of the discourse of ads, and to ignore or downplay them is a serious distortion' (Cook, 1992: 38). Therefore I propose the diagram below as a possible summary of the functions of visuals in advertising texts.

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 3.1: The Relationships between Visual and Message**

The above is for the moment the basis, but by no means the definitive, focus towards understanding visuals in this study.

### 3.1.4.3 Semantic Interplay

Nilsen and Nilsen have observed that 'cultures throughout the world and throughout time have had language play' (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 28). Figurative language is also not limited to the domain of the classics and literature. Glucksberg shows that metaphors in everyday conversations are more than common and do not pose any more problems than literal expressions (Glucksberg, 1989: 125-143). Roberts and Kreuz show that specific figures of speech provide an effective means of achieving specific discourse goals (Roberts and Kreuz, 1994: 159-163). McQuarrie and Glen highlight the use of figurative language in advertising texts (McQuarrie and Glen (1996: 424-438).

Borrowing from the concept of language play as used by Nilsen and Nilsen, my concept of **semantic interplay** is the creative and unusual use of words, or semantically defines lexical items, beyond the immediately perceived normal usage in communicating information (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978). Semantic interplay encompasses wordplay and other forms of word manipulations. One type of word manipulation is a play on word, for example, a pun. Another type of word manipulation encompasses playing with words. This is verbal wit or dexterity and it exploits meanings and ambiguities inherent in words.
I would also like to explore idioms, which also involve manipulation of words. Idioms could not be classified as a form of wordplay in the accepted sense. However as idioms are made up of words in which the referential meanings are destabilized, I would use semantic interplay to be able to include puns, idioms and metaphors in my study. In other words, in semantic interplay I mean that lexical items are organized within the text or discourse in such a way that to readily accept their denotative definitions and consequently the respective denotative meanings, would not satisfactorily lead to the successful comprehension of the text or discourse.

The reader must assume that there has been a "play" or manipulation on these lexical items and processing these lexical items within the whole context of the text or discourse could only arrive at "correct" meanings. In other words, all possible meanings must be explored before a "definitive" meaning or meanings are accepted. In fact, the differentiation between denotative meanings and connotative meanings is rather inadequate. Leech has a few more categories of meaning (Leech, 1981). I would generally group those meanings slightly differently. I would go as far as to say that the two different possible meanings above, denotative and connotative meanings, be grouped together and that there is another different and dynamic type of meaning.

My two categories of possible meanings could be termed as operative semantics (cf. 3.1.2.1) or as "stabilized" and "de-stabilized" meanings respectively. The first category of meanings could be determined through the normal semantic and linguistic exercise. The second category could only be determined after the first exercise has been carried out and when the dynamism of the complete text has been taken into account. The "completeness" of the text is an important element in appreciating the de-stabilized meaning category. It is sufficient to say for the moment that the second category of meanings is "beyond" literal meanings. It also has to do with the figurative use of language and more. In fact, it is what I observed the result of a contemporary or synchronic creative use of language. I have included connotative meanings within "stabilized" or operative meanings. It is useful to remember that connotative meanings are different from figurative meanings.

The play on/with words de-stabilizes meanings. When lexical items are used figuratively, an element of the abstract or the non-literal is brought onto the context. An
interesting feature of figurative language is that meaning is not literal or direct. Meaning has to be explored at another level. In this respect figurative language is on one hand, not immediately clear and precise. For example in, *It rained cats and dogs*, the observer would never be able to see cats and dogs dropping down from the sky. To get to the meaning, the listener/reader has to process the sentence further. Yet, in this instance also, the meaning is instantaneously clear and precise. This is because there is an "established" meaning (Glucksberg, 1989; Long and Graesser, 1988). With the knowledge of this "established" meaning, the reader/listener would disambiguate the sentence. The figurative language is thus succinct and apt. The ambiguity that figurative language creates in the first instance is instantaneously disambiguated through an "established" cognitive process. In the example, the semantic interplay is affected by an abstract meaning to the lexical items. Manipulating the various aspects of words, i.e. sound, spelling, form, grammar, etc. normally produces semantic interplay. The manipulation of words can produce a variety of effects, for example, irony that gives a contrary message from the apparent meaning, and pun, which is a homophonic and/or homonymic play on word. In the context of this study, semantic interplay is the creative use of any features of language in which meanings could only be resolved by assessing the word(s) textually and intertextually.

To distinguish meaning as being either denotative or connotative is rather inadequate in the normal usage of the language. Leech has shown a wide range of possible meanings. I would refer to Leech's categories but simplify them for my use in this study. Firstly, I accept that there are denotative meanings. Secondly, I would not only accept that there are connotative meanings but I also accept all the other possible meanings that Leech has also listed under associative meanings. I would argue that his themative meanings are also pertinent with regard to the discussion of semantics in genre analysis. All these different categories, I would list as operative or stabilized semantics. But I would add another category that for now would be termed simply as "de-stabilized" meaning. This is where meanings are communicated not only by virtue of the way in which the text is organized, i.e. in terms of order or emphasis, but also by the creative or novel way in which the key words are used in the text. The effects are to bring about a variety of other possible meanings. It could be argued that the usage of lexical items would be readily understood in creative texts. It is the reader's duty to resolve
ambiguities satisfactorily. I shall demonstrate my argument regarding semantic interplay with the example below.

**COPY 27**
Take a breather.
Keywords:


What happens here is that a common collocation - associative meaning - is used to bring about the following possible interpretations. In a normal text, the meanings could not possibly be anything other - take a rest. In the context of the advertisement, there are a number of de-stabilizing factors. Assessing all possible meanings would lead to the final resolution of the "definitive" meaning(s). In fact, there could be no final or definitive meanings until all possible meanings are explored in the context of the copy. Thus the meaning is in a "de-stabilized" state. It is de-stabilized from normal definitions and disambiguations. Thus I simplify my definition to semantic interplay to mean the manipulations of lexical items to a de-stabilized state as I have just shown above. I would then classify meanings as stabilized and de-stabilized. The stable meanings are all the other categories that are already understood in which lexical items are used in prescribed semantic mode. Thus I categorize the use of lexical items in the example above as semantic interplay. For there is some degree of the denotative meanings being de-stabilized. With the example, it could be argued that the whole collocation is being used in a novel way.

My concern is for the translator. The significance of the "de-stabilized" meaning for the moment is twofold. One is that of interpretation. Interpretation determines meanings and consequently messages. In a one-language situation, semantic interplay adds wit and variety to the text. The processing and subsequent comprehension of texts brings about pleasure - Barthes' pleasure of the text. In such a situation a SL reader encounters all the possible meanings, and could enjoy all the possible messages all at the same time. The first language reader may decide to accept only one possible interpretation and this is within the reader's prerogative. Unfortunately, the TL text reader has to settle with the interpretative decision made by the translator. If a translator
were sensitive to the "de-stabilized" meanings, it would benefit the SL text writer. The translator could bring about the "full" intention of the SL writer. Ultimately this sensitivity benefits the TL reader and the quality of translation.

3.2. Textual Analysis

3.2.1 Macrostructure Analysis

I will start at the macro level. It is the immediacy of the copy that is instantaneously meaningful to the majority of advertising readers-cum-consumers. In text linguistics and discourse analysis the macrostructure is the underlying structure with which the text or discourse is organized (Richards et al., 1992: 323). Different types of texts and discourse are distinguished by the ways in which the information is linked to form a unit. Borrowing this term from text linguistics and discourse analysis, the following macrostructure analysis looks at the components of the underlying structure of an advertising discourse, which make up the form of the genre.

3.2.1.1 Identifying Advertising Texts

I have mentioned that this study is largely based on advertising texts. The reader is immediately directed to the texts that are "accepted" unquestionably as advertising texts and so the analyses of the texts follow. An important point, which Pateman (1983: 187) highlights, is this assumption on the part of the analyst and reader that the texts are what they are claimed to be (Pateman, 1983: 187). Most analysis of advertising texts have gone directly and analyzed a text as such, i.e. an advertising text. It might be useful to be able to ascertain formally whether a text is an advertising text.

This exercise may appear at first appear trivial. I will outline Pateman's argument because I feel that identifying any genre, is an important first stage towards analyzing it. In addition, it is has been shown that the "uniqueness" of advertising texts, particularly the contemporary English language ones, is generally achieved through bricolage. The borrowing and inter-weaving of other discourse types such as parody, comedy and many established literary works have allowed the 'voices of other discourses to enter' into the text type (Cook, 1992: 34). Understanding the stylistics of the parodied and "imitated" texts is therefore vital. The effects of such imitations have the potential to 'subvert the ideology which the original enshrined' (Cook, 1992: 34). The other effect is to subvert
the "manipulativeness" of the genre. This, at times, has been an advantage to advertisers. When advertisements are not strongly perceived as advertisements, the perception of the reader-cum-consumer is generally more favourable towards the advertisement (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985).

Generally, Pateman maintains that advertising texts are readily identifiable as advertising texts. Advertisements, Pateman acknowledges, 'are rarely identified in isolation and retrospectively, but rather they are identified in a context where they have been anticipated' (Pateman, 1983: 188). Cook has reinforced this argument (Cook, 1992). Pateman says that advertising as an activity fills our 'script-defined slot' (a term he borrows from Schank and Abelson's "script-based understanding"; cf. Pateman, 1983). The reader thus, Pateman argues, requires minimal clues to identify an advertisement as an advertisement. Pateman says that this ability on the part of the general public or potential consumer is a bonus for advertisers for 'they certainly do not have to do much to get us to perceive anything appearing on the back of a Sunday colour supplement as an advertisement' (Pateman, 1983: 188). Pateman adds that just 'because identification of advertisements is so easy and "automatic"' (Pateman, 1983: 189), it should not be taken for granted. Systematic and academic identification of advertisements must be accomplished for us to understand and criticize accordingly. This view is consistent with Crystal and Davy who advocate 'the need for systematic training and experience in describing the range of linguistic patterns which exist in English' (Crystal and Davy, 1969: 8-9). I would add that this need is vital in appreciating and understanding other languages as well. To aid the identification exercise, we also need to explore the definitions of advertising and advertisements. In this respect, I have discussed the two at some length already. Another aspect is the concept of an "activity type" (Pateman, 1983: 189). A minimal knowledge about advertising will assist in understanding and criticizing advertisements. This minimal knowledge is unarguably part of the competence of most of the world's population, at least of those in a capitalist environment. This minimal knowledge concerns the point or purpose of advertising. It addresses the reason for the production of any individual advertisement, i.e. to sell.

The reader also requires knowledge of a language and knowledge of a culture in order to accomplish an interpretation of an advertisement (Pateman, 1983: 190). Therefore, if
the reader accepts that a particular text or image is an advertisement, the reader also has to accept that the text conforms to a particular activity type, i.e. advertising. In this respect, Toolan has argued that a text or image must possess certain "formal" properties in order to count as belonging to a particular genre (Toolan, 1988). It has been argued elsewhere that these "formal" properties of texts and images used in advertisements can only be specified on the basis of the recognition that they are being produced in advertisements, i.e. they belong to the activity type - advertisement. For example, in COPY 28, the reader-cum-consumer could identify the identity of the brand name of the product based on her/his awareness of other cigarette advertisements (cf. Toolan, 1988). I am very certain that the text does advertise cigarettes of a particular brand. The Surgeon General's warning at the bottom of the advertising copy, a legal requirement in England, and a known feature for this product-type advertisement, confirms that this assumption is correct.

If the Surgeon General's warning were removed from the advertisement, identifying that the text is an advertisement would not be so immediate. The reader would have to spend some amount of time processing the text. The ease in which s/he successfully decodes the text would be dependent on her/his familiarity of the text type. This is where background knowledge comes into play. It would be interesting to find out whether decoding and identifying that a text is an advertisement is possible if the reader has not been exposed to such a genre. I would contend that the reader would perceive the text as information being disseminated.

In addition, as Toolan was initially baffled by a similar advertisement, most readers-cum-consumers who are similarly intrigued by the copy would unwittingly proceed to process it to resolve his bafflement (Toolan, 1988). Pateman claims that the reader will be assisted in the interpretation process by knowing that the 'advertisement is a prepared act of communication which is unlikely to have omitted a product's name by mistake' (Pateman, 1983: 192). There is deliberate-ness involved in the omission of the name of the product. This omission itself is a clue to assist in the interpretation and in understanding the message of the advertisement. However, Toolan's experience seems to indicate that Pateman's claim about this omission cannot be readily accepted. Although a point in favour of Toolan is that the Silk Cut advertisement not only omits the
name of the product, it also omits the product. Pateman believes that the process of default assignment is thus, 'a rational (and often enjoyable) activity in which to engage' (Pateman, 1983: 192). Note that this claim is similar to the one made by Tanaka in her discussion of puns (Tanaka, 1994; cf. Barthes, 1975[1973]).

Furthermore, there is a structuring principle or function around which the discourse, i.e. the advertisement is constructed (Pateman, 1983: 192). Once the product is identified, the understanding of the advertisement is enhanced considerably. This is exemplified by Pateman's analysis of the following headline (cf. Pateman, 1983: 192-195):

**Jingle bells this Christmas**

The above could be interpreted as part of a song or as an imperative. However, in the context of the accompanying illustration: the Post Office's Buzby character, on a poster, and the fact that the above was significantly promoted during Christmas, the above headline takes on more meaning than a mere imperative. Pateman shows that once the above is identified as a headline from an advertisement, interpretation is possible on that basis. The fact that it is an advertisement means that there is a product being promoted for sale. Once the Post Office has been identified as the advertiser, the reader can automatically narrow down possible product identification. Furthermore, when Buzby as a character, is associated with the Post Office, the concept of "bells" as a metonym for telephone calls becomes sensible. By this stage, the text has been disambiguated (Pateman, 1983).

It is worthwhile to note that *language*, according to Pateman, has not been instrumental in the interpretation and identification of the message. Pateman says that readers make use of their pragmatic knowledge about texts in general and advertisements in particular. Therefore the accompanying slogan beneath the main headline:

**Make someone happy with a phone call,**

is redundant. What Pateman is saying is that if the reader is ignorant of the two areas above, i.e. knowledge about language and knowledge about culture, she/he will not be able to comprehend at all. In this way, Pateman dismisses the argument that semiotics is the key to disambiguating advertising. He dismisses that elements in the text and the image "co-anchor" the final message. However, it appears to me, that at this point, Pateman is saying the same thing that semioticians argue for. It is through the
knowledge of language, or rather the signs that signify language and the knowledge of culture or rather, the signs that signify culture that semiotic interpretation rest. It is through knowing or having the knowledge of what "bells" and "Christmas" mean which lead to understanding the message. It is "language" and how language functions that help the reader disambiguate the example above. Disambiguating the key lexical items is an exercise that incorporates semiotics.

With regard to the pragmatics of the photographic image, Pateman notes that parallel arguments as discussed above, also apply to the iconic, or analogic material in advertising (Pateman, 1983: 195). Take, for example, a still-life painting and add a word outside the frame of the image. What we have is no longer the painting on its own. The image of the painting is transposed from what it was on its own to something else. If it is used as an advertisement, "the signifying matter of the image is transposed from the activity of "fine art" to "advertising". The 'relationship between the "elements" of the images changes, according to the product which is made thematic or topical' (Pateman, 1983: 195). In other words, the changes in context bring about a structural reorganization of the operative meaning, i.e. the operative semantics of what is to some extent 'the same image' (Pateman, 1983: 195). This is demonstrated by the earlier advertisement, COPY 1. The surgical mask is associated with meanings that are "novel". This meaning could only be appreciated with a schema in which the meaning of the "surgical mask" has been utilized. This new meaning is different from its synchronic operative meanings. Thus that meaning is de-stabilized; i.e. the new meaning is a de-stabilized meaning.

Therefore, meaning is contextual, i.e. pragmatic rather than structural. The products or elements in the image which are not advertised, i.e. not topical or thematic assume the structural relation of comment on or support for the product advertised. If the topic or theme changes, so too the comment made or support offered. This process is analogous to the way in which changes in stress-assignment affect the focal scale of semantic entailments of an utterance (Pateman, 1983: 195; cf. Smith and Wilson, 1979). The reader can only understand the kind of comment being made on the theme or topic of the advertisement, i.e. the product being promoted if she/he has understood the topic/comment structure. This structure always exists even though the topic/comment
elements may not be materially separable, for example, in photography, highlighting can affect the comment on the thematic product (Pateman, 1983: 195).

There are two key elements from the above. Firstly, it appears that the interpretation of a text either textually or visually is reminiscent of Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986). This theory has been used successfully by Tanaka (Tanaka, 1994). Tanaka termed the strategies used by readers in processing advertisements as akin to inference. This reinforces the argument that cultural-schemata are required in the successful comprehension of texts and images in context. The identification of the text based on the identification of the activity type, i.e. advertising, appears somewhat "routine". This routine accomplishment, I believe is only possible in an environment where the reader is knowledgeable of an activity such as advertising, an activity type readily understood in developed economies. This routine identification may not be an adequate strategy and that it might not apply to all cases of advertisement identification. It is none the less valuable to some extent. Secondly, the analysis of the visual above, underlines my assertion that meanings are not fixed. In addition, it is important to appreciate that the "denotational semantics" and other operative semantics are likely to be redundant in advertising texts. This means that lexical items in advertising could not be treated at "surface" values.

3.2.1.2 Analysis of the Medium - Advertising

As a public notice 'designed to spread information with a view to promoting the sales of marketable goods and services' (Harris and Seldon, 1962: 40), an advertising text must communicate its message(s) from the first instance. An advertising text must perform the following functions (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 49):

1. attract attention
2. arouse interest
3. stimulate desire
4. create conviction
5. lead to action.

To see how advertising texts work, it is imperative to understand the textual elements or structure of the text. It must be pointed out that, in the first instance, the advertisement must function as a single unit. This means that at a glance and almost instantaneously,
any of the above, or combinations of them, or all of them are met through the structure of the advertisement. One might ask how does an advertisement attract attention? How does it arouse interest, and etc. What is there in the advertisement, i.e. the written words, the visual, the layout, etc. that could do any of the above at any one time or all of them at the same time? Basically the question here is 'where do messages come from?'

Understanding the discourse will provide answers to those questions.

3.2.1.3. Analysis of the Layout

There is a growing awareness that the inter-relationship between text and visual communicates meanings and consequently messages differently than if the two elements are viewed in isolation (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985: 32 - 48; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; McQuarrie and Mick, 1994; cf. Chapter 5). A point to note is that the advertising copy itself is a visual. This is true for advertisements that are perceived visually. It could also be argued that advertisements that are perceived aurally and which convey their messages cognitively through imagery could also be considered as visuals.

We have to know what people do with visuals in advertising texts. To understand the functions of visuals in texts, we have to appreciate how they are cognitively processed. To be able to do this, firstly we have to explore the instance when visuals are introduced in texts. In print advertising texts, there is a growing trend for visuals to make up more than half the space of a copy. Yet, in an analysis of science textbooks used in the United States, the overwhelming majority of visuals served no obvious instructional purpose. They either decorated the page or depicted a single element that was mentioned in the text (Mayer, 1993: 241). According to Mayer there is no established theory of how people learn from graphics and texts (Mayer, 1993). The curious thing is that if visuals do not function cognitively, why do advertisers expend a lot of money in incorporating visuals in print advertising copies. Incidentally, television advertising is also big business. There is a variety of advertising layouts in print advertisements. I will explore this below.
A common layout is a picture window, i.e. the layout is placed at the top of the page and the body copy is placed below it. The layout is diagrammatically presented below. Refer to COPY 29 for the advertisement.

Figure: 3.2 Schematic Representation of the Bufori Advertisement Layout, COPY 29
Another variation to the picture window is as in the Carefree advertisement, COPY 30

From the schematic representations of the layout, it appears that the advertisement copy is to be read from top to bottom. However, I feel that the optical centre of the two copies is in the middle, i.e. the headline. The copy format is straightforward, direct representation of buyer benefits and reasons for using the product. The picture window is the typical "advertisers speaking to reader-cum-consumer" type advertisement. Other variations to the picture window format are as shown in the following schematic representations.
---VISUAL---

---BODY COPY---PRODUCT---BODY COPY---

(VISUAL)

---PRODUCT---

(NAME)

SIGNATURE LINE

Fig. 3.4: Schematic Representation of COPY 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BODY COPY</th>
<th>PRODUCT NAME</th>
<th>BODY COPY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRODUCT</td>
<td>VISUAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEADLINE</td>
<td>VISUAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BODY COPY</td>
<td>BRAND NAME</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.5: Schematic Representation of COPY 32 and COPY 33.
The layout of the advertisement copy is divided up into boxes of three columns and three rows. This layout is typical of the associated products from this advertiser. The reading of this advertisement is neither a simple top to bottom nor right to left procedure. The reader-cum-consumer will be attracted to the advertisement by no fixed sequence of the elements in the advertisement. One reader-cum-consumer may initially be attracted by the main visual whilst another reader-cum-consumer's interest may be aroused by the headline. However, one sequence of reading is certain and that each box will be read from the right to the left.

The general effect of the design of the layout is that of science and of technological sophistication. The semantics and syntax of the body copy also reflect this nuance. For example, A product for the skin, not the pillow, sounds so much more positive and authoritative than in a layman's register of A face cream that stays on the face and does not smear the pillow. Another example, Minimises the visible sign of ageing at night is far better than Reduces wrinkles as you sleep. The attitude here is to impress the reader-cum-consumer with "science". In COPY 19 for Primordiale, this general theme, i.e. science/technology is underlined with such lexical items:

- cosmetic
- breakthrough
- treatment
- microscopic carrier
- free radicals
- UVA rays
- epidermal cells.

Nowhere in the body copy are the more common lexical items such as face, wrinkles and cream. Also stylistically, to say "... give your lips dramatic depth." is more striking than "... make your lips fuller." The layout and stylistics are quite typical of Western cosmetic advertising.

Another interesting layout is as shown by the following advertisement, COPY 34. In this copy, the visual and the text are the same thing. The text has to be read from left to right due to the conventions of the language, i.e. English. In another language, for example, with Chinese and Arabic, the reading of the text may be from top to bottom, COPY 35, and left to right, COPY 36, respectively. What is obvious here is that the layout influences how the message is conveyed and deciphered by the reader-cum-
consume. In addition, the various elements that make up the structure of the advertisement perform tasks that convey its message(s) as listed above.

### 3.2.1.4. Visuals and Messages

The best way to show why visuals are important to the text is by looking at the text, COPY 34. In this advertisement the visual is the message. The accompanying headline is dramatic in effect. The interaction between the visual and the headline produces resonance (cf. Chapter 5; 5.5). If we look at the headline in isolation, we could come up with a specific number of possible translation choices. Note that when these possible choices are put side by side with the visual, there could not be many acceptable translations that would retain the coherency and cohesiveness of the text and the visual.

As we cannot translate a visual in the same way as we translate a text, the headline must at all times be coherent and cohesive to the visual. The sense with which the visual is meaningful is provided by the headline. However the headline alone could be illustrated by a number of different images.

#### 3.2.1.4.1 Indexical, Iconic and Symbolic Representations

It is observed above that the visuals incorporated within an advertisement are part of the whole message(s) of the advertisement. In COPY 32 and COPY 33, the photograph of a sleeping woman resonates with the headline: Wake up to youthful radiance every morning. In this instance, the youthful attractive model seems to epitomize the potential benefit of using the product. In other words, the relationship between the headline and the photograph is one that Barthes would term as anchorage. The text, in this case, the headline provides a link between the photograph and the advertised product. The photograph situates and elaborates the properties of the product. The photograph then is a sign that stands for something else.

In semiotics, there are three types of relationship between a sign and what it stands for. In the example above, the sign - the youthful, attractive sleeping woman - by its association with the advertised product generates a favourable connotation of the product. Indexical images are extremely frequent in advertising illustrations. If the choice of the sign is successful, the connotations from it will then rub off on the product (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 38-39). An index can be summarized as a sign that
can be used to represent a message, or its object, because it usually occurs in close
association to it. Another type of sign is the icon.

Another frequently used sign in communication is the symbol. In the realm of images,
the symbol is a sign where the meaning of the sign denotes a conventionally understood
message. In Western culture a simple gold ring on the left third finger denotes a married
status and a cross stands for the Christian faith. Similar messages are expressed
differently by other conventions. Amongst the Hindus and Indians, a thick gold chain on
a woman denotes her married status. The crescent moon symbolizes the Muslim faith.
The relationship between visuals and messages will be taken up below.

3.2.1.4.1.1. Colours
Colours convey meanings differently in different socio-cultural contexts. An example is
the colour "red". It is an auspicious colour in many Asian cultures. In many instances,"red" in Chinese does not convey the same emotive meanings as in English (cf. Ke,
1996). Sometimes the English "green" has the metaphorical and emotive meaning
similar to the Chinese "red" (cf. Ke, 1996). On the one hand, there is the "tangible" red
to translate. On the other hand, there is the "philosophical" red. A red-letter day is a
good day to the "receiver" but the day does not necessarily involve a "tangible" letter. A
Chinese person may send out or receive a red card. Depending on whether the person
is a sender or receiver of the said red card, the occasion is generally a happy one. A red
card means a wedding invitation. On the football field a red card is never welcome. An
Indian woman in loose flowing white sari/saree is not a bride but a widow. An
elaborately bejewelled and made-up Indian woman in red sari/saree with lots of glittering
jewellery is a blushing bride, and not a scarlet woman. Similarly a Chinese woman in an
elaborate red cheongsam is likely to be a bride.

3.2.1.4.1.2 Typeface and Calligraphy
The words that made up a text could be understood linguistically. Yet an additional
message is sometimes carried by the same set of words, in the way they were
produced, i.e. the typeface and calligraphy. The arrangement and the artwork in which
the typeface is employed add another dimension of meanings and message. In COPY
35, the mattress and the additional artwork in the photograph make up the Chinese
characters , Suang Si, means “double happiness”, a general and most welcome wish/greeting particularly at auspicious occasions. The character, chik, by itself means “very good”. This visual is extra meaningful to a reader who also reads Mandarin and/or the Chinese reader. The visual echoes the English message of the discount, although utilizing another language. Inter-lingual message is also employed in COPY 36. The advertised product has a long association with Chinese consumers. In Malaysia, products that are acceptable for Muslims carry the logo Halal, or . This concept is similar the Jewish concept of kosher. The body copy of the advertisement at the bottom provided the message that the product is halal. However, another immediate “acceptability” message is represented visually. The advertised products are arranged with Jawil/Arabic scripts and are placed to represent dots of the Jawil/Arabic alphabets. The visual reads or in romanized form: sihat, meaning: healthy. Similarly, COPY 37 also employs calligraphy to carry its emotive message (cf. 5.2.3.2).

3.2.1.4.1.3 Signifiers and Signifieds
What is also observed above is that the process of representation through language is made up of codes. It is these codes which convey meanings which in turn communicate the messages. This is the basis of the linguistic model according to Saussure. The production of meaning depends on language and language is a system of signs. In Saussure's analysis, the sign is made up of two elements. The first is the signifier and the second is the signified.

3.3 Microstructure Analysis
I have shown that paralinguistic elements within an advertisement copy give the reader-cum-consumer the first instance of meanings and consequently, messages. If we were to measure the amount of space taken up by paralinguistic and linguistic elements within a single advertisement copy, we will observe that the latter appears to be negligible by comparison. In some instances, the latter is almost non-existent and when they do occur they do not even represent the product being advertised, see COPY 28.
3.3.1 Linguistic Analysis

3.3.1.1 Puns

Newmark has outlined a number of strategies in translating puns (Newmark, 1988a: 217). He sees them as either aiming to raise laughter and amusement and/or to concentrate meaning. Firstly, with regard to the former, the pun can be "compensated" by another pun on a word with associated meaning. He acknowledges that this is the case with the translation of *Asterix* into many languages. He also admits that it requires a considerable amount of ingenuity. However, he did not provide examples on how these are done. The latter type, as those in poetry are limited by metre and are thus difficult to translate. Newmark sees it best to sacrifice the puns. On the other hand when the two senses of the puns are important to the medium, they can be translated by reproducing the senses in an incongruous way. The last instance is when the pun is used in SL to illustrate a language, or a slip of the tongue, or when the sense is more important than the witticism, it has to be transferred, translated (in both senses) and usually explained. Newmark sees the translation of puns as of marginal importance although of irresistible interest. Puns in advertising text are not straightforward. Puns can be mere amusement and at the same time concentrate meaning. Long and Graesser's work has also shown that the medium is equally important.

3.3.1.2 Idioms

Idioms are accepted as unusual uses of particular words, phrases and types of expressions, which from long usage have become stereotyped (McMordie, 1964[1909]: 6). But, if we look back at the theory of language and semantics, who can say what is usual and unusual uses of particular words. A more general definition is that it is the linguistic usage that is grammatical and natural to native speakers of a language (CD, 1994[1993]: 771). This means a competent native speaker of English will have no problem understanding *in the red* or *a rain check*, whereas a non-native might face some problems in decoding it.

For example compare, '[Michael] Schumacher, in the red [car], is definitely in trouble!' with, 'British Gas, in the red, is definitely trouble!' The first sentence has a different meaning to a Formula One motor racing enthusiast. It could be argued that *in the red*, in that sentence is literal and is also a metonymy: *red* is the colour of *Ferrari*. In the
second sentence the phrase could be an idiom. In, 'The accounts of British Gas is in the red. Now the board of directors is definitely in trouble with its shareholders', that phrase is an idiom. McArthur terms idioms as 'the unique quality of "genius" of a language' (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 497).

Within a particular language, it would be more correct to maintain that idiom refers to a group of words whose meaning cannot be predicted from the meaning of the constituent words (CD, 1994[1993]: 771; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 497; Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 4). For example in the sentences,

(a) I won't be able to make dinner tonight. Shall I take a rain check?
(b) My grandfather pulled my leg again. He told me an incredible story and I believed every word of it!

It is obvious that some of the lexical items could not be conveying their individual denotative meanings. Long usage has fixed the idiomatic expression into its form or structure with its reciprocal meaning of which both, the structure and meaning cannot be changed (McMordie, 1964[1909]: 6). As a general rule an idiomatic phrase cannot be altered. The structure of the idiomatic expression can never be modified for any attempt at changing the lexical items or collocation will inevitably destroy the idiom's structural and semantically. The meaning would not be the same if in (a) it is, '... to take a rain observation' or '... a rain bill'. Similarly if in (b), pulled became stretched the sentence would not be as semantically coherent as before. Idiomatically it is possible to stretch one's leg but it is not idiomatically possible to stretch someone's leg.

Idiomatic expressions are generally forcible, terse and vivid. The meaning of a particular idiom could be conveyed in another way but not necessarily forceful or as succinct. This is unlike metaphors, which are utilized to convey new information.

3.3.1.3 Metaphors
Aristotle, to whom the origin of the analysis of metaphors has been attributed (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653), regarded the command of metaphor as the mark of genius (cf. chapter 21 (22) in Aristotle Vol. 23; Hamilton Fyfe, 1973[1927]: 91). It has to be noted that Aristotle's "metaphor" has two senses. The first sense refers to all figures of speech in which, for example, hyperbole, is a metaphor. This sense, according to McArthur, in
which the metaphor is synonymous with non-literal expression, is no longer current (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653). The second sense is that the metaphor is a figure of speech that concisely compares two things by attributing the features of one on the other (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653). However, the general agreement that metaphor involves the transfer of meaning prevails (Ortony, 1975). According to Bühler metaphors are "one of the most important resources for making terms for complex ideas for which no adequate designations exist" (cf. Bühler, 1990: 393). To most people, metaphors may be a device of purely poetic imagination and rhetorical flourish. Yet it would not take much to realize that metaphors are noticeably pervasive in everyday life. Historically and to the present day, it has been freely asserted that the metaphor is something that necessarily flows from human nature into the realm of poetic language as well as being deeply entrenched in popular colloquial language (Glucksberg, 1989, McQuarrie and Mick, 1996). In the latter, the use of metaphors has a tendency to be vivid and use drastic characterizations with no negative effects on comprehension (cf. Bühler, 1990: 393; Roberts and Kruez; 1994; Ortony, 1975). In fact, Lakoff and Johnson note that our ordinary conceptual system that effects our thoughts and actions is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:3). As human thought processes are largely metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:8), the metaphorical expressions in our everyday language can give us insight into the metaphorical nature of the concepts that structure our everyday activities (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7). Bühler asserts that "the metaphor is a help "in want of an expression (Ausdrucksnot) (Bühler's italics), when our vocabulary fails us, and it is a means of drastic characterization (Bühler's italics)" (Bühler, 1990: 394). Bühler feels that the corollary that the metaphor "necessarily flows from human nature" is naive and inconclusive (1990: 394). Nonetheless the important thing is the general acceptance that metaphors provide a means to fill in communication gaps (Ortony, 1975). This is done by re-focusing existing information into a new perspective thus bringing in new information. In addition, it can be argued that metaphors permit more precise and informative communication than could be achieved through literal expressions (Glucksberg, 1989).

3.4. Developing a Framework for the Study: Semiotics and Pragmatics

Semiotics includes visual and verbal as well as tactile and olfactory signs (all signs or signals which are accessible to and can be perceived by all our senses). These form
code systems which systematically communicate information or messages in literally every field of human behaviour and enterprise (Tobin, 1990: 6). Yet they also share certain fundamental elements: the notion of forms related to meanings (linguistic signs in language and any other kind of signs in semiotics), that function as part of code systems (language, gesture, music, art, cinema, etc.) which are used to communicate information (Tobin, 1990: 7).

My understanding of semiotics is the study of signs that could not be undertaken by linguistics: i.e. linguistics focuses on a narrower area and is limited to verbal language. Semiotics could then assist and provides a means to complement the understanding of signs. A particular sign can function as a linguistic sign and at the same time as a semiotic sign. A good example is in calligraphy. Linguistics is limited in decoding the following. What is important here is to accept that a sign is a shared unit of linguistic and semiotic analysis (Tobin, 1990: 8). This is not surprising as they have a common origin (cf. Saussure, 1974). This does not mean that grammar and sentence analyses are irrelevant. They are important in understanding and decoding an advertisement as will also be seen in this study. Furthermore Leech has shown how much traditional linguistic analysis, particularly with regard to syntax and semantics, can aid the understanding of advertising language (Leech, 1966). However advertising has evolved and progressed to a level that that type of analysis alone is inadequate. Cook has shown how much advertising has developed into a genre of its own which incorporates other linguistic and paralinguistic forms (Cook, 1992). Thus the point is that no one method of analysis is sufficient and that there is time and place for everything.

An important corollary is the fact that the same linguistic sign with a single invariant meaning can be inferred to have many and diverse messages as well as multiple syntactic and pragmatic functions within different discourse contexts (Tobin, 1990: 51).

3.5 Summary
We have seen that in the actual translation process the translator is offered a number of choices of rendition. I have established elsewhere that the translator's brief has to be to convey the message of the advertiser such that the reader-cum-consumer is influenced positively towards the advertiser's intention. It is not true that the advertiser's sole aim is
to get the target market to buy its product or service. Myers has mentioned that Charlie (the perfume by Revlon) in the 1980s had advertised so that it discouraged some consumers from buying its product (Myers, 1986: 51-52). The advertising copy is a communication which motivates action, whatever that action may be. In this instance, the advertisement provided a mechanism to "select" or define the consumers the advertiser wanted to cultivate, i.e. its target market. Another similar example is the television advertisement produced for Audi in the mid-1990s. The advertisement had a young male driver taking a car for a test drive and putting it to its paces. The driver projected a "yuppie-like", brash city executive. The advertisement ended with the driver returning the key of the car to an anxious looking salesperson. The parting remark from the young man was to the effect that the car was not to his liking. This type of advertising works in a similar way in which "pricing" is used as a mechanism to target a market. This type of campaign is not so common but it speaks to the general consumer and weeds out everyone but the target market.

I have suggested that translation is an inter-lingual communication. Thus translating advertising text has to be an inter-lingual and inter-cultural communication. This study does not look at referential meanings only. It is rather interested in "situated" meaning. In other words, in discoursal approaches to language, meanings are not inherent components in language elements. They are rather arrived at in the verbal interaction process within the framework of a set of socio-cultural, interpersonal, transactional and textual factors. The interlocutors negotiate meanings and the linguistic text offers only "indices" to activate this negotiation process (cf. Lotfipour-Saedi, 1996: 391).

Endnotes:

1 This concept is borrowed from Kantian philosophy meaning a conception that is common to all members of a class. In this instance, the concept refers to that which belongs to and comprehended by a society.
Register analysis:
Conveying Message in A Social Context

This section will look at registers. The main emphasis of this chapter is to argue why determining registers will aid the translation of advertising texts.

4.1 Determining the Registers of the Advertisements

This section will look in greater detail at the registers of advertising texts based on the criteria mentioned in the previous chapter (3.1.4.1). I have chosen advertisements from the same advertisers and for the same or similar products in the three chosen languages of the study. They are all parallel texts based on the text typology argued earlier (3.1).

4.1.1 De Beers

The first set of advertisements is for diamonds and the advertiser is De Beers. COPY 38 is from The Times Magazine dated 14 September 1996. COPY 39 and COPY 40 are from The Guardian Weekend of 1 February 1997 and The Sunday Times Magazine dated 4 May 1997 respectively.

COPY 38: BEng
Headline:
[1(1)]

It's an unaccountable thing but, since our anniversary, I just love hailing taxis, calling for the bill in restaurants, or simply strap-hanging.
(Typeface is Italics.)

Field: part of general conversation
Tenor: casual bordering on pomposity on the part of the speaker – possibly ironic; the speaker is showing off
Mode: written as if spoken by the model to an unseen addressee or the reader
User: standard language; sounds slightly pretentious in the use of unaccountable; reflects temporal and social characteristics

Let us explore the above headline systematically. First and foremost, let us consider the mode, i.e. written as if spoken. At first glance the headline appears to be highly lexicalized. The evidence of a more complex vocabulary in a text would suggest that the text type is written language. Another point to take into account is that spoken language tends to be "simpler" than written language with regard to its
grammatical organization. The headline above does display a degree of complexity of sentence structure that is more typical of the spoken language. Spoken language tends to use hypotaxis conjunctions. Written texts tend to use subordination. In addition, the illustration - a woman looking back towards the invisible addressee - and the graphology of the text - the italic typeface - must add weight to it being a spoken text.

The above has an interesting mix of registers. It is written as if spoken between casual friends but there is a jarring in tone with the use of unaccountable. Its usage indicates two significant features of register variation. Each feature could either work in isolation or both at the same time to affect the message of the headline. Firstly, the usage makes the speaker sounds posh and removes this headline from the type of language universally used in everyday ordinary situations by ordinary people-on-the-street. The word unaccountable makes the headline sound unfriendly, i.e. rather formal or slightly arrogant. If this utterance is part of a conversation between intimate friends, it makes this speech somehow one that is most likely to be spoken by a member of the upper class. There is no concrete evidence it is so but it certainly does not immediately reflect a working class register. The argument below could be more acceptable.

Secondly, the usage could also indicate a borrowing of a lexical item from a language domain, i.e. the field of management or finance/business English. Take for example, two doctors having a general conversation would have a high tendency to use their domain specific registers occasionally in place of a general register. The usage of unaccountable above might indicate that the addresser and addressee are familiar with its use in its more usual domain, i.e. management or finance/business English. Therefore the usage does not necessarily mean that the addresser and addressee are upper class speakers. The usage however, in this instance and above, does indicate idiolect. There is an attempt here, with unaccountable, at punning. This will be taken up in another section1.

The use of strap-hanging - indeterminately a slang or a neologism - gives further indication of the lifestyle of the speaker. It also indicates a temporal characteristic of
the language. Once again, there is a reference to a sub-group. Now compare the style above to that of its body copy below.

COPY 38; BEng
Body copy:
[2(1-5)]

THE JULIA SCOTT DIAMOND.
Mined from half a mile below the earth's surface. Polished by Jan Wouters, whose family have been diamond polishers for over a century. Bought by Robert Scott for his wife, Julia, whose interests now include waving to friends. For a brochure on diamond solitaires from £695, phone 0115 970 8388.

Field: information; (1-4) semi-technical/scientific; (5) denoting potential benefits to the reader
Tenor: (1-4) semi-formal with wry humour as if the addressee is imparting serious facts; (5) formal; typical advertising message
Mode: (1-5) written to be simply read by the reader; could also be heard as if in a briefing
User: (1-4) reflects standard dialect of a domain i.e. technical/scientific; (5) standard advertising language

The above body copy combines a technical/scientific style of language with messages [2(4)] that are at odds with it, for example "... whose interests now include waving to friends", is a message which is paradoxical to the overall style synonymous to the text type, i.e. technical/scientific. An everyday almost insignificant gesture, i.e. waving to friends is given importance and formality through the text style above. The creative way the message is structured here is typical of English advertising language that according to Leech exhibits the features of a sub-literary genre (Leech, 1966: 66). The above [2(1-4)] is also a good example of role-borrowing (Leech, 1966: 99) in which the message is ironically represented in the style of another type of language use. In this parody, the borrowed style is that of technical/scientific writing.

COPY 38; BEng
Signature line:
[3(1-2)]

A diamond is forever
De Beers

Field: (1) stating a fact, (2) signature of the addressee of the fact in (1)
Tenor: assertive or detached depends on the reader, factual at the same time, proverbial, popular, generally accepted wisdom
Mode: written to be read and/or, be heard by reader as if spoken by addressee
User: standard language

The signature line highlights the myth creating nature of advertising message. This is a typical use of the simple present tense in advertising texts of the eternal truth variety (Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 35). The function of the signature line in
establishing a connection between the brand name and the advertising message is enhanced by its no nonsense tone. This further adds emphasis to the preceding messages of the advertisement, i.e. the headline and the body copy.

*De Beers* produce a number of advertising copies based on similar format above as shown below.

**COPY 39; BEng**  
Headline:  
[4(1-3)]  

*There's none of this "loves me, loves me not" with a diamond solitaire. He loves me. You can stop counting.*  
(Typeface is Italics.)

Field: part of general conversation  
Tenor: assertive or tentative...?  
Mode: written as if spoken by the model to the reader  
User: standard language; contraction 's' and italic typeface indicate that it is a spoken text

Once more the headline uses popular saying playfully. The register is simple ordinary conversational language not unlike that of COPY 38. This headline has the more obvious features of a spoken language, i.e. the contractions. It is not as simple to determine the tenor of this headline although a quick glance at the text seems to indicate that the tenor is one that is fairly familiar yet assertive. The reason for this difficulty will be obvious after the message of the body copy is analyzed.

**COPY 39; BEng**  
Body copy:  
[5(1-5)]  

*THE SUSIE HUNT DIAMOND*  
Mined from beneath the permafrost within the Arctic Circle. Designed as a diamond solitaire engagement ring by Roberto Lupano. Bought for just over a month’s salary by Susie’s fiancé, who chose it because it has one diamond for every girl he loves. For a brochure on diamond solitaires from £695, telephone 0115 970 8388.

Field: information (1-4) semi-technical/scientific (5) advertising language: providing source of information  
Tenor: (1-4) as in COPY 38; semi-formal with wry humour as if the addressee is imparting serious facts; (5) typical advertising message  
Mode: as in COPY 38 body copy; (1-5) written to be simply read by the reader; could also be heard as if in a briefing  
User: as in COPY 38; (1-4) reflects standard dialect of a domain i.e. technical/scientific (5) typical advertising message
The register above is similar to that of the body copy of COPY 38. The semi-technical/scientific register is emphasized by the word *permafrost*. Again, parody is a vehicle in imparting the advertising message.

Interestingly, determining the tenor of its accompanying "headline" must be dependent on the result of the interaction between the message of the body copy, or rather the interpretation of the message of the body copy and that of the "headline". The "headline" borrows from the playful child's play of pulling out the petals of a flower and intoning alternately, "... loves me, loves me not...". This is a kind of "play" an "insecure" person in love would do. The addresser is trying to convince not only the addressee but also herself that she *is* loved. It could be argued that the exclamation mark (!), either after sentence [4(2)] or [4(3)], would have conclusively made the tenor of the headline assertive. By the same argument, a stress on any of the lexical items in [4(2)] or [4(3)] by underlining it, would have indicated the assertive tone of voice of the addresser. This means that the assertive tenor of the headline is not primary to the decoding or the interpretation of the message of the headline. The playful nature of the text is underlined by a *diamond solitaire*. The child's play could not be played out. There can only be a count of "one" with a solitaire, i.e. 'loves me'. The addresser is confident and assertive but playful at the same time.

The other possible tenor of the headline is that of a happy, excited addresser - pleased with herself and contented in the knowledge of being loved - talking to an enthusiastic friend, i.e. the reader. It is natural to assume that the headline is likely to be the first part of the advertisement to be seen by addressee. However when the addressee comes to the body copy s/he will face a certain amount of perplexity with the message of the body copy, in particular from [5(4)]. The addressee might go back to the headline to reassess its tenor but this will only be dependent on how he had initially decoded the headline.

Thus determining the tenor of the "headline" correctly in the first instance is not important but rather not knowing the tenor *is*. In fact, in this advertising copy, the register is not the vehicle of the message. It is the inter-play between the tenor and the message that carries the message across. The tenor, an aspect of register,
does not aid understanding the message but it aids the processing of the advertising copy. It is useful to note that although the advertisement is static in a physical sense, i.e. its illustration and the printed text are non-changing, the message is not. Therefore, due to the ambiguity in the tenor, particularly of the headline, there is no one fixed message. Or rather due to the paradox between the message of the headline and the body copy, the reader has to give more than a cursory glance at the copy. There are, in fact, many meanings or levels of meaning from the advertising copy. This is always dependent on how an utterance or utterances within advertising texts has/have been decoded by the addressee. This will have implications in how translation is effected.

COPY 39; BEng
Signature line:
[6(1-2)]

A diamond is forever
De Beers

Field: (1) stating a fact, (2) signature of the addressee of the fact in (1)
Tenor: assertive or detached depends on the reader, factual
Mode: written to be read and or; heard by reader as if spoken by addressee
User: standard language

Note that the signature line is the same as in the previous copy. De Beers have been operating with this for over 20 years.

COPY 40; BEng
Headline:
[7(1-2)]

I never could see why
I should wear my hair short, even for him.
Then, on my birthday, he came up with
a couple of brilliant reasons.
(Typeface is Italics.)

Field: part of general conversation
Tenor: witty humour
Mode: written as if spoken by the model to the reader
User: standard language; punning in a couple of brilliant reasons\(^2\) -- tongue-in-cheek expression

The headline is simple ordinary spoken standard language. It could equally be part of a conversation between intimates as it is between acquaintances. The wry humour is in the pun and suggests that the relationship between the addressee and addressee is casual and friendly.
THE KATE NORTON DIAMONDS.

Retrieved from the earth's core as small pieces of crystallised carbon. Transformed by a diamond polisher in New York. Set by a jewellery designer in Milan. Presented with love in Carlisle to Kate Norton, who suddenly needed a haircut. For a brochure on solitaires from £695, phone 0115 970 8388. To help choose your diamond from 0.20 carat here are some examples of actual size. (This is followed by visuals of three different carats of solitaires set in gold i.e. 0.20, 0.50 and 1 carat.)

Field: as in COPY 38 and COPY 39; (1-5) semi-technical/scientific (6-7) advertising language: providing source of information and directive
Tenor: (1-5) as in COPY 38 and COPY 39; semi-formal with wry humour as if the addressee is imparting serious facts; (6-7) typical advertising messages
Mode: as in COPY 38 and COPY 39 body copy; written to be read by the reader; could also be heard as if in a briefing
User: as in COPY 38 and COPY 39; (1-5) reflects standard dialect of a domain i.e. technical/scientific (6-7) typical directive function of advertising language

The above body copy is similar to those in COPY 38 and 39. Note once again, in [8(5)], how a mundane activity - a haircut - is expressed with a certain amount of importance or glamour whilst at the same time retaining the overall style of the body copy. There is a slight departure to the format of the above body copies in the last two sentences. The last line [8(7)] is more personal in tone, "...your diamond..." as well as being more directly informative, for now, the addressee is being directly addressed.

Once again De Beers used the same signature line. In the above examples, there are significant differences in the registers of the various parts of the print copy. All three copies follow the same format and style and only the details of the messages are varied. In all the headlines, it is the model who is addressing the invisible addressee and in all the body copies and the signature lines (which is the same for all the copies); it is the advertiser who is the addressee throughout. The tenor of the copies is a mixture of friendly and casual, as in the headlines, and formal and serious, as in the body copies and signature lines. Thus the addressee, always the invisible reader, who could easily be a friend of the model, or a polite stranger whose presence is acknowledged by her, is directly addressed to by the model. That invisible reader is made part of her life through the address, i.e. the headline,
then becomes an intelligent reader whose identity is not specific through the body copy, which is by now is of a serious technical/scientific register. Notice how the reader is brought into the text to be part of it and then brought out of it to be part of the general readership of the magazine (and brought back in again as in COPY 38, COPY 39 and COPY 40). Note too that the reader is always directly involved with the copy on a personal level. In this way the register moves through a continuum scale from being generally informal to being formal. Another feature to note is the varieties of role relationship even in a single advertising copy, for example as in COPY 38: headline - model vs. friend; body copy - jeweller vs. customer; signature line - advertiser vs. consumer.

This point on the varieties of role relationship and consequently of registers, will be brought up again in the Malaysian advertisements below. Let us first look at how the same advertiser promotes its products in MEng.

COPY 41; MEng
Headline:
[10(1-2)]
WEAR THEM
AS OFTEN AS YOU LIKE
(After all, they'll never wear out).

Field: (1) Imperative (2) Justification; conversational; parenthetic phrase
Tenor: (1) Detached (2) Persuasive
Mode: written as if spoken; written to be read as if heard
User: standard language; conversational marker through contraction i.e. ‘ll.

The headline makes use of standard ordinary language. In fact the language domain is not readily distinct, as the language could be that which a professional person would use when giving instructions or advice. Note also that it is not readily obvious who the addresser is, unlike in the BEng headlines above. It is possible that the model is silent and that it is the invisible advertiser who is addressing her. Equally, it could be argued that it is the model who is talking to the reader. Much will depend on how the reader reacts to the illustration. Another possibility is that it is the advertiser who is addressing the reader directly and the model is only an illustration of the message of the advertiser. The second line [10(2)], in brackets, indicates that the sentence should be treated as a parenthesis. If it is so treated, there will be a distinct change in the tone or quality of voice heard by the reader. It is the individual aside qualifying, or responding to the “official” pronouncement. To some extent, the
aside acts as the BEng factual body copy. Overall it makes the MEng and BEng advertisements similar in tenor. The hard decisive tone of the first sentence [10(1)] would have captured the attention of the reader. The change in tone of voice in the second sentence [10(2)] towards a more cajoling one softens the preceding imperative and placates the reader into a positive response to the advertiser's message. This positive emotive reaction to the message arouses the reader's interest in the product. At the same time, the tenor is still "positive" and factual, i.e. never wear out. It could be said that here the advertiser is talking to the model/reader, i.e. advertiser vs. model/reader.

COPY 41; MEng
Body copy:
[11(1-2)]
Eternal, everlasting, enduring. If you don't deserve a diamond, who does?

Field: (1) Poetic language - assonance and parallelism (2) Attracts the reader's attention through a personal chord, "If you don't... who does?"
Tenor: (1) Impersonal (2) Personal
Mode: written to be read; written to be read as if heard
User: (1) sub-literary (2) standard conversational

Unlike the BEng body copies, the above body copy is short and more personal. The first sentence [11(1)] has borrowed the style from poetic language. The degree of role-borrowing here is less extensive compared to the BEng copies. In addition, where the BEng body copies move from being formal to slightly personal and conversational tone of voice, "To help you choose... (COPY 40 [8(7)])", the overall tone of the MEng body copy is more the intimate advertiser-reader relationship, "If you don't... who does? (COPY 41 [11(1)])". The if clause singles out the reader and the interest of the reader in the copy already initiated by the headline preceding it, is retained by appealing to the reader's interest in herself (Leech, 1966). In addition, as questions imply a direct address to the reader, they also require someone to answer (Myers, 1994: 49). In this instance, the question presupposes who that someone is, i.e. the reader and at the same time presupposes the profile of the reader. As the question is rhetorical, there is only one answer and thus one action that the reader has to take, i.e. acquire a diamond. In contrast, the personal tone of the last lines of the BEng copies are still functionally and dominantly directive and so the BEng body copies are less intimate. None the less the tone of voice still presupposes the action the reader has to take. The communicators here are the advertisers vs. the reader.
A diamond is forever
De Beers

Gloss:
[A] [diamond] [is] [forever]
[Satu] [berlian] [adalah][selamanya]
[De Beers]
[De Beers]

Prag. trans.:
Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers

Field: as in the copies above
Tenor: as in the copies above
Mode: as in the copies above
User: as in the copies above

The advertiser has retained the BEng signature line. This is effectively a universal signature line for the advertiser. Now contrast the above with the BM copies.

COPY 42; BM
Headline:
[13(1-2)]
PAKAILAH
SELALU,
   (Lagipun, ia kekal selamanya).

Gloss:
[PAKAILAH] [SELALU] [.]
[WEAR (DO)] [often] [.]
[(Lagipun) [. [a] [kekai] [selamanya] [.]
[(After all) [. [it] [lasts/permanent] [forever] [.]] [.]

Prag. trans.:
WEAR IT OFTEN.
(After all, it lasts forever).

Field: similar to the MEng headline above (1) Imperative (2) Justification; conversational; parenthetic clause
Tenor: similar to the MEng headline above (1) Detached (2) Persuasive
Mode: written as if spoken; written to be read as if heard
User: standard language; no distinct conversational marker unlike in the MEng; Lagipun gives emphasis on preceding information in a much greater degree compared to the English equivalent After all.

Generally, the message in the MEng copy and the BM copy is identical. If the former is the source language text, ST, and the latter is the target language text, TT, the translation is very good. The tone of the BM text is slightly more formal than the MEng copy. This is seen in the following example. In the MEng copy, wear out is more of every day usage but the Malay equivalent kekal is not distinctively so. The
imagery of constant use and wear and tear in the MEng copy is lost in the BM. An equivalent in Malay that would retain this imagery is *lusuh* or *luntur*. The use of either of these words would immediately make the tone of voice less formal. Their usage would also retain the negative structure of the MEng copy, i.e.:

- [never] [wear out]
- [tidak] [luntur/lusuh]

Note that *Tidak* means no or never.

COPY 42; BM
Body copy:

[14(1)]

*Kekal, abadi, selamanya. Jika bukan anda yang patut memiliki berlian, siapa lagi?*

Gloss:

[Kekal] [abadi] [selamanya] [Jika] [bukan] [anda] [yang] [patut] [memiliki] [berlian] [siapa] [lagi]?

Prag. trans.: Everlasting, eternal, forever. If it's not you who should own a diamond, who should?

Field: (1) Disjunctive structure not necessarily specific to a particular domain of language use but more possibly of advertising language. (2) Formal interrogative
Tenor: (1) Formal salesmanship or formal sequencing of attributes (2) Emotive but formal
Mode: written to be read; written to be read as if heard
User: standard formal language; formality can be reduced through stress and intonation or reader and choice of lexical items.

The body copy appears to be a literal translation of the MEng body copy. The poetic language of the first sentence of the MEng body copy is not replicated in the Malay equivalent. The assonance and parallelism in *Eternal, everlasting, enduring* is lost although the disjunctive structure and message is transferred into Malay. The opportunity to devise an interesting and a near equivalent assonance and parallelism is not taken up in this advertising copy. To show that this is possible, I suggest that *Anggun, abadi, agung* would come very close to retaining the assonance and structure of the MEng copy. The message of the BM copy would be slightly more than the message of the MEng copy for *anggun* (beautiful) and *agung* (a superlative; ultimate, beyond compare). It appears that the copywriter has not fully explored an equally effective and poetic register that would bring about an equivalent effect in message and form. The question here is whether in reality Malay advertising language is as dynamic as English advertising language. My suggestion above shows that it is not impossible to translate for form and effect advertising messages. The real question then must be whether copywriters are able to produce that dynamism in parallel advertising copies.
In addition, the more personal tone of the second sentence in the MEng copy is not immediately carried over in the BM copy. The neutral English you is translated into anda, a slightly formal register compared to the English equivalent. This formality could be minimally neutralized in the way anda is read, i.e. through stress and intonation of the whole sentence, but again this is dependent on the reader.

COPY 41; BM
Signature Line:
[15(1-2)]

Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers

Gloss:
[Berlian] [adalah] [abadi]
[Diamond] [is] [eternal]
[De Beers]

Prag. trans.:
A diamond is forever
De Beers

Field: (1) a statement with poetic tone of voice (2) signature of the addresser of the fact in (1)
Tenor: not overly assertive or detached although this depends on the reader; factual yet romantic due to the use of abadi
Mode: written to be read and/or be heard by reader as if spoken by addresser
User: standard language

The BM signature line is a good translation of the English. Notably diamonds are not as highly valued as gold in the Malaysian society. The myth originally created in the West with the BEng signature line has become acceptable and possibly almost ingrained culturally within that society. There does not seem to be any major obstacle for the BM signature line to be equally effective culturally. This is a new concept or myth but one that does not contradict existing Malay world-view. The romance insinuated in the BEng and MEng concept is carried through in the BM. This notion in the BM copy is however stronger and more poetic than in the English due to the usage of abadi. As there is no marked present tense in Malay, there is less force of the eternal truth variety (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985: 35) in the BM copy.

Throughout the copy, the addresser has always been the advertiser. It could be argued that the model could be the addresser of the headline and body copy. However the reader is never strongly directed to this belief. Firstly, unlike the BEng copies, the typeface of the prints does not strongly suggest that the model speak the texts. In addition, the short disjunctive syntax of the headlines and body copies of both COPY 41 and COPY 42 appear to be far more authoritative than any text that
could be spoken by such a demure model. The role relationship in this copy is still the advertiser vs. model/reader, i.e. target market. The question here is whether this **authoritativeness** is due to the inability of the language, namely Malay, to reproduce similar styles and effect.

4.1.1.1 Adaptation or Translation --- The Reality of Practice

There is clearly a considerable amount of similarity between all the advertising copies above: BEng, MEng and BM. Firstly, the general layout is almost the same. The advertising campaign in all the three languages involve a single female model in an apparently cheerful pose presented in a variety of picture window layouts. Secondly, the signature lines in all the three languages convey the same message and in the same style. All three in fact, and more so the MEng and BM advertisements, convey similar advertising appeal. The MEng and BM copies go a bit further and are almost identical except for the actual copy texts. However here is where all the similarities end. Firstly, the BEng copies employ a greater variety of text types in a single copy as summarized below, i.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEng</th>
<th>MEng</th>
<th>BM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headline</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoken text; definitely</td>
<td>imperative; spoken text</td>
<td>imperative; spoken text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>informal; conversational</td>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>model vs. peer/reader</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body copy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>technical/</td>
<td>sub-literary text</td>
<td>general text type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scientific text type</td>
<td>type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoken and/or</td>
<td>spoken and/or written</td>
<td>spoken and/or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>written</td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>informal to formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(slightly informal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- COPY 38, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeweller vs. reader</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signature line</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
<td>advertiser vs. reader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig. 4.1: A Comparison of the Contextual Elements in Advertising Copy: BEng vs. MEng vs. BM*

There are complexities in the text types within a single copy in the BEng copies that are not replicated in the Malaysian (MEng and BM) copies. These complexities in text types allow language use to move from one domain to another, for example general to scientific to general in a single copy (**COPY 38; COPY 39; COPY 40**). This diversity in language use is reflected in the tone of voice, i.e. the degree of
formality moves: casual to formal to less formal to neutral, in the BEng copies. The fact that the Malaysian copies do not employ the complexities of text types may be due to a number of considerations. The first, the copywriter may be constrained by the target market, i.e. the addressee/reader of the copy. Once again, the question remains that this may arise from the inability of the language, namely Malay, to reproduce similar styles and effects.

Secondly, the BEng copies exhibit more features of Leech's advertising language, for example role-borrowing. The Malaysian copies do not appear to have the diversity of role-borrowing as the BEng copies, i.e. semi-technical/scientific and sub-literary together. The Malaysian advertisements are biased towards a formal tone of voice and a formal register. Role-borrowing so far has been limited to that of a sub-literary genre. The examples below show further role-borrowing from the same genre.

COPY 43; BM
Headline
[16(1-2)]
Kecantikan
KERLIPAN
dan Kegemilangan
(Sebenarnya, kami bukan sekadar berbicara tentang anda)
Gloss:
[Kecantikan] [KERLIPAN] [dan] [Kegemilangan]
[1] [Sebenarnya] [,] [kami] [bukan] [sekal] [berbicara] [tentang] [anda] []
[Beauty] [GLITTER/SPARKLE] [and] [Prosperity]
[1] [Actually] [,] [we] [not] [measure] [conferring/discussing/talking] [about] [you] []
Prag. trans.:
Beauty SPARKLE and Prosperity
(Actually, we were not only conferring about you)

Field: (1) slogan; poetic language (2) formal conversation
Tenor: (1) sub-literary- romance (2) formal, serious
Mode: (1) written to be read and or, heard as if spoken assertively by the addresser (2) written as if heard spoken formally
User: sub-literary language: parallelism; assonance; alliteration

The "headline" is clever. It brings a new concept and myth about diamond into the Malay world-view. Note that the poetic language is achieved through assonance with the initial consonant -K and the sound k. This is further retained in the structure with Ke- and -an. The assonance is effective and clever as will be shown below. I have listed and defined the key words:

kecantikan beauty
**kerlipan** refers to twinkling stars; Malay equivalent to twinkle or sparkle; glimmer; emit/reflect light in a flickering manner (CD, 1994[1993]: 1662); or glitter (CD, 1994[1993]: 657); sparkle/brilliance

**kegemilangan** state of prosperity and success; state of bright light or sparkle (KD, 1996: 389)

These concepts are much more consistent with the cultural expectations and aspirations of the target market. This headline has the form and style of the MEng body copy [11(1)] of COPY 41. The BM headline above adds more to the concept in [11(1)] as well as clearly and directly defines the reference to diamond through **kerlipan**. The other two adjectives, **kecantikan** and **kegemilangan** are also readily applicable to gold. These concepts of beauty and prosperity are equated to gold. History has shown throughout human civilisation and more pertinently so in the Asian context that gold is a very desirable commodity in many ways.

The other feature to note is the formal tone of the sentence accompanying the headline, i.e. the body copy. I have tried to retain the tone of the BM copy. This formal tone is realized through the word **berbicara** that I have translated into **conferring**. It does not make the translated English parenthetic clause pragmatically successful. In fact there is a certain **transformational** effect remaining. The formal tone is also carried through in the copy below.

**COPY 44; BM**
Headline and Body copy:
[17(1-3)]
**Mampu dimiliki.**
(Lagipun Tiada Harga* Senilai Dengannya). **Abadi nilainya tiada bandingan, sepadan dengan anda.**

* Underlines indicate different colour prints
** Each sentence is in smaller font size than the one preceding it.

Gloss:
[Mampu] [dimiliki] [.
[Li] [Lagipun] [Tiada] [Harga] [Senilai] [Dengannya] [.]
[Abadi] [nilainya] [tiada] [bandingan] [.] [sepadan] [dengan] [anda] [.
[Able] [to be owned] [.]
[Li] [Moreover] [No] [Price] [as valuable] [with it] [.
[Forever] [its value] [no] [comparison] [.] [as comparable] [as] [you] [.

Prag. trans.:
It's affordable. (Actually, it is invaluable).
Its lasting value is as incomparable as you are.
Field: (1-3) poetic language; disjunctive syntax  
Tenor: (1-3) sub-literary  
Mode: (1 + 3) written to be read or be heard as if spoken (2) written as written poetic language (as opposed to everyday conversational or written language) and to be read to heard as if spoken  
User: language is heavily of sub-literary genre; alliteration in (1); play on words on *harga* (price); *nilai* (value) and in (3) *bandingan* (comparison); *sepadan* (comparable/suitable)

The headline and body copy have elements of the poetic language. There is alliteration in the repetition of the consonant *m* as well as the parallelism in the structure in [17(1)]. There is an attempt here at producing an original and creative copy in BM. The overall register is still formal.

I have shown here that Malaysian copywriters have managed to produce advertising copies in BM, which follow the style of the MEng COPY 41. However there are variations to the overall theme or concept of the product with the other features of the product being given more emphasis. Nonetheless, the above copies have encapsulated the essence of the product within the linguistic capabilities of the language and the corresponding social context.

Thus to recapitulate, there is a high degree of similarity, i.e. translation between the advertising copies in the three languages. The noticeably distinct differences occur linguistically. Firstly, Malaysian advertisements tend to be more formal than BEng copies with the BM copies the most formal. This despite the MEng copy being a parallel copy to the BM. Secondly, the Malaysian advertisements generally veer towards being written language. It could be argued that this should not come as a surprise as the advertisements analysed here are print advertisements. However this is not necessarily so as the BEng advertisements looked at have features of spoken as well as the written language. Thirdly, even the relatively small elements of spoken language in the BM advertisements are rather formal in tone. Fourthly, there is limited variety of role-borrowing displayed so far in the Malaysian advertising languages. Role-borrowings found in the advertisements are generally confined to the sub-literary genre. This may as a consequence have resulted in the Malaysian advertisements having limited role relationships within a single copy. The Malaysian copies exhibit more straightforward and rather *basic* selling advertising language, i.e. hard sell. Lastly, there is evidence of advertisements being translated, particularly within the Malaysian context - MEng vis-à-vis Malay language. There are
also examples of adaptation which appear to be more culturally effective compared to the translated one. The following section will look at another product.

4.1.2 Nokia

This section will look at Nokia advertisements in the three languages. In the above section, it could be argued that the product, i.e. diamonds, has a greater tendency to conjure romantic aspirations. This might explain the bias towards a sub-literary language in the advertising copies. The advertisements below are for a product that has more practical and technical features. In addition, the nature of the product and the target market would not immediately conjure romance and the literary. There is opportunity for the advertising copies to employ language use other than that from the sub-literary genre.

The following advertisements are from Malaysian newspapers. The BM copies COPY 45 and COPY 46 appeared in Utusan Malaysia, 18 October 1996 and 22 October 1996. The MEng COPY 47 is from the Sunday Mail, 13 October 1996. I will be discussing the BM copies first.

The optical centre of the advertisements must be the illustrations or rather, the respective captions in the centre of the layout.

COPY 45; BM
Illustration/Caption:
[18(1)]
MAT, MINAH
YANG KAU
PIKAT TU LELAKI!
Gloss:
[MAT] [,] [YANG] [KAU] [PIKAT] [TU] [LELAKI] [!]
[PRAG. trans.:
MAT, YOU'RE CHATTING UP A MAN!
Field: part of general conversation;
Tenor: friendly and concern warning
Mode: written as if spoken; written as if heard
User: spoken between friends or acquaintances; standard spoken language; contractions in persons' names - Mat, Minah; modifier itu → tu

The caption is a written message produced on a cellular phone. The message here is an example of the capabilities of the product and it illustrates the type of message that could be produced on the phone by its digital display. Presumably, apart from
the ironic value of the message which is immediately attention grabbing, it is the kind
of situation the target market of the product would and could readily identify with.

COPY 46; BM
Illustration/Caption:
[19(1)]
TIPAH
MAAFKAN I.
Gloss:
[TIPAH] [MAAFKAN] [I] [.] [TIPAH] [FORGIVE] [ME] [.]
Prag. trans.: Tipah, please forgive me.

Field: part of general conversation;
Tenor: apologising
Mode: written as if spoken; written as if heard
User: spoken between friends or intimates: i.) contraction of the proper noun, Latifah
ii.) use of the English I for the English me
instead of the equivalent Malay, i.e. aku, saya.

The role relationship here is between unseen speakers with the reader being an
interested observer as in COPY 46 [19(1)]. The borrowing of I indicates idiolect.
The unseen speakers are intimates. Code-switching is a common practice with
most Malaysian speakers who are proficient in more than one language and/or
dialects. This is a not uncommon outcome of diglossia.

COPY 47; MEng
Illustration/Caption
[20(1)]
HEY JOHN,
THE GIRL YOU'RE
CHATTING UP IS A GUY.
Gloss:
[HEY] [JOHN] [.] [THE] [GIRL] [YOU'RE] [CHATTING UP] [IS] [A] [GUY] [.]
[HEI] [JOHN] [.] [GADIS] [KAU SEDANG] [PIKAT] [ADALAH] [SEORANG] [LELAKI].
Prag. trans.: Hei John, gadis yang kau pikat tu lelaki.

Field: part of general conversation; spoken language
Tenor: friendly warning
Mode: written as if spoken; written as if heard
User: standard spoken language between friends or acquaintances; contraction in 're

The MEng copy retains the same degree of formality as the BM copies. Close
intimates would have used other lexical items for the key words in the BM copies.
Readers of the advertising copies are then directed to the headline by a straight line
from the message of the caption. This line is not very distinct but refocuses the
attention back to the various messages of the advertisements, i.e. headline, body copy, etc.

COPY 45; BM
Headline:
[18(1)]

Bagaimana Mesej Berteks ADAM
menyelamatkan anda dari situasi yang memalukan.

Gloss:
[Bagaimana] [Mesej] [Berteks] [ADAM] [menyelamatkan] [anda] [daripada] [situasi] [yang] [memalukan] [.]
[How] [Message] [with teks] [ADAM] [rescue/save] [you] [from] [situation] [which] [embarrassing] [.]

Prag. trans.: How ADAM’s textual message can rescue you from an embarrassing situation.

Field: statement of ability; rhetorical device
Tenor: authoritative; formal
Mode: written to be read; written to be read as if heard in a formal tone of voice
User: standard formal language, indicated by anda; use of loan-words: Mesej, Berteks, situasi.

The overall tone of the headline is formal. There appears to be excessive use of loan words in the formulation of terminology and brand or product/service naming.

COPY 47; MEng
Headline:
[19(1)]

How ADAM’s Text Messaging
can get you out of a tight spot.

Gloss:
[How] [ADAM’s] [Text] [Messaging] [can] [get] [you] [out] [of] [a] [tight] [spot] [.]
[Bagaimana] [ADAM] [Text] [memberi + Pesanan] [boleh] [dapat + kan] [anda] [keluar] [daripada] [ketat] [tempat] [.]

Prag. trans.: Bagaimana Pesanan Berteks ADAM boleh menyelamatkan anda dari keadaan genting.

Field: as above; statement
Tenor: slightly less formal compared to the Malay headline as indicated by the idiomatic expression.
Mode: written to be read; written to be read as if heard
User: slightly less formal to the Malay headline above: use of idiomatic expression tight spot; neutral address you

The register is of ordinary language. The idiomatic expression tight spot makes the headline one that is more likely to be written as heard, or written to be read as a spoken text.
COPY 46; BM
Headline:
[20(1)]

Bagaimana Mesej
Berteks ADAM boleh
merapak han yang dingin.

Gloss:
[Bagaimana] [Mesej] [Ber + teks] [ADAM] [boleh] [merapak han] [yang] [dingin] []
[How] [Message] [with teks] [ADAM] [can] [make + close(r)] [relationship] [which] [cool] []
If the original BM text is reorganised into meaningful parts:
[Bagaimana] [Mesej] [Berteks] [ADAM] [boleh] [merapak han] [yang] [dingin] []
Gloss:
[How] [Message with Text] [ADAM] [can] [make closer/bring together] [relationship which is cooling] []

Field: statement; rhetorical
Tenor: friendly, helpful, sympathetic;
Mode: written to be read; written to be spoken or read as if heard
User: standard language; use of the metaphor hubungan yang dingin - language almost poetic.

The tone of voice of the headline is a slight departure from that of COPY 45 [18(1)].
It is less formal with the metaphor. So far Malay advertising copies have exhibited a high degree of formality in tone of voice. This is also enforced by the calligraphy - the no-nonsense-machine-produced typeface.

Let us now look at the BEng headlines. The following advertisements are for Nokia mobile phones. The three advertising copies are from The Guardian Weekend November 9 1996, The Sunday Magazine November 17 1996 and The Independent Magazine date unknown, but published at about the same time as the other two. These advertising copies will be referred to as COPY 48, and 49 respectively. COPY 48 advertises the Nokia 2110 model and, COPY 49 advertises Nokia 8110 model. The first two copies, COPY 48 is a single page advertisement.
COPY 49 has similar layout to the other two but it is a two-page advertisement with the illustration on one page and the rest of the body copy on the opposite page.

COPY 48; BEng
Headline:
[21(1)]

There's simply no argument.

Field: statement
Tenor: conversationally emphatic, not formal; possibly casual, even friendly but factual
Mode: written to be spoken or read as if heard
User: standard language; the use of contraction reduces the stress on the present tense thus less of the eternal truth variety
The headline must be analysed with the accompanying headline to be really meaningful. So far I have looked at the advertisements without any direct reference to their respective accompanying illustrations. This is intentional in so far as to contrast the registers of the various textual elements in the advertisement. However I have also shown that calligraphy or the typeface of the messages affects the reader's perception of the registers. If the reader keeps the accompanying illustration in mind as he processes the headline, the tone of voice could then no longer be friendly or factual. The pointed finger and the eye to eye contact of the men hint at some degree of intensity of emotion between them. Whatever that emotion is, the illustration captures an everyday social interaction and thus the headline has to be treated in a similar way. A third unseen person, i.e. the advertiser or even the reader who may be placating the two men or the voice of one of the men, could be the voice of the headline. Whichever it is, it is part of and the result of the social interaction captured in the illustration. This is a feature of advertising which tries to emulate social realities (Myers, 1994). Now contrast the above headline with the one below.

COPY 48; BEng
Headline:

Simply the right balance.

Field: statement
Tenor: factual; emphatic
Mode: written to be read
User: standard language; disjunctive structure is indicative of titles e.g. of books, advertising language ; ellipsis

The headline appears to carry the same message as the one in the above copy. If the interpretation is limited to the illustration then it is quite obvious what the balance being referred to is. This headline displays the disjunctiveness typical of advertising language. Incidentally, the headline could still be written as if spoken. Note that the male model is looking at the reader. It is he who is carrying the weight of the woman. It is possible that he is the sending the message of the headline to the reader, "See, I can do it. It is easy. Nothing to it. Simply the right balance". It is arguable that someone in his position would want to be talking that does not mean he has no message to communicate. The point is, the tone of voice could only be determined by identifying the addresser. In this instance, the typeface of the headline gives it a degree of ambiguity with regard to who the communicator is. The
communicator could easily be the reader who reacts with some wonderment at the feat in the illustration.

Let us now look at the accompanying body copies. I have provided as literal a translation as grammatically possible of the BEng body copies. This is again to retain as close as possible the register of the BEng in BM. The aim is to aid the comparison of the registers of the texts.

COPY 48; BEng
Body copy:
[23(1-8)]

The Nokia 2110 is simply the best digital phone in the UK.
Nokia 2110 merupakan telefon digital yang terbaik di UK.
For the last two years in succession it's won the independent What Cellphone Best Business Phone Award.
It offers a host of sophisticated features in an amazingly compact design, yet it's so simple to use whether you're in the UK or abroad.
Dengan reka bentuk yang begitu padat ia menawarkan pelbagai ciri canggih. Malah ia amat mudah untuk digunakan di dalam maupun di luar UK.
For instance when you want to pick up a text message on SMS, you'll find a menu guide ready to help on the large easy-to-read screen.
Sebagai contoh, apabila anda ingin mendapat pesanan text SMS, arahan menu tersedia membantu di skrin besar jelas-baca.
And with the Nokia Cellular Data Card, you can send a fax while you're on the move, or access your e-mail.
Di samping itu dengan Kad Nokia Data Bersel semasa dalam perjalanan anda boleh menghantar faks dan juga mendapatkan e-mail.
Add to that our range of genuine accessories and you'll find the Nokia 2110 is very hard to beat.
Jika ditambah dengan barangan asli kami yang lain Nokia 2210 sukar ditandingi.
No debate.
Tidak boleh diperdebatkan.
Call 0990 002110 today for a brochure.
Hubungi 0990 002110 had ini untuk mendapatkan risalah..
The advertising language of the copy above shows the usual emphases adopted within advertisements. Firstly, the copy is an intimate address to the reader. Although I have stated earlier that the copy text could be heard spoken from one of the men to the other, the reader is the real intended listener. The use of contractions makes it more of a text written to spoken to be heard than one written to be read. The use of the illustration is another variation to the monologues between unequal participants, i.e. the advertiser to the reader. Yet by presenting this advertiser to reader monologue in this cunningly indirect way, the imperative tone of the advertiser is subdued and inoffensive to the reader. Note that the inferred speaker, the man on the right is more prominent than the man on the left is. In fact, with the second man's face turned away, this inequality is emphasized.

Secondly, the body copy text exhibits Leech's Standard Advertising English. There is a preference for simple predicate structures in the present tense (Leech, 1966). The commonest auxiliary verb is will. There is the pervasiveness of approbatory adjectives for example, best and genuine, etc. The text is also characterized by rhetorical figures for example, hyperbole in ...simply the best... [23(1)] and paradox in the relationship between the illustration and the headline. The copy text also has its share of the imperatives for example, Call... [23(8)].

In brief, the advertising copy above is typical of this genre of discourse. The illustration, its interpretation and its intra-textual relationship to the copy is not as remarkably innovative as the one to be discussed below. Although the advertising language below follows the formulaic features expected in this language type as above there is another level of meaning associated with its accompanying illustration.

COPY 49; BEng
Body copy
[24(9)]
The new Nokia 8110 digital mobile is unique.
Nokia 8110 baru merupakan digital bimbit yang unik.
Because for once, the balance between form and function is perfect.
Karena buat pertama kalinya, keseimbangan bentuk dan keupayaannya tepat.
It's the ideal size and weight to carry around, with a beautifully curved design and a cover slides shut to make a smooth shape for your pocket.
Saiz dan beratnya amat sesuai untuk dibawa merata-rata tambah lagi reka bentuk yang melengkung cantik dan tutupnya yang menyelinap rapat membuatnya selesa dalam saku anda.
Yet it will give you an amazing 2hrs and 5 mins talktime and 70 hrs standby time on an incredibly lightweight battery.

133
Yang menariknya ia akan membolehkan anda berhubung selama 2 jam 5 min di samping 70 jam masa guna dengan bateri amat ringan.

And its beauty is matched by its brain.

Kecantikannya sepadan dengan kelebihannya.

The sheer intelligence inside the 8110 makes it one of the most powerful pieces of mobile technology available today.

Kepakaran di dalam model 8110 membuatnya telefon bimbit teknologi masa kini yang terhandal.

It is fully data capable and features a high graphics display that adjusts the size of text automatically for easy viewing.

la mempunyai keupayaan simpanan data dan skrin yang boleh dibetulkan saiznya untuk senang baca.

With a full range of genuine Nokia accessories to choose from too, the Nokia 8110 is simply the shape of things to come.

Dengan barangan asli Nokia yang lain, tiada keraguan Nokia 8110 ialah reka cipta masa depan.

Call 0990 002110 today for a brochure.

Hubungi 0990 002110 hari ini untuk mendapatkan risalah.

In terms of language and register, this copy is not unlike the previous copy. However this is where the similarity lies. In this copy the illustration and the language work together rhetorically to underline the product. The possible suggestiveness between the body copy and the illustration makes the reader alternate between the two. This is a pleasing use of visual rhetoric, one with a sexual innuendo, to attract the attention of the reader. The visual pun is underlined by the slogan. Let us see below the Malaysian copies advertising the same product.

COPY 47; MEng:

Body copy:

[25(1-4)]

In life, and in business, sometimes a quick discreet message can bail you out of potential disaster. With ADAM PCN, the world’s most advanced digital telecommunication system, you can send and receive written messages by pressing a few buttons on your mobile phone. For more information on this unique feature, call 017-17-17. Or visit your nearest authorised dealer and ask for ADAM.

Field: persuasive information

Tenor: friendly; benign or concerned speaker/addresser

Mode: written to be read as if spoken or heard

User: language is lexicalized due to subject matter; features of advertising language, e.g. superlative and compound adjectives - most advanced ...; modal auxiliary can

The MEng copy is less comprehensive in terms of message compared to the BEng copies above. At the same time, the BEng copy is more direct. Contrast [24(9)] “Call 0990 002110 today ...” with [25(4)] “For more information...” Below are the BM copies for the same product. Again I have provided a pragmatically literal translation to emphasize any significant differences in registers.
Kadangkala, kita akan terjerat dalam suatu situasi yang tidak dapat dielakkan. Sometimes we find ourselves trapped in unavoidable situations.

Hanya dengan tindakan bijak ADAM saja yang boleh menyelamatkan anda daripada situasi sebegini. Only with ADAM's clever actions can you get yourself out of such situations.

Kerana dengan ADAM, anda boleh menghantar dan menerima mesej berteks, dengan menekan butang telefon bergerak anda. Because with ADAM you can send and receive text messages by pressing buttons on your mobile phone.

Untuk keterangan lanjut tentang keistimewaan ciri ini, sila dial 017-17-17. For more information on this special feature, please dial 017-17-17.

Atau kunjungi wakil jualan berdaftar kami yang berhampiran dan bertanyalah tentang ADAM. Or visit your nearest registered dealer and enquire about ADAM.

If you have misunderstood each other, take this opportunity to use ADAM as a (communication) link between you and the loved one.

Kerana ADAM merupakan satu-satunya sistem telefon bergerak terunggul yang mempunyai perkhidmatan mesej berteks. Because ADAM is the only outstanding mobile telephone system with text messaging service.

Dengan menekan butang telefon bergerak anda, mesej akan terus sampai ke pangkuannya. By pressing the button on your mobile phone, messages can reach her/his side.

Untuk keterangan lanjut tentang keistimewaan ciri ini, sila dial 017-17-17. For more information about this special feature, please dial 017-17-17.

Atau kunjungi wakil jualan berdaftar kami yang berhampiran dan bertanyalah tentang ADAM. Or visit your nearest registered dealer and enquire about ADAM.
words. There is attempt to relate to the socio-cultural environment of the target market, i.e. the reader. The overall effect is still a slightly formal tone of voice.

4.1.2.1 Adaptation or Translation --- The Reality of Practice

The Malaysian advertising copies above show that there is an attempt at diversifying the social context within a single copy. In the previous section, the role relationship in the Malaysian copies are limited to the advertiser vs. reader communication. In the Malaysian Nokia examples, the social contexts are as follows:

Illustration/Caption:
COPY
45 + 47
friend vs. friend, or
professional colleague vs. professional colleague
social environment - bar or party; social occasion
social environment - bar or party; social occasion
towards informality
COPY
46
lover vs. lover
social environment - private/personal
informal

Headline:
for all copies
advertiser vs. reader
social environment - reader reading a newspaper

Body copy:
for all copies
advertiser vs. reader
social environment - reader reading a newspaper

Fig. 4.2: A Summary of the Contextual Elements of Advertising Copy: BM vs. MEng.

There is evidence here that the copywriters attempt to emulate the target consumers' social needs in attracting the readers' attention and interest for the product advertised. The illustrations/captions work as an attention-grabbing device using social situations that the reader would or could be familiar with and at the same time exemplifying the use of the product. This puts the advertised product immediately in the context of use or potential use that the target market could quickly perceive. The Malaysian copies are hard selling copies in that there is no other level of message to be interpreted by the reader. The metaphors in the copies related to the messages regarding the product are unlike that used in the BEng COPY 48 + 49. There are no ambiguities and therefore there are no other possible meanings.

Although there are potentials here for greater role-borrowing, this has not been fully taken up. Once again, the Malaysian copies appear to be adaptations of the BEng campaign. The only evidence of role-borrowing in the BM copies is the proliferation of loan - words.
4.1.3 Carefree

The advertisements below are for CAREFREE* Panty Shields by Johnson & Johnson. The MEng copy is from Female and the BM copy is from Wanita. Both copies are from October 1996 issues of the respective magazines. The picture window layout of the two copies is visually identical right down to the organization of the printed texts.

COPY 11; MEng:
Headline: [28(1-2)]
You’ve taken care of ‘that time’ of the month.
Let CAREFREE* take care of the rest.
Gloss: [Anda] [ada] [(telah) (meng)ambil] [jaga]
daripada [itu] [masa] [Ø] [bulan] []
[Biar] [CAREFREE*] [ambil] [jaga] [daripada] [Ø] [lain] []
Prag trans.: Tindakan anda telah menjamin keselesaan bila datang bulan.
Biarlah CAREFREE* menjaga kesegaran di luar bulan.

Field: (1) statement (2) suggestion; asking permission
Tenor: friendly and concerned
Mode: written as if spoken or heard spoken
User: spoken language; euphemism is used to avoid a taboo word

COPY 30; BM:
Headline: [29(1-2)]
Anda telah bersedia menghadap
hari-hari haid setiap bulan.
Serahkan kepada CAREFREE* untuk kesegaran hari-hari lain.
Gloss: [Anda] [telah] [bersedia] [menghadapi]
hari-hari haid [every] [month] []
[Serahkan] [kepada] [CAREFREE*] [untuk]
kesegaran [hari-hari] [lain] []
[You] [had] [be ready] [to face]
days [mens] [every] [month] []
[Leave (do)] [to] [CAREFREE*] [for]
[fresh] [days] [other] []
Prag. trans.: Every month you are ready to face the days of your menstruation.
Now leave to Carefree for the freshness of the other days.

Field: (1) statement (2) Imperative
Tenor: neutral; impassioned
Mode: written to be read or as if spoken formally
User: direct language - haid = menses; menstruation
Compare the two headlines above. The messages of the two are identical. However their respective registers are not. The MEng copy avoided reference to menses or menstruation but the BM copy makes a direct reference to haid, i.e. menstruation, or menses. There is neither inverted commas nor any other linguistic device to refer to the subject implicitly. The Malay advertising language is not coy but direct. In this instance, this cannot be due to the lack of suitable linguistic or rhetorical device. Interestingly the Malay euphemism for menstruation also has a reference to periodic time - bulan = moon or more correctly, datang bulan, literally come (the) month.

This section provides a translation of the signature line or slogan of the two copies.

COPY 11; MEng
Signature Line:
[30(1-2)]
All day freshness. Everyday.
Gloss:
[Sepanjang hari] [kesegaran] [,] [Setiap hari] [,]
Prag. trans.:
Kesegaran sepanjang hari. Setiap hari.

Field: disjunctive structure
Tenor: clipped but chirpy
Mode: written as if spoken or written to be read aloud
User: rhetorical figure - key words in the phrases begin with identical sounds or letters.

COPY 30; BM:
Signature line:
[31(1)]
Kesegaran sepanjang hari, setiap hari.
Gloss:
[Freshness] [through out] [day] [,] [every] [day] [,]
Prag. trans.:
All day freshness, every day.

Field: disjunctive structure
Tenor: as above
Mode: as above
User: attempt at rhyming; rhetorical figure - repetition of words at the end of phrases.

The signature lines are almost identical. Unfortunately, the dynamism of the MEng is lost in the BM copy. The use of the comma in the BM copy instead of a full - stop is sympathetic to Malay grammatical structure though it does make the disjunctive syntax less forceful. In the BM signature line, epistrophe has replaced the chime in the MEng copy. The copywriter has been quick to react to the clever change in rhetorical figure and yet at the same time retain the message and almost exactly, the
style. Importantly, note that the communicator is the advertiser addressing the reader, i.e. advertiser vs. reader.

The followings are BEng headlines. The first is from Company dated October 1995 and the second is from Marie Claire dated March 1996.

COPY 31; BEng
Headline:
[32(1-3)]

Two continents,
three time zones
and fifteen hours from
my last shower.
When suddenly
I was hit by
the most
astonishing
sensation.
(an illustration of the product)
My knickers felt
fresh on.

Field: narrative
Tenor: pleasant surprise
Mode: written as if spoken
User: standard language; young speaker

COPY 50; BEng
Headline:
[33(1-3)]

World's longest meeting, in the world's hottest room, on most
uncomfortable chairs. Sudden amazing thought.
At last I'd discovered a body shaped pantyliner with incredible softness.

Field: narrative
Tenor: pleasant surprise or discovery
Mode: written as if spoken; note the complex sentence structure
User: standard language; speaker is slightly restrained compared to the one above, i.e. slightly older speaker

The headlines above could be narratives from current satisfied users of the product. The role relationship between communicators is present consumer vs. friend/reader. This aspect of the register is carried through in the body copies below.

COPY 31; BEng
Body copy:
[34(1-10)]
How long does a fresh pair of knickers feel fresh?
The answer of course is it depends.
On the time of the month. The state of the weather. Where you are. What you're doing. Or whether you're wearing Panty Liners. Carefree is designed to keep your underwear clean and dry.
Not only when you're having a period but also for those periods in between.
And because Carefree is slim, soft and secure they won’t show, they won’t rub and they won’t fall out. By changing them as often as you like, you’ll keep your knickers feeling as fresh as when you put them on.

Field: monologue; part of a conversation
Tenor: friendly and chirpy
Mode: written as if spoken
User: features of standard advertising language: the adjectives; disjunctive syntax; note common verbs and common lexical items through the text - immediately down-to-earth tone of voice

COPY 50; BEng
Body copy:
[35(1-6)]
You might have tried body shaped pantyliners before. But you've never experienced one with Carefree softness before. That's why our new pantyliners are called Carefree Comfort. They have a gently rounded shape, contoured to your body, combined with a cottony softness, too. And they're so comfortable that not only can you wear them either side of your period but for any slight discharge which, as you know, can happen any time of the month. With Carefree Comfort, no matter how endless your day, your knickers will feel fresh and comfortable as when you first put them on.

Field: monologue; part of a conversation
Tenor: slightly serious, persuasive
Mode: written as if spoken or to be read as spoken
User: as above; but there is an indication that the addresser is the advertiser, i.e. in [35(2)]...

our new pantyliners...

The tone of voice in COPY 50 is slightly more serious than in the preceding copy. There is also a change in the role relationship for now it is clearly the advertiser who is addressing the reader. The subtle change is in [35(2)] with “... our ...”. The overall tone of voice of the BEng copies is friendly and companionably warm. Contrast that with the Malaysian body copies below.

COPY 30; BM
Body copy:
[36(1-9)]
Banyak lagi hari dalam bulan itu anda memerlukan perlindungan. There are many more days in that month that you will need protection. Kerana sebagai wanita, anda biasanya mengalami lelehan keputihan antara haid secara semula jadi.

Because as a woman, you normally have natural discharges between menstruation.

Pada masa inilah CAREFREE* Panty Shields memainkan peranan ialah membuat anda berasa segar dan juga melindungi seluar dalam anda. It is at this time that CAREFREE* Panty Shields play a role that is to make you feel fresh and also to protect your underwear.

CAREFREE* sungguh nipis dan sungguh tidak ketara - tidak terasa anda memakainya! CAREFREE* is very thin and extremely invisible - you will not feel that you are wearing one!

Pasti anda suka pada lapik penyerap bercorak bunga timbul yang lebih selesa dan lebih handal menyerap. You will definitely like the flower-motive embossed layer which is very comfortable and more absorbent.

Jadi diri anda lebih selesa dan bersih. So you will be fresher and cleaner.

Pilihlah yang sesuai dengan anda.
Choose the one that is suitable for you.
CAREFREE® Regular atau CAREFREE® Longs.
CAREFREE® Regular or CAREFREE® Longs.
Sekarang anda boleh menghadapi setiap hari dengan lebih yakin!
Now you can face each day with more confidence!

Field: monologue; part of a conversation
Tenor: serious, persuasive
Mode: written to spoken or heard as if spoken; written to be read as if spoken
User: advertising language, e.g.:
* superlatives - (4) sungguh nipis; (4) sungguh tidak ketara
* comparison - (5) lebih selesa, (6) lebih ... bersih
* compound adjectives - (5) lapik penyerap bercorak bunga timbul

COPY 11; MEng
Body copy:
[37(1-7)]
There are many other days in the month when you need protection. That's because, like most women, you would experience a natural discharge in between your period days. That's where CAREFREE® Panty Shields come in, to keep you feeling fresh as well as protect your panties.
CAREFREE® is so thin, so discrete, you won't feel it's there! You'll also love the petal-soft embossing which gives you extra comfort and which helps absorb better so you stay drier.
Choose your favourite fit from CAREFREE® Regular or CAREFREE® Longs.
Now you can face your day with one less care!

Field: monologue
Tenor: serious, persuasive
Mode: written to be heard as if spoken or read as if heard
User: standard advertising language: adjectives, superlatives, etc.

COPY 31; BEng
Signature line
[38(1-2)]
CAREFREE PANTY LINERS.
KEEPS PANTIES CLEANER FRESHER LONGER.

Field: disjunctive syntax
Tenor: similar to COPY 11 and COPY 30
Mode: similar to COPY 11 and COPY 30
User: standard advertising language; rhetorical figure: hyperbole

COPY 50; BEng
Signature line:
[39(1-2)]
CAREFREE COMFORT PANTY LINERS. FOR THAT FRESH ON PANTY FEELING.

Field: disjunctive syntax
Tenor: similar to COPY 11 and COPY 30
Mode: similar to COPY 11 and COPY 30
User: standard advertising language; rhetorical figure: hyperbole

The signature lines above incorporate the brand name. This is meaningfully possible as CAREFREE also functions as an adjective. It may explain why the Malaysian signature lines did not incorporate the brand name. It is possible for the MEng copy
to do so but if the corporate image between the Malaysian copies is to be identical, the MEng copy has to be tailored to be parallel to the BM copy.

4.1.4 Proton

The advertisements looked so far are for products being marketed by international businesses or from multi-national companies (MNCs) that originate from outside Malaysia. The following set of advertisements is for the Malaysian made cars from Proton. In Malaysia the company is registered as Edaran Otomobil Malaysia Berhad (EON), the literal meaning is National Automobile Distribution Limited. I have chosen this set of advertisements for two main reasons.

Firstly, from the advertisements looked at so far it does appear that the corresponding Malaysian advertisements are not original creative works in their own right. This means that they have been based on another or other advertising campaign, i.e. a foreign advertising copy. This strongly suggests that the Malaysian copies are the result of either adaptation or translation from another source copy, presumably the corresponding British advertisements. Therefore the copywriters who produced the Malaysian copies could have worked from original copies produced for the British market. They could also have been influenced by corporate marketing policies set by the parent companies from outside Malaysia. If this was the case, then the copywriters could have been constrained on a number of issues particularly those relating to socio-cultural environment of the target market in Malaysia. Ricks has shown the extent and effects of how hard MNCs try to standardize marketing strategies (Ricks, 1993). When these strategies eventually work effectively, the benefits are enormous, for example as for Coca-cola and Pepsi. The standardization - adaptation issue largely centres around MNCs imposing multi-country advertising campaigns and maintaining uniform brand images over as many markets as possible (Hill and James, 1990: 135). At any rate, the Malaysian copywriters would have had to work within a framework that was based on a foreign product produced originally for a foreign market. The reader could argue that the products looked at so far are universally marketable products for a global market. This issue will be taken up in another part of this study. Suffice to say at this point that studies on advertising have shown that it is not necessarily true that products are created to meet existing consumer demands. In fact, with regard to some consumer goods, advertising can help to create demands for new products
and not the other way round (Myers, 1986). The product of the previous section, panty liners, is a case in point.

Secondly, and this is closely linked to the above point, the advertisements below are based on a product that is produced in Malaysia for a Malaysian market. It is useful to note that the Malaysian manufacturer has relied on foreign technology, i.e. Japanese but this does not affect the concept of the product. Thus this set of advertisements should be seen as a product produced in Malaysia for a Malaysian market but one that is also marketed in Britain. Therefore, in this instance, adaptation or translation could have been carried out on the BEng copies.


COPY 51; BM
Headline:
[40(1-2)]

GAYA PEMANDUAN YANG UNGGUL.  
DENGAN MATLAMAT KE DESTINASI MERCU JAYA.

Gloss:
[GAYA] [PEMANDUAN] [YANG] [UNGGUL] [.]  
[STYLE] [DRIVING] [WHICH] [ULTIMATE] [.]  
[DENGAN] [MATLAMAT] [KE] [DESTINASI] [MERCU] [JAYA] [.]  
[WITH] [AIM/GOAL] [TO] [DESTINATION] [PEAK] [SUCCESS] [.]

Prag. trans.:
THE ULTIMATE DRIVING STYLE.  
The DESTINATION IS THE PEAK OF SUCCESS.

Field: positive and hard selling messages  
Tenor: decisive and positive  
Mode: written as if spoken or heard spoken  
User: advertising language: punning in matlamat = destination =destinasi (English loan-word)

COPY 52; BEng
Headline:
[41(1)]

I'M ONLY INTERESTED IN A  
LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP  
(an illustration of the product)  
A RELIABLE PERSONA

Field: arousing interest;  
Tenor: private social; innuendo  
Mode: written as if spoken or heard spoken
User: punning in *relationship* and *persona*; double-entendre has sexual innuendo; resonance through the juxtaposition with the illustration

**COPY 53; BEng**

**Headline:**

[42(1)]

YOUR HEART WILL LIKE IT AS MUCH AS YOUR HEAD

**Gloss:**

[YOUR] [HEART] [WILL] [LIKE] [IT] [AS MUCH AS] [YOUR] [HEAD]
[ANDA] [HATI/JANTUNG] [AKAN] [SUKA] [-NYA] [SEBANYAK] [ANDA] [KEPALA]

**Field:** sub-literary

**Tenor:** friendly and persuasive

**Mode:** written as if spoken or heard spoken

**User:** rhetorical figure: chime;

**COPY 54; BEng**

**Headline:**

[43(1)]

THE THRILLS ON THE ROAD WITHOUT THE FRILLS ON THE PRICE

**Field:** as above

**Tenor:** as above

**Mode:** as above

**User:** rhetorical figure: chime

**COPY 55; BEng**

**Headline:**

[44(1)]

SURPRISE YOURSELF WITH YOUR NEW (illustration of the product) PERSONA

**Field:** as above

**Tenor:** as above

**Mode:** written to be read as if heard

**User:** Pun; metonymy

The headlines above further emphasized that BEng and Malaysian vary enormously with regard to the tone of voice of the respective copies. BEng copies give the impression that it is directly addressing the target consumer as an individual and with warmth and humour. The other major point to make is that the BEng headlines are more subtle whilst the Malaysian is hard selling.

**COPY 51; BM**

**Body copy:**

[45(1-7)]

Buying a new car usually involves a lengthy debate between the heart and the head. At heart, everyone knows what they are looking for. Performance, comfort, reliability and style. The trouble is, that just when you think you have found it, the head comes in and says you can’t afford it. But all is not lost... Compare the persona with its mainstream competitors and spec, spec, you’ll save, in most cases, well over £1,000. ... It means you can finally make a level headed decision about a car which will also set your heart racing.

In the world of the three door hatchback, performance and luxury specifications usually only come with sky high prices. Until now. Announcing the Persona Compact from Proton. The look of the car creates immediate impact... , the Persona Compact simply gives you a brilliant value on the road.
humour, etc. The high correlation between the two copies in terms of language use seems to indicate, once again, that the copywriters work from a standardized marketing strategy or concept. BEng advertisements from previous sections have a high degree of subtlety in terms of language and linguistic devices used. The hard selling features in the BEng copies seem to indicate the influence of the BM copy. An analysis of other BEng and Malaysian advertising copies for the same product type will be useful to settle this issue. However the more important question is the identification of the target market or reader profile. An advertisement is after all a reader-centred text (Ulrych, 1992).

The high frequency in usage of rhetorical figures in the BEng advertisements seems to be a typical feature of British advertising language. This appears to validate McQuarrie and Mick who believe that rhetorical figures present in advertisements, at least with regard to American English language advertisements, enhance consumers’ perception of products and has a direct effect on consumers’ advertisements processing strategies advantageous to the advertiser (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996).

4.1.4.1 Adaptation or Translation — The Reality of Practice

The general impression of register so far is that those in BEng advertisements are mixtures of formal and casual. The MEng and BM copies exhibit less variation in registers. A method to investigate and describe register variation is by determining the lexical density of a text. This means the proportion of lexical items or content words to words as a whole, is a function of the medium. As a rule, spoken texts have low lexical density whilst written texts have high lexical density.

I have shown above that BEng advertising texts have a greater diversity of registers. There are instances of the texts being of the type written to be spoken forms and this brings to Tanaka’s argument that texts should be treated as utterances (Tanaka, 1994). This section has so far looked at registers in a general perspective. Section 4.2 will look at registers from the context of lexical items.
4.2 The Registers of Lexical Items

With regard to lexical items, Halliday notes that in assessing register variation, '... to concentrate on near-synonymy where one word differs from another in level of formality, rhetoric or technicality is trivial' (Halliday, 1974: 33). This may be true in most language varieties but this is where I beg to differ slightly. Halliday aptly notes that as all (his emphasis) language functions are contexts of situations, the question of peculiarities of vocabulary, or grammar or pronunciation can be directly accounted by appreciating the language situation. In other words, once the language situation is known, for example giving permission, the situation remains the same whatever language exponents are employed. The speaker is still giving permission if he were to say, "Yes you may" or "I will not contest your request", or even more colloquially, "Oh go on". These are a matter of formality for "what is more important is which kinds of situational factors determine which kinds of selection in linguistic situation" (Halliday, 1974: 33). In Halliday's view the notion of register is a form of predicting the language once the social context of language is identified. Therefore it is rather immaterial whichever of the three language exponents above was chosen for it does not change the context of the situation. In fact, knowing the social context is the all-important starting point that makes language exponents meaningful. It seems then that the choice of lexical items does not immediately convey the message. Lexical items help to convey message but it appears that there are occasions that they are not the crucial element in determining meaning.

However, this lack of regard to the importance of words is inadvisable in the context of advertising texts. The importance of the social context of language use in advertising texts cannot be argued, i.e. the social context is always to sell the product. The choice of lexical items in advertising texts cannot be easily dismissed as mere inter-play of formality of vocabularies. The tendencies of advertising texts in adopting role-borrowing make it imperative that the content words are given due respect in determining the register of the language. Here the social context of language use is not the problem. The reader knows what the text is all about - most of the time anyway - but it is the lexical items that will further assist him in decoding the advertising texts. If the advertising text is to be translated, it is far more important that the lexical items are fully determined for this will aid the translation process.
Thus in a way, there are two levels of social contexts in advertising language. I have shown that this true is the BEng copies. The first level is obvious. It is the social context of the advertisement - its function - to sell. Once this social context is determined and the text is noted as an advertising text, the language participants can expect to use and be seen to be using set language exponents or register as in Leech (1966), etc. This is where most of the Malaysian advertisements are placed. But as shown above, the BEng advertising texts employ a variety of styles even in a single advertising copy. It is imperative for the reader and more so for the translator to be aware of this. In many instances, the borrowed style is obvious. However, sometimes it is not so easy to determine because firstly, the social context is not so defined. Some advertisements borrow the style of a particular language use to the extent that the reader can only know that it is an advertisement because there is a proclaimer within the text saying that it is so. Some advertisers could and will pay for island positions for their copies. When surrounded by the more legitimate mode contents, the advertising copy does not have to compete with another advertisement for the reader’s attention. It also benefits from a psychological advantage in not being immediately perceived as an advertisement. In many cases, the advertising copy role - borrow the style of adjacent materials and this makes it often difficult for the reader to realize that the text is an advertisement. Without the proclaimer, the advertising text is easily mistaken to be a text with a different function and language use, i.e. of another social context. It is through the choices of lexical items that the reader could determine this second language use, i.e. the second social context and bring the focus back to the advertisement.

I hope to show below, at least with translation in mind, that words are equally important in determining the borrowed social context and correspondingly in determining the register of the advertising text and the borrowed language context. The vital reason for determining the second social context is to be able to determine the meaning potential that is related to the situation. For as Halliday stresses, "When we talk about 'uses of language', we are concerned with the meaning potential that is associated with particular situation types" (Halliday, 1974: 35). Copywriters are aware of this and have capitalized on this enormously. Therefore it is not wise to see the choices of vocabulary as mere disputes on formality for registers affect message and ultimately the effectiveness of the advertisement.
Cook acknowledges that advertising itself has changed and has become subtler and more entertaining (Cook, 1992: 17). This is evident so far with regard to British advertising. This subtlety is in contrast to the crude hard selling of the 1950s and 1960s.

4.2.1 The Message of the Lexical Items
I have chosen the following examples to illustrate the importance of lexical items.

The first example is from COPY 42 [16(2)]. The word *berbicara* (KD3: 154) has the following meanings or equivalents:

- **berbicara** and **bercakap** - to talk; talking
- **bermesyuarat** - to talk or discuss in a meeting (mesyuarat = meeting)
- **mengemukakan pendapat** - to forward an idea or an argument

The word is also a word associated with law and the legal system as *bicara* pertains to anything to do in the judicial court. The origin of this word is from Malay classics and the royal court for knights and nobles of old do not *bercakap* to each other, i.e. talk but *berbicara*. This high register does not make an equivalent translation easy.

The following example is from COPY 45 [18(1)]. In BM, *Mat* and *Minah* are contractions of names for a man and a woman respectively. *Mat* is short for Mohamad/Ahmad/Mohammed, etc. and *Minah* is short for Aminah. Mohamad and similar other derivatives is the commonest name for a Malay Muslim man. There are other male names that function in the same way for example, *Awang*. However, *Minah* is not as common as *Mat*. In fact there are other alternatives to refer to a Malay woman. It actually originates from the collocation *Minah Karan*, literally Electric/Electrical Minah, which is rather derogatory. The collocation was quite common in the late 1960's and the 1970's. Malaysia's present economic and development was brought about by investments in manufacturing and in that period the predominant manufacturing industries were related to electrical and semiconductor sectors. Women went into the work force in quite large numbers into these manufacturing industries. In fact, there were more women in these industries
than there were men. These women who somehow became notorious, rightly or otherwise, were considered as unladylike and wild as in being forward, characterising a kind of assertiveness that was not typical of women of earlier generations. Minah, minus the Karan, is less derogatory now and is almost an equivalent to the Australian sheila, from the girl’s name Sheila, (CD, 1994[1993]: 1424) which is an informal word for girl or woman.

It is interesting that the copywriter chose Minah to refer to a woman because there are a number of equivalents available as listed below:

- **si** refers to an unknown, i.e. who; generally used in front of a person’s name or with an adjective, as the name of the person being referred to, in a familiar sense, playful, or even derogatory depending on usage.
- **mek** polite word for a woman common in the East Coast states; in the Northern states it is a crude reference to a woman.
- **cik** contraction of title before a man’s name; title to a man or woman whose name is not known; title for a single woman.
- **awek** spoken language amongst the urban youth for a girl
- **mak nyah** a transvestite
- **pondan** a man who has female characteristics, i.e. effeminate; also applies to a female with male/masculine characteristics; other synonyms: benci, kedi, papak ponen.

The copywriter may have chosen Minah specifically because the addressee of the message is Mat. Thus in the same sense as John and Mary and Tarzan and Jane, Mat is looking out for his Minah. However the social and connotative value attached to Minah is not similar to Jane and vice-versa, i.e. for Jane is plain and Minah is electric.

Another example is from COPY 45 and COPY 46. This is with regard to the use of the loan-word mesej from message. This borrowing is unnecessary because the Malay equivalent pesanan (pesan = to give message; pesan + an [suffix] = message) is perfectly adequate. Similarly, situasi is from situation and the Malay equivalent is keadaan. The copy writer might argue that mesej and situasi are more modern words and ones that would be reflective of the market or audience for the product/service which is the upwardly mobile, young professionals as well as the worldly established executives the advertiser wants to capture. This would be an unfortunate argument and one in the long run detrimental to the growth of Malay as a dynamic language. The other loan-words in the headline are Mesej Berteks that means Message with text. Here the two loan-words are made into a collocation with the prefix ber-.
The suffix has a number of meanings: 

i. \( \text{ber} + \text{verb} = \text{verb (simple present)}; \)
    to (verb);
    verb + ing;

ii. \( \text{ber} + \text{noun} = \text{has/have (noun)}; \)
    to have (noun);

The accepted Malay equivalent for the English text is teks. In this instance, Malay grammar is utilized to coin a new word. Incorporating other languages in advertising texts is typical of advertising language (Nielsen and Nielsen, 1978). This is also consistent with brandnaming/product naming strategies adopted by most Western and international companies (Myers, 1986; Dyer, 1982). Incidentally, the use of loan-words, also typical of Malay academic writings, adds to the formality in tone of voice of the headline.

With regard to English loan-words, it would be useful to determine whether Malaysians whose mother tongue is not English and whose proficiency in the language is marginal realize the extent of usage in their everyday life. It would also be interesting to find out how much these loan-words affect message processing of advertisements and target market's information about the product. If Heah's assertions with regard to loan-words in the Malaysian context are also true for advertising texts, the prestige of English and its association with a desirable lifestyle is a universal feature of English (Heah, 1989). Rash has shown that this is so in Swiss German advertising language (Rash, 1996). The overall implication for Malay advertising language is the effects on meaning and consumer response to advertising as well as the social-cultural values attach to message and meanings.

4.3 Translation or Adaptation Strategies

Advertising texts have to be reader centred texts. Ulrych classifies advertising texts as texts with conative function which Newmark prefers to call vocative (Ulrych, 1992; Newmark, 1998b). At any rate the aim of such a text is to affect the reader's behaviour in some way. Other studies have shown that an advertising text generally produce the following effects: attract attention of the reader, arouse interest in the product, stimulate desire for the product, create conviction of the advertising
message and effect a reaction of the reader (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985: 49; McQuarrie and Mick, 1992). Therefore the copywriters producing an equivalent advertising texts based on a foreign language source text must always keep the above functions of an advertising texts in mind at all times throughout the process of producing the equivalent copy. However copywriters wanting to produce copies that are reader centred must allow that target language, TL, conventions be followed. The effect the translator seeks to achieve is one of pragmatic equivalence between source text, ST, and the target text, TT (Ulrych, 1992: 41). According to Newmark an equivalent effect is to produce the same effect or one as close as possible on the reader of the TT as was obtained by the reader of the ST (Newmark, 1988b: 48). Below I will discuss how the equivalent texts have been produced and the issues that influence translation.

4.3.1 The Social Context Elements

I have suggested that there are two levels of social context within an advertising text. The first level, social context 1 (SC1) is the basic or primary function of the text, i.e. to sell the advertised product. The second level, social context 2 (SC2) is the role-borrowed language use that is employed as the form of transmission of the message.

Let us look at the De Beers advertisements again. As an example, compare the MEng COPY 41 with the BM equivalent COPY 42. The two copies convey the same message. However note the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEng COPY 41 [10(1-2)]</th>
<th>BM COPY 42 [13(1-2)]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC1</td>
<td>SC1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC2: sub-literary</td>
<td>SC2: sub-literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*word-play: wear...wear out</td>
<td>*word-play:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*temporal link</td>
<td>*temporal link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>often-after all-will-never</td>
<td>selalu-kekal-selamanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>register</td>
<td>register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEng COPY 41 [11(1)]</th>
<th>BM COPY 42 [14(1)]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC1: message</td>
<td>SC1: message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC2: sub-literary</td>
<td>SC2: general language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assonance- In...,I..</td>
<td>not reproduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parallelism: E,e,e</td>
<td>not reproduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ing,-...,ing</td>
<td>not reproduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alliteration: --</td>
<td>not reproduced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.3: A Comparison of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising texts: MEng vs. BM
This shows that only one level of message of the two copies is the same. For the sake of discussion, let us assume that the ST is **COPY 41**. That means that the message in **COPY 41** has not all been conveyed stylistically in **COPY 42**. Thus there is a reduction in meaning and the effect on the TT reader will not be the same as the effect of ST on its reader. Next let us compare **COPY 41 [11(1)]** with **COPY 43 [16(1)]**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COPY 41 [11(1)]</th>
<th>COPY 43 [16(1)]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC1: message</td>
<td>SC1: message not identical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC2: sub-literary language</td>
<td>SC2: sub-literary language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assonance- In...,I,...,I</td>
<td>assonance- -k,-k,-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parallelism- E,e,e</td>
<td>parallelism- Ke-,Ke-,Ke-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alliteration- -an,-an,-an</td>
<td>alliteration- K-, K-, K-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fig. 4.4: A Comparison of Rhetorical Figures in Advertising texts: MEng vs. BM*

In the comparison immediately above, the message that is conveyed is not identical but note the degree of stylistics that have been transferred or translated. However note also that TL conventions have been followed because although the rhetorical devices are present in both copies they do not share the same forms or are of the same category.

Thus one conclusion from this is that when messages are reproduced from English into Malay, linguistic and language constraints cannot produce identical effect in all details. In the first comparison, when the messages are identical, the stylistics is compromised. In the second comparison, the opposite occurs. Therefore in the instance where there is more than one social context, the translator must identify the dominant contextual focus and it is this dominant focus that has to be considered above all the other features in the text.

### 4.3.2 The Formality of Registers

Malaysian advertisements are more detached selling messages. There is a lack of warmth in the messages and the tone of voice. A good comparison is the **CAREFREE** advertisements. Firstly, note the **chirpy** headlines and body texts of the BEng copies. This tone of voice also epitomizes the brand name, i.e. **CAREFREE**. This is not at all apparent in the Malaysian copies.
Secondly, the lack of *warmth* is also emphasized through the use of *anda* in the BM copy. This also applies to all the BM copies. *Anda* is the second person pronoun that can be singular and the plural. However unlike the English *you*, it is more equivalent to the French *vous* and not *tu*. On a continuum scale of formality, the degree of formality of the lexical items, *anda* and *you* are as shown below. This disparity in equivalence ultimately has implications on message and meaning if they are used interchangeably.

![Fig. 4.5: A Schematic Scale of the Formality of You and Anda](image)

There are other lexical items with similar difference in formality and these will be picked up in other parts of this study.

Thirdly, the Malaysian copies are devoid of humour. They are straightforward hard selling copies as shown by the Proton advertisements. The choice of registers has also not allowed for a second level of meaning. COPY 52 [41(1)] has a double entremèdre in the headline with the two messages working at tangent. The second message is *humanized* with a sexual innuendo. The BM headline, COPY 51 [4091-2]) is a play on words *matlamat* = destination =*destinasi* (English loan-word). However with reference to SC2, that of COPY 52 is not directly in the context of the product. In fact SC2 is about human relation. Although the pun in *relationship* and *Persona* refer to the product. Meanwhile in COPY 51, the SC2 is still within the context of the product and its features and use and could not be mistaken for anything else. Note also that the BEng copy utilized the product name in its word-play. The BM copy has not capitalized on *Perdana* (premier).

In fact, with regard to brand names, Malaysian brand names do not appear to have any significance on the product. This is strange for brand - name - selection strategies are based on two general approaches (Bergh, *et al.*, 1987). The first is to
select a name and to establish it in the minds' of consumers through repetition in the advertising. Secondly, the strategy is to create names that have linguistic qualities that make them conspicuous in a cluttered and saturated media environment. This seems to suggest that advertising strategies would utilize brand names as much as possible. Unfortunately, the BM copy lacks this vitality in utilising the brand name.

4.4 Summary
It is important to note that BEng advertising texts employ a greater degree of role-borrowing than Malay advertising texts. Interestingly, Malaysian texts exhibit the features of advertising texts comparable to English advertising as identified in Leech (1966). There is also a propensity towards the sub-literary genre. Malaysian texts, both the MEng and BM, tend to be more formal and serious than the BEng copies. In addition the BM texts are more formal than the MEng parallel texts. When the tone is less formal and more friendly, there is still a strong tone of the sell. There is a different kind of warmth in the Malaysian text and definitely there is very little evidence of humour. Another feature of the BM copies is the high degree of loan-word lexicalization. This has resulted in false-friends. Translations have also appeared to be quite literal. It seems that BM texts work from MEng copies that are in some instances adaptations of the BEng copies. Nonetheless some of the BM adaptations are creatively interesting. The messages in the copies are laid out, i.e. more explicit in Malaysian texts. In all the examples looked at, the communicator is the advertiser who speaks with the authority of a superior.

Therefore I suggest that the language, i.e. Malay has not developed a suitable register for advertising language or at least not kept up to date with advertising developments elsewhere. Or to be more precise, the Malay advertising language is still dated, i.e. similar to the BEng advertising language of the 1950s and 1960s. This is because the cultural and social environment as well as the economic environment in Malaysia does not reflect similar advertising circumstances to those present in the British context. Secondly, the formality of the Malaysian copies, particularly the BM copies, could be the result of copywriters' inability to pitch correctly for the correct tone of the target market. This inability may be the result of working from English or a foreign world view, i.e. the marketing policies as well as
linguistic dependence and brings back to the question of standardization all means that MEng could emulate BEng dynamism.

This point on formality is also linked to the previous one with regard to the social-economic environment. I would say that advertisers approach the socio-environment from a fixed perspective - an alien perspective to that of the indigenous socio-environment. Understandably, the inability to produce a less formal tone could be due to the lack of familiarity and ease of use of the Malay language in the spoken and written form.

Endnotes:

1. (This will be discussed under word-play. I only take note of it here.) Apart from the immediate meaning of something unexplained or strange, unaccountable also brings to mind the concept of account. With account there is the reference to money, price or cost. In addition note that diamonds are luxury goods, i.e. expensive as well as being priceless. This connection to money is also made in the body copy in COPY 39, "Bought for just over a month's salary..."

2. (This too will be discussed under word-play). The lexical item brilliant has the possible meanings below:
   a.) clever
   b.) outstanding
   c.) splendid; magnificent
   d.) describing a characteristic of diamonds

   Incidentally, a brilliant cut refers to a popular circular cut diamond. Colloquially, brilliant could mean almost anything positive.


4. I have not identified all the false-friends in the advertising copies.
5
Visuals and Meanings:
Implications of Culture and Advertising Resonance

This chapter explores the significance of visuals in conveying message(s) within advertising texts. A central argument is that visuals are functional in a variety of ways. A key function of visuals is to contain the content or the message of the discourse. Visuals encode textual messages about the product and about the socio-cultural values of the target market. In a number of ways visuals help to disambiguate the written discourse. The general aim of visuals is therefore to aid the contextual "effectiveness" of the advertisements. It is important that the translator knows how to "read" visuals in the same way the target market would. This ability will assist in determining the messages from an advertising aspect (cf. Scott, 1994b: 461-480). The underlying theme of the chapter is deciphering cultural messages. A major part of the chapter deals with advertising resonance (McQuarrie and Mick, 1992: 180-197; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 424-438). This is defined as the effect on meaning by the juxtaposition of a phrase with a picture (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 431). The emphasis is the relationship between the headline and the accompanying visual of an advertising copy. The working definition that is adopted in this study is as used by McQuarrie and Mick in their study of figurative language in advertising (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 424-438). This working definition of resonance is different from the more common one in linguistic, i.e. the vibrations of air movement in the vocal tract which are set in motion by a source of phonation (cf. Appendix II).

5.1 Reading Visuals: Some Theoretical Models
A number of studies on visuals in advertisements have attempted to formulate theories on how visuals affect consumer response (Perrachio and Meyers-Levy, 1994: 190-201; Miniard et. al., 1991: 92-107; Houston, Childers and Heckler, 1987: 359-369, etc.). Scott has classified some of these studies based on the relationship between visuals and corresponding messages (Scott, 1994a: 256-260). For example, in the Classical Conditioning/Affective Response, visuals said to invoke a response in the reader that is automatic, affective or unconscious (Scott, 1994a: 256). The problem with this type of study is that it assumes that all human beings respond to a visual in the same way. A picture of a bowl of rice or for that matter a picture of a durian, should bring about the same response to any man, woman or child, of either sex, to a Malaysian as much as to a British. This can only be true if
the image utilized is understood to have a simple value, i.e. pleasant/unpleasant and/or positive/negative meaning. In addition, the image is deciphered as iconic and that the impact of the image is passively absorbed (Scott, 1994a: 256).

A second type of study is the **Information Processing**, for example, Perrachio and Meyers-Levy, 1994: 190-201; Miniard *et al.*, 1991: 92-107; Houston *et al.*, 1987: 359-369, where visuals have the potential for cognitive impact, either directly or by providing elaboration (Scott, 1994a: 255-256). Unlike the type of studies mentioned above this type recognizes the 'potential for visuals to signify and therefore, persuade on many levels' (Scott, 1994a: 257). The limiting assumption of this category is the failure to treat visuals as concrete phenomena rather than as symbolic forms like words (Scott, 1994a: 257).

The other category is the **Mechanical Elements Studies** in which meaning is inferred from mechanical elements in the imagery. Visual elements, for example, code; colour, etc. are noted and correlated to various measurements of aggregated response (Scott, 1994a: 258). For instance, it has been shown that increasing the size of the font in an announcement for a sale positively affected consumer perception of the magnitude of the discount (Scott, 1994a: 258). A limitation of this type of study is that it is based on generalized assumption of responses and tastes. In addition it fails to accommodate changes in perceptions and the technology in visual representations. For example, the black and white visuals in an advertising copy at one time was perceived as cheap and unimaginative compared to the coloured ones are now cleverly utilized to convey chic and wealth in “classy” magazines (cf. 4.1).

Another theory is based on **Content Analysis** and it involves a simple count of what is pictured. This model does not allow for the ability of visual connotations to subtly alter meanings. The other limitation of this model is again, the problem of shared judgements. Scott summarizes the approach of Barthes and Williamson as belonging to **Interpretive Studies** (Scot, 1994a; Barthes, 1977[1964]; Williamson, 1978). This approach is based on semiotic analysis. It is often said that pictures signify by virtue of their resemblance to an object.
5.1.1 Functions of Visuals
The following section will briefly elaborate the main functions of advertising visuals as previously outlined in Fig. 3.1.

5.1.1.1 Sign
Basically, signs are the "coded" forms of the visuals that have meanings. The visual contents can either be an iconic or a symbolic representation of a verbal text. For example, an English country house has meanings different from that of a detached house in a suburban street. The meanings and ultimately the messages could only be deciphered by disambiguating the "sign". In COPY 28, neither the name of the product nor the specific advertiser is present in a linguistic form (cf. Pateman, 1988).

5.1.1.2 Stimuli
These types of visuals are attention grabbing. The information or messages of such advertisements are usually embedded in the artwork and concept of the whole copy. The visuals act as a point from which the reader-cum-consumer is "forced" to process the advertisements. The techniques normally incorporate incongruity between the visual and the body text or the advertised product itself. In COPY 56, a pearl and diamond ring is placed on the lower end of a 'lady's finger' - the vegetable. Two other lady's fingers are placed on each side of the ring. The incongruity between the ring and vegetable is eye-catching, though may be not to all. But to that reader-cum-consumer whose attention has been caught, the next step in resolving the incongruity is to process the visual and the body text.

5.1.1.3 Information
Nearly all advertisements fall into this category. Advertisements impart information regarding the advertised product/service. Some advertisements do this better than others. Some advertisements do this more directly than others. Contrast COPY 57, COPY 58, COPY 59 and COPY 60. Except for COPY 58, the advertisements are for similar types of shoes. The latter two, COPY 59 and COPY 60 provide more detailed diagrammatic breakdown of the advertised products' features.

5.1.1.4 Reflects Reality
In this instance, reality means what is generally agreed as true in the environment and society. There are two types of reality being reflected through visuals. Such realities share a common theme in that they have been chosen to position the
advertised product in the marketplace. The first is what I would term as the desirable reality. This reality is apparent in society. This is a truism that is experienced by some sections of the society but not by all. For instance, having a foreign holiday abroad in picturesque and exotic locations is quite common to a lot of people. To others, foreign holidays abroad could only be enjoyed after making some sacrifices financially and socially. There are many more people for whom foreign holidays abroad are what dreams are made of. Whilst to a minority, such holidays are the norm. Visuals that function in this way are usually for prestige products, like designer clothes COPY 61, holiday promotions COPY 62, health and fitness or sliming products COPY 63 and lingerie COPY 64. The product is usually advertised as one being used by a beautiful and/or famous male and/or female model and is placed in a background that is romantic and, or luxurious. The copywriter-cum-advertiser would have pitched the advertising campaign sufficiently “desirable” to the products’ target market.

It has been mentioned elsewhere that advertising is an attempt at effecting persuasion, i.e., with regard to the advertised product, through some degree of glamorising the product (Dyer, 1986; Cook, 1992; Myers, 1986; etc.). The reader-cum-consumer is confronted by a positive image of the product and at the same time is influenced to believe that the reader-cum-consumer could also be in an equally desirable position, whatever that may be, as projected by the product, by purchasing and using the advertised product. A lot of testimonial advertising falls into this category. The justification is, if the product is good enough for the Spice Girls or Burt Reynolds, the next best thing for not-the-Spice Girls or the Spice Girls wannabes, or not-the-Burt Reynolds consumer is that product.

The second kind of reality is the intended reality. This is another level of reality depiction. In this category, the product is positioned in a reality that has been created specifically for the product. The reality could be as yet a totally alien one to the target consumer. The product is placed in a different socio-cultural environment, as in COPY 65. It could even be a reality that is alien to any earth-bound consumer, as in COPY 66. It is nevertheless a reality that personifies the product and gives it an identity. Although most of the advertisements above depict scenes from our life, chances are they are not the “reality” of the reader-cum-consumer whose attention has been caught by the advertisement and who is actively processing it.
5.1.1.5 Memorability

The way visuals affect memorability of the product would differ from person to person. To some, a visual that had "forced" them to decipher the advertisement could, in the longer run be more memorable than a straightforward product promotion. To some, a picture of a sexily clad model may be more memorable. One aspect of memorability is the "remember-the-good-old-days" type of advertisements, COPY 67. The association of a past experience, particularly if it is a positive memory, could have an equally positive effect on the product evaluation by the reader-cum-consumer. It has to be noted that past memory actually acts as stimuli to the reception of the product. The visual acts as a metaphor as well and is the "trigger" towards the advertisement being processed. In COPY 4, the past is being referred to through visual puns.

What I have shown so far is that visuals in advertisements have a variety of functions. It should also be observed that visuals do not have only one function at any one time. A complex interaction of the various functions may be embedded in any one visual. I have also briefly mentioned incongruity between visuals and the other elements within an advertising copy.

5.2 Culture and Visual

The following section will look at the relationship between culture and visual understanding.

5.2.1 The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception

Segall et al. argue that there are cross-cultural differences in the perception of illusory line drawings (Segall et al., 1966: 3). They believe that these differences are dependent on differing visual environments of cultural groups as well as different visual inference habits that these environments reinforce. Segall et al. summarize that there are two basic issues. The first is termed cultural relativism and the second is the influence of learning or perception. This second issue borders on epistemological concerns.

Let us explore the first issue. Segall et al. do not recognize that a person's visual perception is mediated by indirect inference systems. What they mean is that implicitly, individuals assume that the evidence of vision is directly, immediately, and unmediately given. This visual processing Segall et al. call phenomenal
**absolutism.** There is, they argue, a lack of awareness of the frames of references anchoring our judgements. It is not like knowing but like an immediate acquaintance or a direct contact i.e., instantaneous cognition. One aspect of phenomenal absolutism is that the individual assumes that all other persons' observations of the same situation are, as he has perceived them. Should the others respond differently, it is only because of some insidious characteristics that those others have, rather than because they act on different perceptual content (Segall et al., 1966: 4-6).

Segall et al. use the example of a room which could be turned upside down, where the ceiling is the floor and the floor is the ceiling. If a person is pictured standing on what appears to be the ceiling, the observer accommodates the knowledge based on his original perspective and wonders at how the feat was possible. For that matter, in cinematography it is one of the techniques employed and a not uncommon technique, to film night scenes in broad daylight. This is possible by using special lenses that reduce the amount of light that passes through the camera. A person who is not so well versed on this technique watching such a scene on film, would not perceive the difference between a real night scene and an illusionary one. However, someone who has the required photographic knowledge would be able to detect from perceived clues, from within the filmed scenes, and know for a fact that the film had been taken in broad daylight. The main idea here is that visual perception is nearly always relative to the individual's knowledge and experience. This echoes the ideas of the schemata theory in relation to the written text (cf. Chapter 6).

This brings us to the second issue. It could not be doubted by now that learning and adaptation do influence visual perception. Indeed apart from the distinctions between sensation and perception, perception contains learned meanings and integrations. Built into this seemingly direct process of perception are learned organizations, delineations, and interpretations. These learned components, too, are phenomenally absolute. In conscious experience we have no awareness of the learned associations that lie behind the vivid givens (Segall et al., 1966).

An issue arising from the above and relevant to our consideration, is the tendency each and everyone of us has in perceiving and giving values to other cultures unconsciously based upon our own culture or the culture that we have accepted as the absolute and universally applicable. As a crude exemplification, it is what happens when we view other religions, most of the time regarding ourselves as
belonging to the true position in the world. Most people regard ‘themselves as the original and optimal type of mankind, centrally located in the world, speaking the language of God, and having the one true morality’ (Segall et al., 1966: 12). For example, Western Christian perspective on death differs from that of the Islamic perspective. This different perspective gives differing values to the same experience. This naive attitude from one’s own viewpoint has been widely described as ethnocentrism. While Segall et al. acknowledge that there are other meanings to this terminology, a basic definition is,

as the view of things in which one's own group of its customs are unconsciously used as the standard for all judgements, as the centre of everything, with all other peoples and customs scaled and rated accordingly (Segall et al., 1966: 9-10).

I do not see this issue on ethnocentrism as problematic but only as an issue that has to be consciously kept in mind and accepted as a potential problem in the process of interpreting and translating a text. Under normal circumstances, it is not possible to be able to perceive something that is not accessible to one in mind and experience in the first place. There has to be an initial point of reference. The most accessible starting point is from one’s own experience, i.e., from the cultural and the cognitive environment. Thus attached to this is the concept of enculturation (Segall et al., 1966: 10).

The work of Sapir and Whorf has tried to bring this concept into focus. Other work presented striking data showing cross-cultural differences in susceptibility to optical illusions (see Segall et al., 1966: 19). These studies, although “well-known” according to Segall et al., are never cited in the basic presentation of optical illusions in the textbooks on visual perception and experimental psychology (Segall et al., 1966: 19). This may be due to phenomenal absolutism of visual perception. Experimental psychologists in general have been extremely reluctant to concede that groups or individuals perceive differently (Segall et al., 1966: 19). It is usual for some experimental psychologists to try 'to explain away evidence of learned differences in perception as merely differences in what the person says he sees - as differences in response to the percept rather than as differences in the percept itself' (Segall et al., 1966: 19). However, it is the premise of this study to acknowledge the possibility of phenomenal absolutism and that it has effects on message perceived through advertisements.
In another study, Bagby concludes that cultural differences appear to be critical in effecting perceptual dominance in conflict-creating viewing situations (Bagby, 1957). He argues that differences in ways of perceiving are a consequence of differences in past experience. In his case, the experiential differences are caused by culture. Bagby's findings appear to support the proposition that visual experiences are dependent on the particular environment that is predisposed to a particular individual. An individual is likely to be able to most readily identify material similar to the content of his experiences (Bagby, 1957). Another study concludes that ethnic-group membership played some role in determining perceptual dominance. This study in South Africa involves the stereoscopic presentation of photographs of persons of various ethnic groups. It was found that some differences in perception is dominant among groups of Europeans, Indians, "Coloured" and Africans in the study (see Segall et al., 1966: 51-52). Afrikaners gave little or no dominance to other ethnic groups but only to those they associate themselves with, i.e., the Europeans. The other ethnic groups did not show any significant dominant preference to anyone group. These studies should be updated to explore the present state of enculturation in a fast growing global identity. In addition, the preference for pan-Asian models in some Asian advertising campaigns, particularly those in 1980s Malaysia, may throw some new information on this issue of enculturation.

Differences due to culture are not to be considered as a limitation on any of the cultural group. I would agree with Frith and Frith, in that local culture tends to be a largely unknown quantity to most foreign observers: in the case of Western owned advertising agencies operating in Southeast Asia (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180). Frith and Frith are deeply concerned over what they see as Western cultural invasion in Southeast Asia (Frith and Frith, 1989: 179-214). In advertising, in the Asian environment, sadly local culture is dismissed and not incorporated into advertising campaign (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180).

5.2.2 Some Cross-Cultural Factors Affecting Meaning and Message
Goldsmith provides a useful summary regarding visuals and effects on meanings and messages. There are nine key issues involving cross-cultural factors in using visuals (Goldsmith, 1984: 394-395; 410-420). It has been briefly mentioned earlier that words and pictures have different effects on different people (Wells et al., 1995[1989]: 445).
First of all, Goldsmith acknowledges that 'a distinction needs to be made between what is comprehensible to another culture, and what is acceptable' (Goldsmith, 1984: 410). He cites an example whereby images have had to be changed to avoid giving offence in a health education scheme in Egypt (Goldsmith, 1984: 410). Another factor to note is to naively assume that because certain signs are common within one's culture as well as in another culture, they are universal. Even within paralinguistics, the simple nod of the head can convey two opposing meanings, i.e., a "yes" in English social context but a "no" in certain Indian ethnic groups. Cultural differences in thinking have also shown the disparity in cognition and categorisation. One study involving Scottish and Zambian children initially showed that these children grouped cars and animals by types and colour respectively. However when the children were given models to categorize, the Zambians tended to group the models by colour and the Scottish children grouped by types (Deregowski and Serpell, 1971).

There are two main factors involved in the concept of connotation. The first concerns with the meaning of colours. Ke's work on translating the Chinese text into English shows how red and green pose problems to meaning and context (Ke, 1995: 24-35). Red to the Chinese is generally a positive colour. However, with the exception of a relatively small number of idioms, red to the English is not as auspicious to them as to the Chinese. In some instances, Ke agrees with another translator that the connotation of red is best replaced with "green" in English. Even though Ke's analysis is based on written text, the concept of imagery mentioned earlier would easily transfer the connotation of colours into the visual context as well.

The other factor with regard to connotation concerns scenes (Goldsmith, 1984: 411). Goldsmith reminds that visuals have had the reverse effects to that intended because the messages perceived are too normal to have an effect or that they are not as enviable to the target reader as otherwise thought (Goldsmith, 1984: 411). For example, a picture of a quiet beach bathed in bright sunlight is unlikely to conjure romance and an idyllic holiday to most Malaysians. On the other hand the picture of a traditional Malay house may to some, conjure the excitement of a tranquil and rustic holiday. They may perceive this as exciting but others may perceive this as a very basic holiday, almost a drudgery. Their different perceptions may be only due to their different sub-cultures, if they are from within one main cultural entity. However this disparity would be greater if they are from different cultural backgrounds.
The above links to another factor relating picture with text. Some texts could be represented pictorially and understood almost universally. There are some messages that would not easily be translated into images and be comprehended universally. A common image on some private public-transport in Thailand shows a man, a woman with a cleaver and a duck chasing each other. This is far from a farming scene and has nothing to do with the two human beings wanting to make a meal of the duck! This is actually a warning to straying husbands. In relation to this is the question of the symbolic use of images. The skull and crossbones could be universally argued as denoting death, poison or danger but a Malaysian looking for medical assistance is more likely to be looking out for a red crescent and moon symbol than for a red cross.

Another factor concerns scanning behaviour. Goldsmith feels that very little work has been done on this aspect (Goldsmith, 1984: 412). However, there is indication that 'perception of elements such as size, shape and colour in a picture was found to differ according to native language, depending on the familiarity of the picture to the subject...' (Goldsmith, 1984: 412). This brings us round to the argument by Segall et al. regarding cultural absolutism and learned knowledge (Segall et al., 1966).

The last factor is visual literacy. If we accept the argument of Segall et al. then differences in perceptual abilities could be observed in different cultures (Segall et al., 1966). Goldsmith is rather sceptical with regard to this and is far from convinced by the evidence present to date. He feels that, 'provided pictures are well constructed and take into account of the cultural differences mentioned elsewhere ... [in his book], any failure of comprehension will be due to lack of pictorial experience’ (Goldsmith, 1984: 412). This brings back to Kress and van Leeuwen’s assertion that reading visuals is a learned art (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; 1992). Unwittingly, Goldsmith does acknowledge that cultural factors could be learned elements in an individual’s experience.

5.2.3 Imagery and Meanings
So far I have given glimpses of how visual perception could potentially differ due to differences in socio-cultural environment. In this section I will further exemplify these assertions. I have so far shown that it is vital to realize and all the more so with regard to BEng advertisements, visuals do more than just “accessorize” the body text. I hope to highlight here that there is another element to reading Malaysian
advertising visuals. This section further explores the language of visual representation. Firstly, I contend that it is important for the language analyst to keep in mind the language of the advertising copy in which the visual is placed. As I have shown earlier, the same colour can connote different meanings in different language and the same image could also do the same thing in different languages. Secondly, British advertising visuals are ingrained with a strong tradition of European art and philosophy and to apply these to Malaysian visuals could be problematic if not at times misleading. I hope to show how advertising capitalizes the needs of the socio-cultural environment in achieving the goals of the advertisers. I also hope to show that advertisers adopt and adapt socio-cultural practices in the promotion of their vested interests. These practices could lead to some confusion in reading the message of a Malaysian advertisement.

5.2.3.1 Imagery - The Conflict of Cultures
The danger of not realizing the language, in which a visual is composed, results in a tendency to mis-read the message of the visual. The effect, in this case, is to denote and connote different meanings to the interpretation of the visual. Therefore, it is important at all times, to consciously decipher or read a visual in the context of the language of the whole text. This is an important issue as it is possible to switch from one language to another, i.e., from English to Malay or vice-versa, when reading a Malaysian advertisement whatever the language used, i.e., Malay or English. There is a high degree of code switching amongst certain sections of Malaysians. A significant number of Malaysians are bilingual and those who are not Malay native speakers have a tendency to have varying degrees of competency in more than two languages.

As an example, refer to COPY 43. One reaction to the advertising copy is that here is a young woman who is having a good time. The waterfall has the reader think of a picnic or a day outing. Furthermore the model being Malay strengthened this imagery: picnics are very much more a Malay institutional pastime than that of any other ethnic group in Malaysia. Malays generally enjoy less formally organized activities. This is not just a simple reflection of the socio-economic status of Malays, albeit a changing one, but also a cultural one. Malays in the past were less urban and the natural environment has been more accessible to them. The waterfall brings to mind shrieks of laughter, cool clean mountain air, crystal clear water and a relaxed yet wary feeling. Picnic spots in Malaysia are still largely undeveloped and unspoilt
or rather, developments of infrastructure and amenities have been kept to the minimum. Picnickers usually have to be mindful of the ever present, watchful and aggressive wildlife who are either interested in them or their food. If the above imagery of the picnic were the one the advertiser wished to promote in the advertisement, then it is likely to be effective for the Malay reader. The reader would have a very positive reaction to the advertising copy, as it would likely invoke a pleasant, pleasurable and familiar activity or memory.

At another level of the message, the water running down the small rocks directs the reader towards the diamond on the young woman’s hand. It is also significant that her right hand is placed palm out and up, almost against the running water while her left hand is placed in the opposite position. She is almost saying, ‘From this’, the water washing over the small rocks, ‘to this’, i.e. the ring on her finger. Note that the ring is on her second finger of her left hand and not as would be expected, on her third finger. With regard to culture, there is actually no major significance of the third finger in the Malay culture like there is in the West. Furthermore, traditionally Malays tend to wear their rings on their right hand. This is based loosely on religion although it is now more of an unconscious norm than a religious requirement. Certainly, a stranger will not be able to tell whether a woman is engaged or married by looking at the position of the ring on her finger unlike in Britain. The same stranger might be able to hazard a good guess by looking at the nature of the rings she wears. Married Malaysian women do not wear rings or at least, not all the time. Indian women wear a “string” round their necks placed there by their husbands and depending on their wealth and social status, i.e. caste, it could be a long gold chain or a mere string of beads. I suggest that the message from the visual is that the ring is one that the young woman got for herself. She is a “modern” woman who need not conform to “tradition”.

For the Malays traditionally, and it is still widely practised today, the Malay engagement rings are plain gold rings or belah rotan, literally translated, bamboo cut. These are not dissimilar to the Western gold band although in most instances the rings have cuts and designs on the surface and are very rarely smooth and plain. In addition, simple gold bands are specifically engagement rings as opposed to being wedding rings in the British Christian tradition. I think the explanation for this cultural norm for the Malays is pure economics and common sense. A man would be more likely to lavish a more valuable ring on his wife as opposed to a woman who is yet to
be his wife. Note that this practice is also the theme in the BEng copy, for example COPY 38 (cf. Chapter 3). Anyway, a Malay woman could insist on getting and would get more elaborate jewellery as part of her wedding gifts from her groom at the point of marriage. Generally culturally the reverse is observed between Western and Malay tradition. A Malay wedding ring is the equivalent of a Western engagement ring and a Malay engagement ring is the Western wedding ring.

This brings me to the question of the target consumer of the advertising copy and what the message for this target consumer is. We know that the ultimate message is to buy the product but the interest here is the nature of all the other messages that will lead to that ultimate message. The Malay copy was placed in Wanita, women's magazine and the BEng copy is from The Times Magazine. Is the target consumer of either of the two copies male or female? This will affect the reading of the cues or contents in the visual. According to Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (1986), the reader will decode information based on cues that they identify with and these cues are dependent on the individual reader. The same cues lead to different meanings based on background knowledge and experiences and could also be gender specific. I assert here that different cues can lead to different meaning in different languages. This will be clear later.

Firstly, it is worth noting that the whole colour theme for the copy is yellow. This is utilized in the model's outfit. Yellow is also the background for the copy text present through out in the artwork. Again contrast this copy with COPY 38 (cf. Chapter 3). The colour scheme for the latter is black. The colour yellow in Malaysian culture is the colour of royalty. Until recently, in certain states, no one was allowed to wear yellow. Another important piece of etiquette in Malaysia is not to wear yellow for formal functions where royalty is present. The colour yellow is a positive and auspicious colour for the Malays. In important feasts like at weddings and celebrating the birth of a child, nasi kuning/nasi kunyit (literally, yellow rice/turmeric rice/saffron rice) is specially prepared and takes the place of honour in the feast, for example, serves only to the bride and groom at the wedding reception. Yellow is also the colour of gold - an important and precious metal in the social and cultural lives of most Asian societies. It is the first item on most Asian shopping lists whenever there is spare cash. Gold is not only the symbol of wealth but of investments. No other form of investment is as safe. It has been widely documented that the Vietnamese boat people paid for their dangerous passage out of Vietnam in
gold. Therefore yellow in the copy equates and connotes gold and this connotes good investment in a diamond ring. I suggest here that the copywriter builds on the traditional connotation and relays the message that diamonds should be seen in the same light as gold and, as gold equates with “prosperity”, so do diamonds. This message is underlined by the headline:

COPY 43
Kecantikan KERLIPAN dan Kegemilangan
(Sebenarnya, kami bukan sedar berbicara tentang anda)
Gloss:
[Beauty][GLITTER/SPARKLE] [and] [Prosperity]
[(Actually) [we] [are] [not] [just] [conferring/talking/discussing] [about] [you]]
Prag. Trans.: 
Beauty SPARKLE and Prosperity
Actually we are not only discussing you.

It is important to realize here that Malays and most Asians for that matter do not value gemstones very highly. At least not as highly as they do gold as a form of investment and as jewellery. Thus to direct their interest towards diamonds by equating it to gold, a very valuable commodity, is a very clever management of cultural norms and facts.

Secondly, I would suggest that the advertisement is likely to be effective. Let us assume that the advertising copy is reflective of the target market. The model epitomises this market with her simple and down-to-earth image. Her lack of frivolity and the understated chic of her body hugging dress are underlined by the modern, simple yet elegant pieces of jewellery in the copy. However this is where reading the visual has to be done very carefully. This is because the model is not your everyday common variety Malay woman although by her features she is definitely one. Not many Malay woman would go out wearing such close fitting dress in “modern” simple design. Such simple design and one colour outfit is not typical of Malaysians of whatever ethnic origin, in general. Malaysians love colours. The more colours there are the more attractive the product becomes. A good example of this is in the traditional textile, batik. Furthermore, Malaysians when they can afford it do not wear single pieces of jewellery. The visual would not naturally appeal to the average Malay either woman nor man. The visual would none the less be identified by the young, financially independent, not so traditional and dynamic professional woman. The jewellery in the copy is of a type that would be desirable to someone in the image of the model. This person also has a considerable amount of “modern outlook”, and appreciates Western-style beauty and luxury.
Ironically, this simple copy with the unimaginative artwork is pure fantasy and full of romance. It will appeal to the woman who wants to break out from the traditional mould into a more modern outlook. Interestingly, once again the whole concept of the advertisement appears to be that of a foreign and largely Western perspective. However is it really so? Could it be argued that the simple outfit of the model and the jewellery designs in the copy are really modern Malaysian designs? Certainly they are not traditional designs. If the elements in the copy are modern Malaysian designs then could it be argued that the advertising copy was devised from a modern Malaysian perspective? In actual fact, with regard to the style of the advertising campaign and the pieces of jewellery, what exactly is a modern Malaysian perspective and art form? Obviously, neither of the designs above could be immediately accepted as traditional Malaysian designs. However, there are elements that Malaysians will understand from outside their traditional perspective. In fact, I would argue that some of these elements result from the advertising copy being devised from a language perspective other than a purely Malay one. The modern elements may be the result of the copywriter working from a foreign worldview, namely English.

This therefore makes reading Malay visuals generally interesting. For the colour yellow works in the copy because it connotes a sunny happy ambience if the reader reads it with English language perspective. This happy ambience is seen in the model's pose and facial expression. If the reader reads the visual with a Malaysian-English perspective, he gets these two messages. There is an additional meaning for he would also incorporate the Malay/Malaysian concept of gold through the colour yellow. I have shown that yellow in Malay reads as wealth and prosperity. In addition, the simplicity of the model's outfit is chic and elegant in the English and Malaysian-English perspective. These cues actually undermine the message of richness and luxury in the Malay context. However as I have already stated earlier the advertisement works and for it to be effective the consumer understands either or both cultural contexts, i.e., English and Malay. Therefore I contend that the copywriter works at least partly from an English perspective, in particular in terms of language and values. In addition, the result is that the copywriter has incorporated a cultural preference, i.e., for gold and subtly encouraged a new preference, i.e., for diamonds. In other words, the advertising copy, COPY 43, has successfully adopted and adapted a socio-cultural element in the promotion of the advertisers' vested interest. In so doing, the advertisers have cleverly created new myths and new
cultural expectations within the existing socio-cultural environment, at least in the advertising copy. This brings us back to Frith and Frith’s assertion regarding cultural influence of the West on Asian advertising interesting (Frith and Frith, 1989: 180). The following sections will emphasize these further.

5.2.3.2 **Implications to Meanings**

The following copy makes up the cover front page, COPY 37a and back page, COPY 37b, of a pull out advertorial for De Beers in *Wanita* in October 1996 promoting diamonds. The background is a variety of pastel blues with some sort of visual or artwork in various shades of red and white. The objects of the visual that is part of the background of the page are not very clearly defined and give an overall impression of the page a dreamy romantic look in the Western tradition. At first glance they look like orchids or the cross section of flowers. These have been produced with a soft focused, almost underwater effect. On closer inspection, the objects look like the reproductive parts of plants. There are also a lot of similarities to female and male private parts. The lines of the petals of the flower in the centre, in particular, are similar to the lines of the buttocks. Note also the similarities in forms to female and male reproductive organs. Here I am inclined to be influenced by Key (1972, 1976) and believe that the subliminally pornographic forms identified above are contrived. After all, the theme of this advertorial is marriage and in the Malay psyche as well as expectation, marriage is always associated with procreation. This is not to say that in Britain or in any other culture it is not so, but in Malay the more common and popular word for marriage and all the related derivatives, i.e., *kahwin, berkahwin, mengahwin, mengahwinkan, perkahwinan* also denote the sexual act. Thus the subliminal message of the reproductive organs is meaningful in this context. The objects of the visual are really orchids, if the reader takes the time to study them. This raises the question of how much time and attention any reader of an advertisement gives to it. In truth, only proof readers and advertising analysts spend a large amount of time on them. However, the issue here is not what the ordinary reader reads but what messages are there to be read. Thus it is important to appreciate that the objects photographed are orchids. In English, orchids are exotic plants. Malaysia is not noted for her orchids unlike her neighbours, Thailand and Singapore, although in point of fact, Malaysia has a wealth of natural habitats for rare orchids. The largest orchid known to man is a Malaysian native. As a flower, orchids are not common to Malaysians unlike the hibiscus, the national flower or the bougainvillaea. Nonetheless orchids are significant to Malays for orchids are
abundantly depicted in batik. The stylized forms of orchids are prevalent in modern hand painted batiks. In addition, the pastel yet vibrant blue and red of the background of the copy is very like that of modern batik that is usually in silk and highly valued. Therefore the imagery of the cover and back pages of the advertorial would be familiar to Malaysians. He would however not read the imagery, as romantic for batik does not conjure romance but elegance and chic.

I have stated earlier that visuals cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of the copy and in particularly, to the headline. This copy is not an exception. At the top of the right corner of the page are five words in stylized form arranged on top of each other Merisik Lambang Abadi Cinta Sejati. These words are arranged in red and make up the title of this advertorial. The colour red is significant because it is a positive colour in Malay and to most Malaysians. It is associated with happiness and prosperity and although it is less associated with a Malay marriage as compared to those of the Chinese and Indians, this inference is still possible if the copy is read from a Malay perspective. The pastel blue and red of the background of modern Malaysian batiks, from an English perspective possibly connote male and female - colours associated with newborn babies. It is nonetheless appropriate to the message of the copy. Furthermore the impression that the whole thing is photographed underwater would equate to the idea of conception and of birth, i.e., procreation and the womb. But note that this idea is present connotatively in English through the cultural association of the colours blue and red. Once again, the ambivalency of cues is prevalent in a Malay copy.

Another example of this interrelation of language and cultural elements is centred on the word Merisik. The basic meaning of this word is to investigate in secret. However this word is more commonly associated with marriage for the word itself conjures the idea of traditional and formal marriage proposals and engagements. In fact the word is synonymous to the two concepts. In the headline:

COPY 37
Merisik Lambang Abadi Cinta Sejati
Gloss:
[Investigating] [Symbol] [Eternal] [Love] [True]
Prag. trans.:
Investigating is the symbol of true eternal love.

Therefore, to the Malay reader, the above headline actually reads as:
1. A traditional and formal marriage proposal with all the pomp and ceremony indicates that the man is truly sincere and his love for the woman is going to be everlasting.

2. A traditional and formal engagement with all the pomp and ceremony indicates that the man is truly sincere and his love for the woman is going to be everlasting.

Note that the *merisik* is equated to *cinta* i.e., *love*. The Malay reader will come to the word *kahwin* through the *merisik*. *Kahwin* is make love. This is already underlined by the subliminal sexual allusions in the visuals. The Malay reader with the English perspective would have an additional cue to *kahwin* through *cinta* = *love* i.e., make love. Once again there are intermix of cues through language. This is possible if the copywriters are conversant with the connotations in the two languages, i.e., Malay and English. This again emphasizes the question of the target reader but importantly it shows the intermix of cultural elements in Malay advertising copies.

5.2.3.3 Modern Malaysian Perspectives vs. Foreign Perspectives

The confusion of perspectives or cultural denotation and connotation is exemplified in the in the COPY 30. The MEng parallel copy is COPY 11. The visual is a colour photograph of a young woman with one hand outstretched and a grinning man. Unlike the woman, the reader can only see the man's back and a bit of his profile. He is dressed in white with his collar and sleeve trimmed in gold. He has one hand raised and holding a bunch of keys over the woman's outstretched hand. The woman is wearing a jacket, has a long strap slung over a shoulder and with the other hand, is clasping a folder and some papers. In the background of the photograph are mirrored panels and a closed door. The foreground is not focused but the two models in the picture i.e., the man and woman, appear to be standing behind a flat horizontal surface.

The general feeling of the picture is one of restrained exuberance. The woman, with her head slightly thrown back projects a happy and carefree personality. Yet her gaiety is controlled. Her grin is almost sly and smug. It is as if she has something to be happy about but she is not sharing it or unwilling to share it with the other person in the photograph, i.e., the man. She is almost saying 'I know something you don't, so there!' and at the same time she is also saying, I don’t quite believe this'. Note that there are other possible interpretations of this photograph. Acceptance of this is central to understanding advertising copies.
The imagery is of a young, modern executive - note the subtle power dressing, and the folded papers that could be newspapers and the expensive folder - who has successfully concluded her first major assignment. She is pleased with herself and is basking in her personal coup. It is an advantage that she is not willing to lose. She is definitely not sharing it with the man and to the reader, he is an insignificant faceless man. Now the young woman is off to her next challenge and she already knows that she is on top form. The question here is the nature of the challenge. Is she at the hotel with a man? I think this would not be typically a Malay interpretation. The challenge here in the Malay context would not be a man for one reason because this insinuates an illicit relationship. If she has already got her man, she is likely to be married to him, why then is she leaving? So what is the challenge? If she is not married to the man, and is leaving for another challenge, i.e. another man, that too would not be a positive image of the woman. A Malay reader would not read the challenge as "a man" or at least not the typical Malay reader. Now, a British Cosmopolitan reader might just read that the challenge is "a man". In this instance, it is not the language that determines directly the denotation but the language determines the world-view and thus the denotation and connotation.

This visual is also interesting in many other aspects. Firstly, it is typical of its genre, i.e., and visuals for women's sanitary products. It exploits the concepts of "liberation" and "freedom". Note that the young woman with her head slightly thrown back appears carefree. The brand name of the product being advertised is CAREFREE*. This connection between the general ambience of the photograph and the brand name is lost in Malay but not so in MEng.

Next, the woman is getting a set of keys. It is she who is on the move - free to move. She is going and is happy to be gone. Note that it is a man who is handing her the keys to do so. He is faceless, irrelevant. The message is Women have been liberated from men. The man is not going anywhere. He is after all only a bellboy. It is women who are superior to men (Treneman, 1988). However, would the Malay reader read it as such? The woman smiles very warmly to the man. She acknowledges his part in her life. She has her role to play and so has he. It is not a matter of contest.

This visual is also ironically cynical. The faceless man could be representational of the advertiser. The advertisers are manufacturers of the product. Manufacturers are
largely men. Thus men have liberated women by producing this product. They are significant but they are the invisible magic hands. Women may think that they are liberated but only because men are "big" enough to have enabled them along. Note that it was the man in the photograph who has the keys and gives them away to the woman. The woman did not have her own keys! Of course, this is easily explained within the context of hotels and hotel services. However the inference is there to be picked up.

Fourthly, unlike those of its genre in the West, this advertisement is subdued. She is not Treneman's "liberated' roller-skater" heading off to a life of wild excitement with not a care to the life around her. She acknowledges the man. He is part of her life, may be a not so important feature but he is still there. After all she is the intelligent, superior being who accepts reality and has made it positive for her. This could also be a cultural representation of women in Malaysian society. Asian women are not known as radical feminists. They do not have the documented history of rejecting their femininity and sexuality unlike their sisters in the more permissive West. Malaysian women did not have to fight to be able to vote. Asian women, at least those in Southeast Asia have not declared that they are in competition with their men. They are not likely to be jetting off leaving their menfolk behind. There are no reliable statistics but there is a small and significant number in Malaysia of the type of women portrayed above who if they are married at all, tend to either have much younger husbands or are not the first wives or only wives. They are also likely to be professionally and financially better off than their spouses. Of course the majority are those who are equally climbing the ladder with their spouses for Malaysian men are equally proud of acquiring trophy wives as in other parts of the modern world. The question that springs to the mind is who is the target reader of this advertisement. What about the other type of women, the more traditional women, the kampong girl (literally the village girl, i.e., the country/rural woman, or the country bumpkin) or there is no longer that breed of woman around in Malaysia? Is this product not for them too? Or is this advertising copy pure fantasy? But this cannot be true for this type of females exist and in a significant number.

The photograph is also not dynamic in the sense that it is not immediately eye-catching. The woman is young and attractive but not overtly glamorous. She could still be the girl next door. After all, the product is for women and the implied reader is definitely not a man, although men are known to buy female-related products, for
example lingerie. The reader of the magazines in which the MEng copy and Malay copies were placed is likely to be female, young and, professionally and upwardly mobile. In other words, the average reader of the magazines is that person who subscribes to the magazines, identifies with the "politics" of the respective magazines or aspires to emulate the ideals of magazines and conforms to the target consumer profile of such publications. That average reader is likely to look like and be characterized by the image of that woman in the photograph. If you are the reader of those magazines, that young woman is you. At the very least, the reader might believe that she could be that young woman.

Of course another plausible interpretation is that regardless of what women achieve they cannot isolate themselves from men. Their sexuality is part of a shared sexuality. In fact, although the product is specifically for females, this in itself reminds the reader of the male of the species. Thus a man is always present in her life, no matter how insignificant. In fact in the photograph it could be interpreted that the man gives the woman her "freedom". He is handing her the keys after all. Thus, although this genre of advertising is similar to those in the West, there are cultural differences as shown above. It is interesting to compare this visual with the BEng visual, COPY 31, for the same product. In this copy both the female and male human elements are absent. It is appears direct to the point in that the visual is that of a white panty floating in the clouds. This association with the clouds appears ludicrous. An inspection of the headline alludes to travel - two continents, three time zones... - and denote to air travel. The imagery is of the original panty winging through the clouds and remaining clean and fresh. The wearer is astonished and more so very happy with the state of affairs of her panty. She is on cloud nine. This was not possible before the advent of this product. This was not the reality before. She is in cloud cuckoo land. These idiomatic expressions are colloquial but not irrelevant. They would not be possible in Malay. Only the first message could be translated into Malay. This also brings back the relationship of visual to the headline and the language of the copy. Interestingly, study COPY 31 in relationship to this allusion to the clouds. Is this copy incorporating English semantic connotations into Malay. The connotation of "clouds" is also utilized in COPY 68. The headline translates:
For a while now, as well as building our inspiration, MBSB is always with us.

The key words in the body copy are impian, meaning dreams, and dream hotline. Interestingly, "clouds" in Malay do not have positive connotations as illustrated by the following collocations:

- **awan** (cloud) *gelap* (dark) *sadness*
- **awan larat** (heavy) *engravings; clouds which are being blown by the wind*
- **awan mengandungi hujan** (clouds which contain rain) *not sure; a person has been confronted with an accusation but has yet to deny or admit responsibility.*

Thus, the use of "clouds" visually to allude to dreams is "alien" to the Malay conceptual system.

### 5.2.3.4 The Effects of Cultural Interference

To reiterate, visuals produce different imagery to different people. These differences have been utilized through the medium of language. Malaysian advertising copywriters practise their craft from a foreign perspective, namely Western, whilst at the same time incorporating Malaysian elements. This has been capitalized through the intermix of language cues. The end result is the appearance of new cultural concepts and myths. The implication of this for translation, in some respect, is promising. The issue regarding gender will be taken up and further elaborated in Chapter 7.

### 5.3 Advertising Resonance

#### 5.3.1 Meanings within Frames

Let us take the following advertisement, COPY 22. The advertised product is **Persil Finesse** that purports to give "handwash care in your machine". The headline says, "**Mrs Debbie Spencer handwashing her pure woollen scarf**". The photograph is of a young woman apparently reading newspaper in bed. She has another accompanying pile of other newspapers and a basket of buns next to her. She is wearing a woollen cardigan and silk underwear. Whatever she is doing in bed, she is certainly not handwashing anything. This incongruity between the headline and the visual is the main interest of this section. It is only by processing the body copy would the reader-cum-consumer understands why "Mrs Spencer" could miraculously be handwashing her "delicates" by languishing in bed.

What happens here is that the reader-cum-consumer is confronted by an incongruity. What is expected by the headline is the total opposite to what is depicted in the
visual. The reader-cum-consumer then might seek the body copy to disambiguate the incongruity. This inter-play in focus between the three, i.e., the headline - visual - body copy and presumably back again to headline - visual - body copy, invariably results in the reader-cum-consumer decoding the advertisement. What makes the headline coherent to the visual is the fact that the model is not fully dressed. Her lack of clothing may encourage the reader-cum-consumer to believe that the model's clothes are being washed. The model's languid pose and ease implies that the washing activity itself is not vigorous but gentle. At the same time, the model herself projects a certain delicate yet a no nonsense attitude. Her lack of clothing or type of clothes anchors the message on washing. The delicate nature of her clothing further anchors the message on to the type of washing. The reader-cum-consumer has to make sense of the incongruity and any plausible or coherent "answers" will have to be considered. That is all that the copywriter-cum-advertiser wants from the reader-cum-consumer.

All these plausible answers are the basis for disambiguation. There is other information embedded in the visual. Firstly, the clothes that "Mrs Spencer" wears indicate other possible materials that could be handwashed by the product. "Mrs Spencer's" social status could be inferred from the newspaper she is reading. Similar information could be deduced from the decor of the bedroom and the physical appearance of the room. All this information are there to be picked up by the reader-cum-consumer.

What we have seen here is the interplay between anchoring and, or relaying. The text directs the reader among various signifieds of the image, encourages him to avoid some and to accept others. Through the act of processing the visual the reader-cum-consumer is lead towards a meaning which has already been pre-selected as the "the" meaning by the copywriter-cum-advertiser. In all these cases of anchoring and relaying, language has a function of elucidation. I have shown here that such elucidation is contrived.

The Malay adaptation of the above copy is COPY 23. The headline translates:

COPY 23
You too could look delicately beautiful even as you are doing your washing and ironing.

Apart from advertising resonance, this copy also demonstrates quite clearly the depiction of desirable reality argued earlier.
5.3.2 Resonance: The Incongruity between Visuals and Words
The following section will explore the problems of deciphering messages where advertising resonance is employed in advertising texts.

COPY 69
Recommended reading when you fly to Australia with us.

Long haul flights between England and Australia are on average, for about 24 hours in duration. One might wonder why the airline is recommending a dictionary as a reading material for such a long and tiring flight. It is only the body text that helps to put the headline into perspective. The long distance flights could be taken with stops along the way. One possible stop is in Hong Kong, ‘Now do you understand?’ says the body text, ‘Comprende?’ Thus it is possible that a dictionary a dictionary might be needed. This incongruity, between headline and product advertised, should not pose any problem to the translator. A pragmatic translation of the headline would provide sufficient transfer of information and message.

COPY 7
In three minutes, you’ll be completely settled.

The key collocation in the headline is completely settled. The problem, in translation here, is to come up with a pragmatic equivalence of the collocation. The body text would provide clues to possible alternatives.

COPY 70
It’s okay, they’re with me.

The previous two advertisements allow the almost immediate transfer of SL visual as the TL visual. The immediate transfer of the visual of the advertisement above may cause some problem, possibly culturally or in terms of what is permissible legally with regard to the cultural environment of TL. The translator may then have to come up with another visual. Contrast the following visuals for the same product, COPY 71 and COPY 72. One was taken from a British English (BEng) magazine and the other in a Malay magazine. A “cover-up” on COPY 70 would not be possible as that would not “exhibit” the advertised product. In this case, however, the same visual could still be used as there are similar visuals in Malaysian women magazines, for example COPY 64 and COPY 86. The difference is in the “attitudes” of the various scantily clad models (compare COPY 70 with COPY 65).

Now, the translator has to effect a transfer of the message in the headline. There is innuendo in the headline through, "They", which in all likelihood is the item of clothing being advertised. However, could “They” also be interpreted as the anatomy that the
item of clothing advertised is used for. This innuendo, in “They”, although is not a very strong one, is kept in focus by the first line of the body text by the phrase, \textit{Keep your cool} ... 

\textbf{COPY 73}

'I'm arriving tonight and I have no time to pack. How much do I have to bring?'

The visual is of a woman reading in a bath. Once again, the incongruity of the headline and the visual could be resolved by the body text. The interesting point here is whether the visual would convey the same informative and emotive cues in the Malaysian context. Malaysians, in Malaysia at least, and almost all Malaysians in fact, do not take baths, only showers. Thus the enjoyment of a relaxing bath may not be appreciated and the informational and emotive cues in the visual would then not be part of the TL reader-cum-consumers appreciation and decoding of the advertisement. It could nonetheless be argued that as the advertisement is pitched for a particular market segment, then the message in the visual would not be lost to the few Malaysians to whom the advertisement would be pitched for, i.e., if the original advertisement is to be translated. The question raised here is that the translator has to be conscious of the actual content of the visual. Immediate transference of the visual in the TL text is not the obvious procedure. Visuals have to be assessed in reference to its cultural content as well as message content.

\textbf{5.4 Discussion and Summary}

The translator when dealing with texts that are accompanied by visuals has a number of considerations to make. Firstly, the visuals cannot be ignored. It is not sufficient to think that the translation process deals only with the written or verbal text. It could be very dangerous to merely transpose the original text with the new TL text without any consideration given to the information or message in the accompanying visual. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, the visual may not convey the same message to the TL reader. Thus this might bring about incongruity between text and visual. In this instance, the effect would not necessarily be that of advertising resonance. Secondly, the visual may bring about additional or different information. This additional information, once again, affects the message in TL text. Importantly, the visual could provide the translator with the required information to disambiguate the SL written text and help him in his translation of the whole text. He might find that he might not need to elaborate in the TL. In addition, with regard to advertising
resonance, disambiguating the visual may assist the translator in his search for options of suitable and pragmatic accompanying text.

In summary, I would underline that there is a language in visuals. Since this is the case, and due to cultural relativism discussed, contents from a visual could not be immediately decoded and the same contents could not be universally meaningful all the time. Meaning and ultimately message, is dependent on the cultural perspectives the visual was initially created from, and for. Also, different uses of visuals effect different meanings and messages. In addition, advertising resonance clearly demonstrates the coherent relationship between visual and written text and not a cohesive relationship. The following chapter will continue the discussions on the issue of translating visuals, i.e., visual puns and visual metaphors.
This chapter deals with three linguistic devices frequently found in advertisements. The first part discusses puns and double entendres and analyses these semantic interplays in advertisements. It will attempt to highlight the implications of translating across between linguistic and cultural boundaries. The second part will analyze idioms (cf. Chapter 3). The key issues in this chapter relate to semantics especially as it is pertinent to culture. The resultant considerations in the translation of texts with the above linguistic and rhetorical features are then discussed.

6.1 Puns and Double Entendres
Newmark, in one of the definitive textbooks on translation strategies, has provided some ideas on translating puns (Newmark, 1988a: 217). Incidentally, there is no mention of double entendres. Unfortunately, he dismisses the whole exercise as only of ‘...marginal importance...’ although he admits that translating puns is likely to be of ‘...irresistible interest...’ (Newmark, 1988a: 217). This is hardly surprising as Newmark only appears to see puns as functionally to induce “laughter and amusement”, and as if it is an afterthought, ‘...sometimes also to concentrate meaning’ (Newmark, 1988a: 217). To be fair to Newmark, he has dealt with other linguistic dilemmas, for example neologisms, in some detail. It is fortunate that this vacuum is more than compensated by other translators (cf. Delabastita, 1997: 1-22; von Flotow, 1997: 45-66; Alexeiva, 1997: 137-154; etc.).

I contend that to dismiss translating puns as of “marginal importance” although it merits “irresistible interest” is an inadequate stand in translation practice and theory. Yet to be able to do justice to puns and double entendres in SL texts, it is important that the translator understands the mechanics of the wordplays. This not only allows the translator to decode the message optimally but also provides her/him with sufficient information to determine the best strategy to utilize in producing a TL text of equally optimal quality. In the case of the translator working into Malay, where puns and double entendres are far from common, it will allow her/him to do justice to both texts, SL and TL. The authoritative Dewan English-Malay Dictionary
defines *pun* as *bermain dengan kata-kata*. The literal denotation of this is *play with words*. There is no mention of homophones or homonyms in this play with words. The dictionary does not even give examples of puns. It does give one example of the lexical item in usage (KDIM: 1992: 1263). Thus the following sections will first explore puns, 'the accidents of language' (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: 1), and *double entendres* in English language.

Puns and *double entendres* relate to "plays" on words that produce one or more possible meanings. The *double entente* is from 17th century obsolete French, now meaning "double sense" or "double meaning" (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 319). The general rhetorical term for the former is *paronomasia* (Redfern, 1984: 32; Wales, 1989: 340; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 822). This Greek word means approximation. It has been suggested inconclusively elsewhere that the pun is originally Italian, from *puntiglio* meaning "small or fine point" (Redfern, 1984: 28; Culler, 1988: 1). Its true origin could have real significance on how it should be defined and viewed functionally, but it is not within the scope of this study. It is sufficient to accept, and as will be seen later, that puns are wordplays which make use of near-relatives, transgression and overlap of lexical items.

6.1.1 *Puns and Double entendres: The Literary/Linguistic Status*

Newmark’s treatment of puns, as argued above, may be reflected by the ambivalent status of such wordplays in the language (Newmark, 1988a: 217; Heller, 1974: 271; Redfern, 1984: 4-8; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 823). I include *double entendres* in this argument, for as Redfern agrees, "'Pun', ... is... an inaccurate but convenient tag for a whole variety of rhetorical devices which play on words' (Redfern, 1984: 6). *Double entendre* by its very conceptual definition (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: II; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 319; cf. 6.1.2.1.2) is a type of wordplay. As regards to the question of status, Redfern acknowledges, 'The question of reputation is crucial' (Redfern, 1984: 4).

On the one hand, Redfern cites Dryden's 'The lowest and most grovelling kind of wit...’ (Redfern, 1984: 4). In the 18th century, McArthur notes that '...Joseph Addison considered puns false wit, and increasingly since then critics have taken the same view' (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 823). Culler points out that Pope, another English poet
was equally unkind to puns ('he that would pun would pick a pocket'), and to another, a pun is 'a radically bad race of wit' (Redfern, 1988: 4). This may not be surprising if we remember that Pope, Addison and also, Jonathan Swift were contemporaries and acquaintances. Culler reports that Swift was equally condescending on the subject of puns. To Swift, puns are derived from *fundum*, meaning, bottom or foundation. Swift was only willing to credit puns acceptable as an '...amusing form of cleverness (Culler, 1988: 4). Johnson's strong aversion to puns has not escaped documentation (Culler, 1988: 7). Interestingly, Redfern notes that experimental psychologists have shown authoritarian personalities most dislike and reject the very thing that makes puns - ambiguity (Redfern, 1984: 10). Then to the present day, the plethora of puns in the tabloids, a rhetorical device that is less common in the more high-minded broadsheets in British journalism (cf. 6.1.2.1.1), could be argued as another indication of the less than high status of this dubious wordplay. This case of puns being in bad press appears to be a contemporary view. McArthur, the editor and a contributor of *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* none the less, documents that 'Currently, puns are widely considered so low a form of wit that they prompt a ritual groan...' (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 823).

On the other hand, there is Redfern's premise that '...puns illuminate the nature of language in general' (Redfern, 1984: 9). Fowler in dismissing the importance of the "quality" of puns, i.e. good puns, bad puns, indifferent puns, states that '... it is only those who lack the wit to make them [puns] are unaware of the fact (Fowler, 1965: 492; cf. in Redfern, 1984: 19). The same argument could to be put for humour, i.e. one would not find a joke funny unless one knows what makes it funny - the mechanics of it. The greatest English poet and literary genius, Shakespeare, was far from discriminating in his preference for the wordplay (Redfern, 1984; McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 823). The oft-quoted example of Shakespeare's misdemeanour is Mercutio bleeding to death in *Romeo and Juliet* saying, 'Ask for me and you shall find me a grave man' (Culler, 1988: 7; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 823). Admittedly, the rhetorical device was common among dramatists and writers of those earlier periods in English literature (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 823). Heller reminds that, '... and indeed, many of the greatest writers of all time ... have employed the pun with great relish' (Heller, 1974: 271). In more modern times, Lewis Carroll too '... used it widely and whimsically in his Alice books' (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 823). Although some in
the 1800s may only be willing to accept puns as being only common in everyday conversation, and in comic writing, Redfern has gone on to show that they have also entered into serious composition (Redfern, 1984: 32 and especially Chapter 3). In countering that the pun is the lowest form of wit, one commentator responds (puns in?), 'It is ... therefore the pun is the foundation of all wit' (Redfern, 1984: 8).

The equivocal status of puns in contemporary discourse may account for why such wordplays are not treated equally seriously by all concerned. This equivocal status of puns is no justification for not treating puns seriously enough to take time and great consideration in developing formal techniques to translate them. For high art or low wit, pun's cultural importance and its popularity are of great significance in popular culture. Next I will briefly discuss why translators should not summarily dismiss puns and double entendres.

6.1.2 Puns and Double entendres: In Human Terms

Back to Redfern, 'Puns say quite a lot about how human minds and language work' (Redfern, 1984: 9). Culler too, is 'Committed to the view that puns are not a marginal form of wit but an exemplary product of language...' (Culler, 1988: 4), and reiterates Redfern above in, '.. puns show about the functioning of language, or literature or the psyche' (Culler, 1988: 4). Redfern has observed Freud's 'intimate connection between all mental happenings' (Redfern, 1984: 5). This should provide another avenue to study human behaviour through wordplays, as similarly explored through metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, etc.; cf. Chapter7) and figurative language (Roberts and Kruez, 1994: 159-163; Pollio et al., 1990: 141-167, etc.; cf. Chapter 3).

To limit the puns’ effects to that of laughter generator and “concentrate meaning” (Newmark, 1988a: 217) is to ignore other likely effects in the chain reactions from puns. In fact to isolate those two above as the main effects, there is no mention of any others, is to assume that there could only be one of causal relationship between puns and them, i.e. puns → (lead to/produce) laughter and/or puns → (lead to/produce) concentrated meaning. At best, this is an extremely basic and naive relationship. It could also be argued, for laughter to be generated, the latter relationship, puns → concentrated meaning, must first be present.
Let us first explore the idea of "concentrate meaning" (Newmark, 1988a: 217). Redfern reminds that the pun is "double-think" (Redfern, 1984: 6). However the two ideas, i.e. Newmark's and Redfern's, do not necessarily refer to and mean the same thing. Newmark does not clarify his "concentrate meaning" but he does hint towards double meaning and, when the two senses of meaning of lexical items are contained in the pun. His suggestion that the two senses have to be translated and conveyed into TL, through "incongruous" ways (Newmark, 1988a: 217), suggests that the two meanings are important, central even, in the SL text. This very feature of puns does more than encapsulate meanings economically. If all the possible meanings are important it is vital that the translator is cognizant of the potential meanings. Redfern's "double-think" keeps ‘... us alert, and responding to them reveals that we are alert’ (Redfern, 1984: 6). This remark suggests of a thought process, on the part of the receiver and most definitely, by the creator of puns. A corollary is that the possible meanings have to be identified but also evaluated for acceptance. It does not however, immediately suggests that the possible meanings have to be accepted. Here we have Attridge's image of the receiver of the pun, having to work out the possible choices between the meanings and being left ‘...endlessly oscillating in semantic space’ (Attridge, 1988: 141). If meanings have to be worked out and resolved - a process, it introduces “ambiguity” within the context of the SL text.

The above therefore leads us to the concept of meanings. If meanings have to be resolved through the text, then as Attridge writes, ‘there is no escape from the insistence that meaning is an effect of language, not a presence within or behind language, and that the effect is unstable and uncontrollable’ (Attridge, 1988: 145). Attridge has earlier argued that, ‘Exclude the pun, and you exclude the process on which language rests: the process whereby context constrains but does not wholly constrain the possibilities of meaning’ (Attridge, 1988: 142). So how do we decipher meanings? We return to our existing repertoire or corpus of lexical items and semantics and manipulate them to our needs. We look at our experiences, our environment and see similarities as well as differences. Even some of our neologisms are entrenched in our existing language. Similarly, how do we get new meanings to existing lexical items? Why is the computer “mouse” so called. Attridge provides an interesting insight on this subject of meaning and its unstable nature in his discussion of Joyce's portmanteau words (Attridge, 1988: 140-155).
With this state of flux in language, 'one can never be sure of saying what one means' (Redfern, 1984: 14). For that matter, one can never be certain what is meant by what has been said. But the existence of puns is certain, for the punner 'cannot invent puns which are not already in language. He merely unearths, sometimes dusts off, this treasure-trove' (Redfern, 1984: 9; cf. see below). The pun inputs “new” meaning(s)/message(s) through “known” meaning(s)/message(s). Thus, the pun relies on allusion being realized (Redfern, 1984: 30). Meaning(s) is/are not only brought into focus within the text, i.e. concentrated within the key lexical item(s). Meaning(s) that is/are present lead(s) to other meaning(s). In allusion the ultimate meanings and/or message(s) is/are beyond the text and context. Puns therefore bring in intertextuality. Paradoxically, despite inherent ambiguities, the receiver and the creator of puns have a shared basis of communication. This paradox seems to be consistent with studies in figurative language and cognitive psychology (Roberts and Kruez, 1994; Pollio et al., 1990; Long and Graesser, 1988, etc.).

Puns are not mere “play”. They are “work”. Punning is the in-between, ‘...neither preponderantly straightforward nor esoteric’ (Redfern, 1984: 26). We talk about puns as the ‘accidents of language’ (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: 1). Accidents mean that they are bound to happen - inevitable, beyond human control. That would not be “play” nor “work”. Puns are no accidents. In the recent Football World Cup, France came out the champions. The Sun the following day had under a picture of three French players holding the World Cup aloft, OUI ARE THE CHAMPS (July 13, 1998). We have here an example of an interlingual pun. It was clever of another tabloid to make the misfortune of one (Laurent Blanc, the original captain who had collected the required number of red cards not to be able to play), the luck of another (Didier Deschamps who took over as captain for the final match), and a picture of the latter proudly hugging the cup close to his chest, into a near "homophonic/homonymic" apt headline: DESCHAMPS OF THE WORLD (The Mirror, July 13, 1998). The more straightforward highbrow The Times, only manages France goes wild after 3-0 defeat of Brazil. In its (The Times) sports section, France take the world by storm and HOSTS BECOME HOLDERS AS BRAZIL ARE BEATEN (the latter has alliteration) are nothing but regulation responses¹ (July 13, 1998). Attridge has argued quite convincingly that puns are usually contrived, created by the punner. It is "work" on the part of the punner, to
take all the available information and put it together to be meaningful and appropriate. In this aspect, Newmark's "concentrate meaning" is accurate. However it is "work" on the part of the listener/reader to notice the pun, to resolve the ambiguity/ambiguities and make the text meaningful for herself/himself. The key lexical items are "near" homophones and homonyms. They have been stretched, expanded and distorted. The punners saw opportunities. The lexical items were not there to be slotted into place. Nor were the lexical items on a collision course beyond human control. They were brought together to "collide". They were identified by the punners and forced upon the readers. It is inherent to human minds that incongruities have to be resolve (Long and Graesser, 1988: 35-60). The receivers resolved them with cues they are familiar with.

There are two arguments to be taken from above. The first, not necessarily a crucial issue here but one that should be acknowledged none the less, is that puns are not as Hughes and Hammond has noted, "accidents of language" (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: I) but opportunities - possibilities or potentialities, etc. - of language. This brings back all the arguments with regards to what language is, the relationship between language and human cognition and basically, Saussure's linguistic system (Culler, 1986[1976]). The second, more central to this chapter, is centred on the taxonomy of puns. Here we see the "hand" of man - manipulation of language, which accounts for the destabilization within it. In all the manipulations of lexical items, etc., we cannot help but appreciate the labour-saving device aspect of the pun - the bargain: two meanings (or more) for the price of the one bonus (Redfern, 1984: 26), for example in the one headline. In DESCHAMPS OF THE WORLD, above we could have the following possible renderings:

(DIDIER) DESCHAMPS(HOLDER) OF THE WORLD (CUP)
DESCHAMPS (OF THE FRENCH) WORLD CUP (TEAM)
DES(-)CHAMP(ION)S OF THE WORLD
(The champions of the world)

The possibilities are only as endless as the information the punner and the receiver bring into the pun - the former, in the act of devising it and the latter, in decoding it. The ellipses in the alternative renderings are natural in the language. In the last possible rendering, the reader would have to distort the French pronunciation of DESCHAMPS and anglicized it into the $a$ of or they (fe& and champs (taemp).
In the first headline earlier (OUI ARE....), the reader has to read the first lexical item in French.

Punning makes the explicit implicit. Conversely, the processing of puns makes the implicit explicit. This devious double dealing makes taboo lukewarm and even digestible. Redfern's discussions have also shown that puns could be dark and sinister too. Puns are insidiously clever and unkind: 'Australians are the finest people in the world because they are chosen by the best judges in England', quotes Redfern of Emerson (cf. Redfern, 1984: 10). That is cruelty with panache, with grace and without effort and being applauded in spite of it. It is not just that the punner gets his satisfaction - it is bull's-eye - but that his libel is sanctioned felony and entertainment at the same time. Yet it still stings the victim. The victim laughs too or had to, to repudiate the hit.

In this respect, puns, not unlike irony work on two levels. The first level is the denotative or literal message. The second level is the connotative message. The punner, i.e. the speaker or writer, provides the intended receiver, i.e. listener or the reader with a possibility of '... a discrepancy between what is said and what is intended' (Long and Graesser, 1988: 54). These double or more meanings allow the receiver to process the message and the ambiguity embedded reduces the forcefulness of the message instantly making the receiver less antagonistic to the message. Invariably this has the effect of making the listener less antagonistic towards the punner. At the same time, the subtle pressure to have to process the message beyond the literal meaning could still make the message memorable (cf. Tanaka, 1992; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996). Hence the invaluable ability of the punner '... to garner and foster liking...' (Long and Graesser, 1988: 54) towards the message without appearing to have attempted to do so. In advertising, this mnemonic characteristic of puns coupled with the enjoyment of the accompanying humour is important. Puns allow advertisers to communicate their marketing message to their intended audience without appearing to do so, i.e. soft sell. Vestergaard and Schrøder point out that the subtle propagandist ability of the advertising language that merges the explicit with the implicit is a most valuable tool of advertisers. Although their exemplification does not concern a pun, they none the less highlight two very obvious legal and ethical reasons why implicit, i.e. duplicity,
is paramount to advertisers (cf. Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985: 20). Redfern sagely notes that, "Whatever its glories and perils, this human tendency for double-dealing seems thus far eternal" (Redfern, 1984: 10).

Finally, we come to the "raise laughter" feature. If the reader still maintains that it is one of two key features of puns, then I contend that the reader has failed to fully grasp the potential of the puns explored above. The comic aspect of puns is more than often only superficial. It is fortuitous that the pun is an entertaining wordplay, contextually and linguistically. If we laugh the loudest, for example, at the Australian joke above, are we in agreement with the message? Are we not laughing at someone's expense? If we only manage a groan or a smirk, does this mean that we take note of the humour but find the topic questionable. What if we are offended by the pun? We cannot ignore that the mere exercise of conflating homophones and/or homonyms and near homophones and/or near homonyms would produce a humorous effect anyway. Yet whichever the reaction, our human response indicated that we have comprehended the message - the content and context. Ultimately, It is a cognitive response. This "raise laughter" aspect of pun therefore at times is more than playing with someone's physical sensitivity.

Therefore, linguistically there is a lot more to puns than what is apparently suggested by Newmark (Newmark, 1988a: 217). Newmark's brief discussion on the translation of puns and his lack of appreciation of puns is contradicted by Redfern's appreciation, 'Pun as humour, puns as insight, puns as sophistication, puns as poetry' (Redfern, 1984: 7). Two things become significant. The first is ambiguity. The second is the unstable nature of language. This ambiguity and the instability of language are entrenched in the language system. I contend that the cultural environment of the language system also affects them. This will be obvious in later sections. However, to appreciate the noted difficulties of translating puns (Newmark, 1988a: 217), I will next explore the linguistic features of puns and double entendres.
6.1.2.1  Working towards a Typology

6.1.2.1.1  Puns and Play on Words

First of all, it is important to distinguish fully between a pun and a "play on words". Puns are noted when lexical item(s) utilized within a usage does/do not resemble the expected lexical item(s) within the same usage. For example, in the text below:

**COPY 74**

*Tiers of Joy*


*tiers*: meaning levels or grades or steps, has replaced *tears*: meaning water droplets from the eyes that lubricate and cleanse the eyeball and inner surface of the eyelids, normally the result of crying. The clichéd phrase is *tears of joy*, meaning a happy state. The two words are identical in sound but not in spelling and meanings. There is no etymological relationship between *tiers* and *tears*. Because the two words are almost similar, I will refer to the utilized lexical item, i.e. *tiers*, as *approximation* of the expected one. We could also see it as a *transgression* or an *overlap*. The finer point in which term to use would be a matter of the degree or change between the "expected" and the utilized item. The question of terminology is not a significant issue here. What is more important is to note that they do not originate from the same source, i.e. the same root. This makes the above form a pun (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: 1).

Homophonic similarity is not necessarily a prerequisite for puns. Homonyms too provide punning potentials. In the example below,

**COPY 75**

*Understanding comes with TIME*

TIME  July 31 1995

*TIME* is a weekly magazine originally registered in the United States. Without clarification from the magazine, let us assume that *TIME* is taken from *time*. The referential meaning is the continuous passage of existence in which events pass from a state of potentiality in the future through the present, to a state of finality in the past (CD, 1994[1993]: 1613), or any of its various divergent meanings. This assumption would also fall in with the general practice in the English speaking world with similar type of mastheads, i.e. *The Times, The Financial Times, The New York Times*, etc. There does not appear to be any other denotation of *time* from
another root in the dictionary. On the other hand, **TIME** could be an acronym for example, as in *(light) amplification by) stimulated emission radiation* - **laser**. If this is the case for **TIME** above, then it would not be etymologically related to **time**. It would therefore make the form above a pun. If that is not the case, the above is a play on words. Note that it is not readily easy to determine the etymological relationships between lexical items and their **approximations**.

The one major difference between a pun and a “play on words”, according to Hughes and Hammond (Hughes and Hughes, 1978: I), is that in the former, there is no etymological relationship between the **approximations**. As we have observed, the pun and the play on words condense two meanings (or possibly more in other instances) into one. In this example, the above is homonymic play on word.

Puns and play on words are both useful and much used, particularly in British tabloid journalism, as already shown above, in composing headlines. Other examples include the following below. These are again taken during the recent football World Cup. Sporting events are entertainment but they are hardly considered as trivial.

**DAVID IS HAIR TO THE THRONE**  
*The Mirror June 27 1998*

This is exceptionally saturated with allusions and trans-dialectal, i.e. working-class dropping of “h” makes **hair** sound like **heir**. Unlike rugby and cricket, football has been traditionally associated with the working-class in England. The intended message is: David Beckham is now capable of being given the key position in game. This entails him taking over, i.e. replacing another established player - **heir**. There is another David (David Ginola), also a footballer who is an advertising model for a hair shampoo product. David Beckham is also known for his looks (and hair). There is more to disambiguating the above headline.

**Can you ear us Hod?**  
*Daily Star June 24 1998.*

This is a transgression of **Can you hear us God?**

**Brown 'n out**  
*Daily Star June 24 1998*

This near homophonic approximation is from the clichèd **down and out** reporting the Scottish team’s failure to qualify for the next round.
YOU DIRTY OLD DAN
The Sun 23 June 1998

The “Dan” in question is Dan Petrescu who scored for Romania against England in an important World Cup group qualifying match.

YOU'RE SAUX STUPID
The Sun 23 June 1998

In this example, Saux is Graeme Le Saux whose “ridiculous” mistake, The Sun reported as having ‘allowed his Chelsea teammate Dan Petrescu to snatch a dramatic winner... and leave England on a potentially explosive collision course with Argentina’.

HODDLE’S NIGHT OF WOEMANIA
The Mirror June 23 1998

This was right after the English team was knocked out of the tournament by Romania. According to McArthur,

*R* is sometimes spoken /w/. This has long been regarded as a shibboleth of some kinds of BrE (British English) upper-class accents and may occur in the speech of small children and in imitation of such speech (*Weally weally big!*), and in defective articulation. It is sometimes referred to as *rhotacism* (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 1100).

It might be interesting to find out if the former England manager has a tendency of pronouncing his “r” as “w”. Throughout the football tournament, controversies and criticisms on and off the playing field dogged Hoddle. The headline appears prophetic in view of his subsequent dismissal. As Hughes and Hammond acknowledge, the puns and the play on words encapsulate into a few words the more complex sense of a particular story (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: I).

6.1.2.1.2 Distinction and Definition: Puns and Double entendres

The **double entendre** is a word play with a kind of double meaning. Hughes and Hammond gave the following example:

**Did you hear about the sleepy bride who couldn’t stay awake for a second?**
(Hughes and Hammond, 1978: II).

The **double entendre** is thus a play on words in which one of the meaning is lewd. This distinction is important only as far as the lewd meaning is important. At any rate, it is important to distinguish whether the lewd meaning is intended or incidental. If it is the former, then this lewd meaning is central to the message. Another important feature is the linguistic form. In the example above, the lewd meaning is brought into perspective through the **sleepy bride** and **for a second**... cohesive.
disambiguation. If we borrow the terms used in analyzing metaphors, let us refer to the first key lexical items **sleepy bride** as **topic** and the second key lexical items **for a second**... as **vehicle**. It might be better and less confusing to adopt Heller’s term, **manifesting signals** to refer to both the **topic** and the **vehicle**. The lewd meaning is possible if we explore all possible cohesive interpretations of the topic and vehicle. In this instance, the semantic disambiguations between **sleepy bride** and **for a second** produce the lewd message. What is significant here is to realize that a particular topic or domain, as used by Alexeiva, is used on two levels of semantics (Alexeiva, 1997: 137-154). I contend that accepting this linguistic form as pertinent to **double entendres** would aid its identification and interpretation. To the translator in particular, would be a valuable resource in identifying similar cohesive relationships in the TL and/or other domains in TL. This means that if the translator wants to translate the rhetorical device, awareness of its form could assist her/him in locating similar forms in the TL.

6.1.2.1.3 **Puns and Double Entendres: The Visual Equivalents**

According to Hughes and Hammond a visual pun is ‘made when someone notices that two different things have a similar appearance, and constructs a picture making this similarity evident’ (Hughes and Hammond, 1978:III). This definition is not conclusive. I would add that a visual pun may be verbal pun presented visually. The classic example of such puns is the famous cigarette advertisement that did not have the name of the product printed anywhere in the copy (also cf. COPY 28). The advertisement is dominated by the visual except for the government warnings at the bottom. The visual shows a purple shinny, satin or silk-like material with a scissors cut. The reference to it being a cigarette advertisement is the government warning beneath the visual. Literally, the reader saw “satin” or “silk”, “scissors” and “cut”. This could be resolved to **Silk Cut** - a cigarette brand.

Therefore, visual play on words and visual **double entendres** work along the same rationalization as their verbal equivalents. The only difference is that the medium of representation is **visual** as opposed to the printed words. The following section will further define puns and **double entendres** within linguistic context.
6.1.2.1.4 Wordplays: Semantic Activities

We have seen that punning results from the nature of words. In the case of the visual equivalents, the interplay is between the visual representation, i.e. the signs, and its various conceptual significations, i.e. the signifiers. In semantics, lexical items have the following features:

**polysemy** one word used in different senses

for example tier

1. one of a set of rows placed one above the other, such as theater seats
2. a layer or level
3. a rank, order or row.

**homophony** several words distinct in meaning but sounding alike

for example tier: as above

tear: 1. a drop of the secretion of the lacrimal glands
2. something shaped like a falling drop

**homonymy** single word for different things

for example gate

1. a movable barrier
2. the number of people admitted to a sporting event or entertainment

**synonymy** different words for the same thing

for example enormous very large

huge very large

**heteronyms** words identical in spelling but different in both sound and meaning

for example tier as in tier above.
tier a person or thing that ties.

**homographs** words identical in spelling and pronunciation but having different origins and meanings.

for example rape the act of forcing a woman to have sexual intercourse

rape a plant grown as food for sheep and for its seed

As we have seen in the examples above, the existence of puns results from two distinct features. The first is due to semantics. A single lexical item, or a sign, many have many meanings and/or many different pronunciations. At the same time, words can exist in the different categories above. It is thus possible for "play" to be effected on words. Other homonymic and homophonic effects are not puns but plays on words.
We should have noticed by now, the general pattern shared by puns which according to Heller is when 'a single manifesting mark signals more than one conceptual function' (Heller, 1974: 271). In general, the common nature of the manifesting mark could be phonic as shown in examples above. However in theory, according to Heller, the manifesting mark can be anything perceptible (Heller, 1974: 273). This explains the existence of other types of puns, for example visual pun - as already above, kinesic/gestural - as in slap-stick comedy and of course, orthographic - either through homonyms or homographs (Heller, 1974:273). Next, we shall see some of the main types of puns.

6.1.2.1.5 Types of Puns: The Rhetorical Classifications

I will only briefly discuss some of the different types of the rhetorical device. This is to emphasize the forms and show how messages are organized in the various types of the wordplay. This exercise could highlight relevant significant features in how messages in the pun are contained. This in turn might be helpful in working out suitable strategies in dealing with the translation of the wordplay later.

Antanaclasis. is the commonest form of puns. This is a variation to the homonymic pun where the same word is used in two different meanings (Culler, 1988: 5). In the former, for example Today's Slims is a very slim price (advertises ultralight cigarettes; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: Table 1), Slim/slim is repeated in two different senses. Another rhetorical figure at work in the headline is assonance.

In a homonymic pun, Make fun on the road (an American automobile ad; McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: Table 1), the manifesting mark fun in the headline have more than one possible meanings, i.e.

1. source of enjoyment, amusement, diversion: the car is a source (driving) enjoyment on the road.
2. pleasure, gaiety: the car is a pleasure (to drive) on the road.
3. in an ironic sense - gay amusement or frivolous activity: the car provides more than basic driving functions and the extra features are "frivolous".
4. in an informal sense - to act in a joking or sporting manner: the car is such that driving it makes the road is not a challenge, the road is "conquered".

The *syllepsis* or *zeugma* is one in which ‘a single form must function in two sense’ (Culler, 1988: 5). For example, in *It's too bad other brands don't pad their shoes as much as their prices* (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: Table 1), the verb *pad* takes on a different sense as the clauses it modifies unfold (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: Table 1).

The *assonant pun* is where there is aural assonance but no aural illusion as in *One man's Mede is another man's Persian* Hughes and Hammond, 1978: VI).

The *rhyming pun* is a cliché which is revived by altering the rhyme, for example *Circumstances alter faces* (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: VI).

The *Chiasmus* which means “crossing” is two juxtaposed phrases the order of words in the first is reversed in the second, for example *It's not the men in my life that count - it's life in my men* (attributed to Mae West) (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XVII).

In the *punning chiasmus*, *The difference between a sewing machine and an illusion is that one sews seams and the other seems so*, whole words are transposed - *sews seams* and *seems so*. The relation here is chiasmus and homophones.

The *metathesis*, meaning “transposition” is when words in a phrase exchange some of their letters to form new words in a new phrase as in *One makes facsimilies, the other makes sick families* (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XVII).

The *adianoeta* is a subtle kind of logical contradiction in the play on words, e.g *A critic says to a good friend who is also a poor novelist, ‘I will lose no time in reading your new book’* (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XV).

The *bathos* is when the two meanings in the pun are so trivial that they are balanced. The pun is bathetic, sublime and ridiculous all at the same time, for example *A wife’s description of her husband: for whom the belle toils* (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: IX).
The **conundrum** is a question answered with a pun, for example

**Q:** A soldier, a sailor and airman got into a car. Which one drove?

**A:** The soldier because he had the khaki with him (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XXII).

The **riddle** is a question which is answered with a play on words, as below:

**Q:** What stays where it is when it goes off

**A:** A gun (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XXII).

**Resonance** is a form of visual pun in which a phrase is given a different meaning by its juxtaposition with a picture (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: Table 1; cf. Chapter 5). Resonance has already been discussed in detail but it suffices to reiterate that visual representation and verbal representation interacts to produce an unexpected meaning.

A few key points have to be addressed by this stage. Firstly, that puns, and play on words too, remind us that words are one thing and things are another (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XVI). Secondly, the manifesting signals in the wordplays shift meanings into another direction. Thirdly, it is quite significant that ‘... the pun emphasizes perception, the play on word emphasizes cognition’ (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XVI). Next, the form (of the pun or play on words) determines the message which is always not as expected. This brings us to the fifth significant point, the 'pun revitalizes a cliché, proverb, or truism' (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: IX). This has been pointed out by Redfern (1984: 9) and has been discussed earlier (cf. 6.1). Lastly, it is important to realize that some writers believe that the pun is ‘...not necessarily made so as to produce a humorous effect’ (Hughes and Hammond, 1978: XXVI). The humorous effect, like the bonus “two in one” semantic economy is a fortuitous advantage. Of course one could argue that the humour aspect is vital in a specifically comic discourse. In the majority of language type, particularly in advertising, humour is vital but many would not openly admit that it is the primary goal (cf. Redfern, 1984).

In all the above, it is also useful to note that “manifesting signals” work linguistically and paralinguistically. Generally puns function aurally and graphically too, for
example Des-champs. Except for noises that do not communicate ideas, aural signs form part of the linguistic representation of a language system. Homophonic puns would be near impossible to translate satisfactorily as '[S]ound cannot be translated, because each language has its own sound and sound system connected to the meaning of its lexis' (García, 1996: 159). However, a significant number of puns and play on words, work through verbal communication represented by the written representation. These types are the homonymic puns. We should realize that both aural and written representations communicate what the human eye perceived through cognition, i.e. imagery.

6.1.3 Translating Puns: Strategies
Below I will summarize key strategies as adopted by some prominent translators. I have initially argued that Newmark was far from adequate in outlining definitive strategies in dealing with puns. Von Flotow has shown that when the translator failed to reproduce the pun in TL, there is inevitably loss in the message (Von Flotow, 1997). This is so as the translator appeared not to appreciate all the possible meanings. She has shown that in some feminist writings, for example Mary Daly's Gyn/Ecology, there are radical and antagonistic messages that become diffused through the type of translation strategies like those advocated by Newmark (Von Flotow, 1997: 45-66; Newmark, 1988a: 217). Alexeiva provides a suggestion that should be investigated (Alexeiva, 1997: 137-154). She suggests that "equivalents" are explored through domains. The image that is produced through the literary figure could be identified and replaced by a similar image in the TL. This image may be produced by a lexical item in the TL - the manifesting signal - totally not connected to the original lexical item in the SL text (García, 1996: 162). As García notes, 'What changes is the lexical element that creates the illusionary picture, replaced by another attuned to TL culture' (García: 1996: 162-163). What is significant here is that possibilities for equivalents could be explored through the TL system and the corresponding culture. This would be consistent with Shakir's study (Shakir, 1996).
### 6.1.4 Puns and Double entendres in Advertising

I have pointed out earlier that the Malay language does not have an equivalent denotation for puns. The lack of a specific denotation does not necessarily mean that the rhetorical figure is absent in the language system. The following interlingual pun generally elicits a groan but it is very common: (In the course of reacting to a narration, i.e. Q: *Apa jadi lepas tu?*

[What] [happened][ [after] [that] [?]]

A: *Three*

*tu* is a contraction for *itu*; *tu* is homophonically identical to the English *two*. This *conundrum*, is a kind of play with sounds, is quite common although the example above is rather unsophisticated. But this appreciation for phonemes is natural for Malay is rich with other phonic and poetic forms, for example the *pantun* - normally a 4-line verse which rhymes throughout and has no equivalent in English, for example as in the headline of *COPY 76*. The lack of a formal identification of the wordplay poses a problem to this study, i.e. the problems of obtaining parallel texts in sufficient quantity and of suitable quality. However, it is this very problem which suggests that the translation of puns, in this instance, from English, should be explored. Therefore this analysis is based on English advertisements and opportunities in translation as discussed from that perspective.

Tanaka summarizes that there are four types of puns in advertising texts (Tanaka, 1994: 59-82). The first type of punning conveys message through context. The intended message may be inferred through similar sounding referents. The second type is what Tanaka identifies as *nonsense* puns. In this category, the first interpretation of the pun is immediately rejected as irrelevant to the explicit concept of the advertisement. Next is the sexual innuendo. The Wonderbra advertisement, *COPY 70*, with the headline *IT'S OKAY THEY'RE WITH ME*, is a case in point. With a beautiful young woman in sexy lingerie showing off her cleavage and smiling seductively at the audience, the incongruity between the illustration and the headline has to be resolved. In this instance, the puns justify Redfern's claim that they provide ‘two meanings for the price of one word or phrase’ which is also Tanaka’s final category (Redfern, 1984: 130).
Below I will look at some advertising texts in greater detail from a translation perspective. The following advertisements show the potential in meanings in the first language texts through the product brand names that are generally not duplicated in the second language texts. My use of first language text (FLT) and second language text (SLT) is to observe some degree of differentiation form source text (ST) and target (TT) text respectively. This is to compensate the fact that some of the texts under comparisons are not necessarily parallel texts.

**COPY 77**

**Headline:**
MY MUM LETS ME DO WHAT I WANT

**Gloss:**
[ ] [MUM] [BIARKAN] [SAYA] [BUAT] [APA] [SAYA] [MAHU]

**Prag. trans.:**
MUM SAYA MEMBOLEHKAN SAYA BUAT APA SAJA YANG SAYA MAHU
MY MUM ALLOWS/LETS ME DO WHATEVER I WANT

**Body copy:**
Imagine That!
[Bayangkan] [] []

The message of the advertisement is dependent on how the reader interprets the meaning of the headline. This meaning is centred on the product name, MUM. The advertiser's message is literally,

1. MUM the product gives me freedom to do whatever I want to do.

However the headline is not isolated from the context of the accompanying photograph. An attractive young teenager in the company of three young boys in the pose depicted may encourage the reader to reprocess MUM as short for mother. The picture is not in anyway strongly offensive nor sexually sensitive. The focus is on the girl in close physical proximity to the three boys. The fact that the girl is with three boys may raise an eyebrow or two. The resonance effect of the picture redirects the reprocessing of the original literal interpretation of the headline. Another possible meaning could be,

2. MUM, my mother gives me freedom to do whatever I want to do.

In the English language context, the two separate messages are possible because semantically the lexical item, MUM, is not only a polysemy but also a homonym and a homograph. The pun works semantically and this is subtly reinforced visually. The young girl has been given approval by her mother to be in the company of three boys.

The above two messages are further underlined by the body copy. Whatever social scientists and sociologists have to say about the problems of adolescents and
dysfunctional families, there are still many young people with strong regard for parental approval and sanctions. The young girl in the advertisement has a progressive mother who approves of her relationships. It is normally mothers who play the stronger supportive role when their daughters are on the brink of womanhood and, sons for that matter on the brink of adulthood, are faced with the problem of the opposite sex and relationships.

However the stronger message combines the two messages above, i.e.,

3. The product also gets the thumbs up from mother.

COPY 77
Signature line:
I Can't Get By Without My Mum
Gloss:
[Saya] [Tak (Tidak) Boleh] [Hidup] [Tanpa] {Saya} {Mum}
Prag. trans.:
Saya tak boleh tak ada Mum saya.
I can't not have my Mum.

The signature line further stresses the importance of MUM to the girl. How it is read/pronounced, MUM whichever "product", is vital to the speaker's life.

Let us now explore the meanings above in Malay. The second meaning is not readily acceptable in Malay for its denotation centres on the semantics of MUM. Mum is not a common short form of mother in Malay. In fact, the English MUM, m m must be read phonetically as m m in Malay. As a product name, it could be argued that it does not matter how the product is to be aurally identified. However if the reader reads it with the Malay pronunciation, it brings to question whether the resonance effect discussed above is achieved. It would be achieved if the reader reads it as if it were an English word.

It is possible that the latter occurs more often than not for the following reasons. Firstly, the reader is conversant in both Malay and English and would make the necessary adjustments when the product is of foreign origin. Secondly, and leading from the first reason, this would also mean that the reader is media and more particularly, advertisement literate.
The Malay copy, however, reduces the possible reading of MUM as mum from the context.

COPY 78
Headline:
AKU BEBAS APABILA BERSAMA MUM!
Gloss:
[I] [FREE] [WHEN] [TOGETHER/WITH] [MUM] [I]
Prag. trans.:
I AM FREE WHenever WITH MUM!

As mum is not in the visual, the headline limits the possible interpretation of MUM as mum. The strong message is thus,

4. I have freedom whenever I use the product, MUM.

In the above advertisement, the key word is the brand name. The pun associated with the brand name works through the resonance effect of the visual and its implicit context. In the Malay copy, the English interpretation is only possible if "mum" is bilingually understood by the Malay reader.

Similar problems with transferring all the possible message from FLTs to SLTs could be seen in the advertisements below. In TIME covers the Olympics, the literal meaning: TIME magazine covers the Olympics, is the message. But the second message through the pun is also true, i.e.

1. Over the years, i.e. time, there have been numerous Olympics.

Prodigious brand naming in which the product name encapsulates the product and the image that the company wants to promote makes translating FLTs into SLTs only adequately possible. Other examples include the following:

COPY 75
TIME JULY 31, 1995
Understanding comes with TIME.

COPY 79
FORTUNE put it to work

The general practice in Western advertising in brand naming could be categorized into two basic approaches (Bergh, Adler and Oliver, 1987). One is to select a name that could through repetition become associated with the product, service or the company. The second is to create names that have certain linguistic qualities that make them stand apart in the cluttered advertising environment. A brand name like L’egg for a pantyhose packaged in an egg-shaped container falls into the second category (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 48-49). This second category will pose the greater translation problem because the whole concept of the respective advertising
copy will be encapsulated in the brand name. As in the MUM advertisement above, the SLT reader will not be able to appreciate messages attached to the denotative meanings of the brand name.

Another problem associated with puns is how to convey the possible meanings that are projected by near sounding lexical items. In this instance too, background knowledge of the FLTs are imperative in processing the FLTs.

COPY 80
THE EYEFUL TOWER.


The play is on near homophones, i.e. Eiffel Tower, a famous landmark in Paris. This immediately places the focus of the advertisement on France. However note that the message is carried in the informal meaning of eyeful: a beautiful or attractive sight (CD, 1994[1993]: 551). In an instant, the romance and beauty associated with France is projected through the metonymy Eiffel Tower and equated to the less identifiable late-medieval Disneyland tower. Similarly the copy below could make a play on the FLT homophones. Presumably a Gen has to be read as again or yen or gen.

COPY 81
NST 3 JUNE 1996
The Japanese set lunch.
Try a bit of everything,
then come back
a Gen and a Gen.

The following copy further underlines the exploitation of specific features of FLTs. It is only through knowing the more common form, i.e. colloquial nautical miles, that the copy could be appreciated as also pertaining to the sea and sailing.

COPY 82
EVEN
BEFORE OUR
BOAT SHOES
MAKE IT ON
BOARD
THEY'VE GOT
UP TO
50 KNOTS

All the advertisements above shows the importance of "domains" knowledge in processing the FLTs. In the example above, the manifesting signals are linked to a nautical theme. The nautical theme is from one domain but puns could utilized other
themes from other domains. This knowledge encompasses a linguistic awareness as well as cultural awareness, i.e. the culture of water sports, etc. Awareness of possible near homophones will make the reader process the copy as they were meant to be as devised by the advertisers/copywriters as summarized in the diagram below.

cultural associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cultural associations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(allow for the identification of...) near homophones—→(encourages) processing of the copy.

*Fig. 6.1: Influence of Cultural Association and Homophonic Identifications*

Therefore to translate the FLTs, the translator must also know the wider cultural knowledge enveloping the language system. The *L'egg* brand name mentioned earlier was also an attempt at projecting a French element into the product (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 48-49; *Chapter 3*). Thus the translator dealing with an English language text must have the linguistic abilities to not only identify cultural allusions within the English language but should also appreciate inter-cultural and inter-linguistic play which the English language is capable of. In COPY 81, the Japanese-ness is enhanced through a play on *Yen*, the Japanese currency. In this copy, an inter-lingual homophonic interplay is possibly employed through Chinese dialects as well.

It is more generally accepted that the ability to convey more than one meaning is the main reason for punning in advertising copies. The pun as has been discussed above condensed many meanings in one lexical item. The headline to the visual of COPY 83 is,

Perfect for all sorts of printing
*(The Guardian Weekend, May 1996)*

Most likely, the message is:

1. The printer can be used for all types of printing.

Presumably the printer can print black and white copies and coloured materials, large or small fonts. Basically no print job is beyond its technological capabilities. By
looking at the accompanying illustration (COPY 83), it is possible to see the variety of colours and sizes of objects that can be printed.

Next, if the reader picks up the cue from the illustration and reads *all sorts* as *all-sorts*, i.e. a mixture of liquorice sweets, then the following message is possible.

3. The printer can print (liquorice) all-sorts.
The capability of the printer in reproducing all print types or fonts is exemplified by the illustration. Therefore the next key word is *sorts*, which presents a printing term, i.e. any of the individual characters making up a font of type. This then brings the interpretation back to the central message.

1. The printer is capable of all types of printing.
The emphasis this time is on *types*. The puns in the advertisements above show that messages are not only conveyed through them but the rhetorical figure is also central to the structure of the advertisements. In all the above-mentioned examples, the importance of background or cultural awareness is underlined.

There is also another feature that is shared by all the advertisements looked at so far. Although the advertisements have borrowed from elements from other *realities*, i.e. the stylistics of a particular discourse, a social situation, an idiomatic expression, and so on, the role-borrowing is *trivialized*. Injecting elements of incongruity to message reduced the seriousness of the advertising message (cf. Sidiropoulou, 1998). For example, how many printer users have the need to print liquorice all-sorts? The incongruity is also evident between the headlines and the illustrations. There is no direct relevance between headline and illustration. The relevancy between the two is only arrived at by processing the cues in the advertisement. This BEng consumer-cum-reader appreciation of the lack of "seriousness" in advertising may not work linguistically and culturally. Sidiropoulou has found that cultural conventions have to be translated as genre conventions (Sidiropoulou, 1998).

The two Malaysian sets of copy, Malay COPY 84 and MEng COPY 85, for the same advertiser use a similar visual concept. However the accompanying headlines have not re-duplicated the rhetorical figure and have a greater degree of "seriousness" to the concept employed. The Malay copy has the following headline:
Adakah warna-warni indah menjadi impian anda?

Literally:
Are beautiful colours your dream?

The literal English translation could be seen as a wordplay but this is not that obvious in Malay. In fact, it is only after I had produced the crude English translation that I noticed a possible play on words in the Malay headline.

A further example of the multiple meanings feature is evident in the copy below

COPY 87

[A]
When you’re choosing a partner for your vehicle management solutions, go for a long term relationship not a one night stand!

[B]
We’re into building relationships, that’s why BRS Car Lease give you one point of contact, someone who cares about your business as much as you do!

(BRS Car Lease Advertisement. Financial Times 28 February 1996.)

At first glance, the lexical items in body copy should not pose any problems. BRS Car Lease, the advertiser, is a car leasing company that provides long-term contracts and a variety of services for the business customer. The immediate message therefore is

1. BRS Car Lease provides a variety of vehicles for long-term hire.

That is straightforward enough. But look at the way the body text has been organized in the copy. [B] is not written in the normal straight line but in two continuous circular segments - a conventionalized representation of the heart, having two rounded lobes at the top meeting which if completed should meet in a point at the bottom. This heart-shaped organization of [B] brings with it a Western allusion to romance. Also in the convention of Western writing, the script is read from right to left. The reader will, on finishing reading [B] be reminded that BRS Car Lease is the advertiser.

Let us go back to the body of the text. The lexical items and collocations appear to be perfectly innocuous words. However, the notion of romance conjured through [B] is brought into focus through the following: partner, relationships, long term relationship, one night stand. In the current politically correct world of British English the following meanings are possible:

partner either member of a couple in a relationship;
a member in a partnership (CD, 1994[1993]: 1138)
relationship  mutual dealings;
an emotional or sexual affair or liaison (CD, 1994[1993]: 1308)

The phrase one night stand in [A] is slightly problematic. It appears meaningless in
the context of [A]. Does stand here refer to the counter or booth from where car
leasing companies operate, i.e. as in taxi stand? In all probability, after being
subliminally inundated with partner and long term relationship, the reader would
have automatically read it as one-night stand, i.e.,

(i). performance given only once at any one place; or,
(ii). the informal usage -
a sexual encounter lasting only one evening or one night or,
a person regarded as being only suitable for such an

The first meaning (i) would add to the message in 1, so another possible message is:

2. The service given by BRS Car Lease is reliable and their vehicles are
reliable, too.

The message here is that the BRS Car Lease is not planning to close shop in the
near future. The vehicles provided by BRS Car Lease are not for a one-off use.
However, for these messages to be deciphered, the reader must read the phrase
with a hyphen. The second informal meanings in (ii) have metaphorical relevancy.
BRS is promoting vehicles for long-term hire and not a short-period service. In fact it
further underlines the reliability of BRS Car Lease. The sexual innuendo has to be
rejected. It is not the intended message of the puns. What is intended is the
following.

3. With BRS Car Lease you can expect longevity - in its future as a business
entity, in its services and in its vehicles. BRS Car Lease provides a service for as
long as it is required and has the capability to do so.

Yet, this message could only be communicated to the reader if he initially accepts
the sexual innuendo. The heart-shaped [B] has forced this interpretation. Ironically,
by rejecting the sexual innuendo but accepting the romantic allusion the reader
would arrive at another message:

4. BRS has the infrastructure to provide a personalized and reliable service
tailored to your needs.
Once again, note how the reader is compelled to process the advertisement. Even though the strong sexual allusion, in the lexical items and the illustration, has to be rejected, it is these elements that would aid the memorability of the advertisement. This is yet another example where the illustration works hand in hand with the printed text in transmitting the advertising messages. Incidentally, it is the almost heart-shaped body copy [B] which underlines the sexual allusion. This Westernized symbol makes most of the interpretations above possible. Although this symbol is also universally understood, it is arguable whether it carries the same degree of impact and message in another language.

6.1.4.1 Punning Possibilities Malay

Below is a list of advertisements on similar products in English and Malay.

COPY 86
THE ULTIMATE LIFT
COPY
Program Lengkap dan Langkah-langkah Untuk Menjadikan Badan Lebih Langsing
(A Complete Programme and Steps to Make the Body Slimmer)
Cara Mudah
(Easy Way)
There are some play on words in the Malay but not as succinct as in the English.

COPY 88
A REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN SKIN CARE

COPY 89
Sekarang anda memiliki kulit yang cantik dengan pil Imedeen.
(Now you have a beautiful skin with Imedeen pills).

The parallel copy below shows that literal translation could produce the same effect in Malay.

COPY 90
DESIGN YOURSELF

COPY 91
GAYAKAN SENDIRI
(DESIGN YOURSELF)

The two possible messages in the English, i.e.
1. change you - your looks, personality, etc.
2. make the cosmetic changes yourself - not let someone else do
are present in the Malay copy. It is fortuitous that the message works linguistically in Malay.
Finally, I will adopt Alexeiva's suggestion regarding "domains comparison" (Alexeiva, 1997: 137-154) and propose that it is possible to translate puns into Malay. The visual pun in the COPY 56 works because *lady's finger* is a finger of a lady and it is also another name for *bhindi* or *okra*. The visual concept could be duplicated in Malay in two ways. Firstly, by substituting the okra with a Malay cake, *teilinga hindu* (literally Indian ear). This is a doughnut-like dark brown cake. Therefore, instead of a ring, the visual could be replaced by two *teilinga hindus* with two diamond earings placed in each cake centre. The only problem with this imagery is that it may be lead to cries of political incorrectness. Another better replacement is *seri muka*, a Malay sweet cake with a white glutinous rice layer topped with a green layer. To say that someone's face, *muka*, is *seri* is to say that the person and/or the face is beautiful, and/or happy, and/or attractive, etc. The connotation is thus positive. The sweet cake is normally baked in a tray and served cut in small squares or rectangles. The sweet cake could thus be cut and arranged to form a representation of a face. Earings and even a necklace could be place strategically around the sweet cake. A suitable headline: *Pasti Seri Muka (Definitely Seri Muka - Definitely (a) Beautiful Face)*.

I have tried to suggest that play on words are possible in Malay. My example has underlined one important criterion required for the successful translation of the wordplay. This is a cultural awareness of the TL system.

### 6.2 Idioms

Under "idiom" are listed unusual uses of particular words, and also phrases or types of expressions which, from long usage, have become stereotyped in English (McMordie, 1964[1909]: 6). Within a particular language, it would be more correct to maintain that idiom refers to a group of words whose meaning cannot be predicted from the meaning of the constituent words (CD, 1994[1993]: 771; McArthur, 1992: 497; Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 4). For example, in the sentences, *David will raise Cain when he discovers that his daughter has damaged his car*, and *Due to red tape, Sarah is yet to get her visa*, it is obvious that the some of the lexical items do not convey its literal meanings and that disambiguation of the sentences have to be made with some lexical items being grouped together, i.e. *raise Cain* and *red tape*. Long usage has fixed the idiomatic expression into its form or structure.
with its reciprocal meaning of which both, the structure and meaning cannot be changed (McMordie, 1964[1909]: 6). As a general rule an idiomatic phrase cannot be altered and no synonymous lexical item within the structure could be replaced. The structure of the idiomatic expression can never be modified for any attempt at changing the lexical items or collocation will inevitably destroy the idiom structurally and semantically. Idiomatic expressions are generally forcible, terse and vivid. The meaning of a particular idiom could be conveyed in another way but not necessarily as forceful nor as succinct. This is unlike metaphors, which are utilized to convey new information. Incidentally, etymologically, (to) raise Cain alludes to Adam's son who apparently due to his ungovernable temper killed his brother (Donald, 1994: 278) and red tape is an allusion to the red tapes which were once used to tie up old parchments and legal documentation (Donald, 1994: 280).

6.2.1. English Idioms

English is particularly rich in idiomatic expressions. Idiomatic expressions are more a feature of daily speech than in written language. However, this is not to say that idiomatic expressions are not found in written texts. Far from it, for high literature and contemporary serious journalism feature a great use of figures of speech of which the idiom is one type. It is, according to McMordie (1964[1909]: 6), “the idiomatic part of the language that is the most difficult for a foreigner to master”. To reiterate a general rule, an idiomatic expression cannot be altered or lexically substituted with synonyms. An idiomatic phrase frequently omits several words by ellipsis and to fill in these gaps would destroy the structure of the idiom and render it meaningless. McMordie strongly believes that the foreign learner must actually learn the idiom by rote, i.e., “... commit idiomatic expressions to memory” (McMordie, 1964[1909]: 6). He strongly feels that the foreign learner may not pick up sufficient correct usage and cautions against a heavy dependence on dictionaries, particularly if these dictionaries were not produced by English native speakers. Some Malay academics have provided lists of bilingual equivalents, English - Malay idiomatic expression (Asmah, 1978; Ainon, 1987; Syarifah Zainab, 1995). These are useful reference tools for the translator working between the two languages.
6.2.1.1 Types of English Idioms

As stated earlier, idioms have fixed structures that have to be committed to memory. This means that there are structural conformities that distinguish idioms from other forms of figurative language. For this study I adopt the following as types of idioms which I have culled from a variety of work as documented in Fernando and Flavell (Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 1 - 17). Basically the various types are as follows:

1. habitual collocation, for example: heart and soul
2. familiar similes, for example: as plain as a pikestaff
3. non-literal idioms which can either be semi-opaque or opaque, for example: keep one's head above water or curry favour.
4. thematic groups based on keywords such as as on colour: green, for example: green around the gills and green with envy
5. combination of prepositional phrases and verb-plus-particle, for example pull through, keep up.
6. proverbs for example, a watched pot never boils

One important thing to note is that the connection between slang and idiom is a very close one (Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 2). At the same time, a key feature of idioms is that they satisfy a number of language functions, for example,

1. as an exercise in wit and ingenuity or in humour
2. to be picturesque
3. to lessen the forcefulness of, or to make a statement less direct
4. for social ease
(Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 3).

In addition, with regard to idioms, it would be useful to keep the properties listed below in mind, i.e.,

1. the meaning of an idiom is not the result of compositional function of its constituents
2. an idiom is a unit that either has a homonymous literal counterpart or at least individual constituents that are literal, though the expression as a whole would not be interpreted literally
3. idioms are transformationally deficient in one way or another
4. idioms constitute set expressions in a given language;
5. idioms are institutionalized.
(Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 17).
The above properties are also true with regard to Malay idioms as will be seen below.

6.2.2 Malay Idioms
Malay idiomatic expressions largely function as euphemisms (Hassan, 1996: 6). Not unlike English idiomatic phrases, the Malay idioms are in fact ways of subtly expressing one's feeling without putting that feeling bluntly and crudely to the other person or persons involved. In modern Malay prose and more so in classical and traditional Malay literature, idiomatic phrases play a very important part in enhancing ideas. Hassan feels, particularly in ordinary conversation, that idioms are the "architectural cornices" in one's self-expression (Hassan, 1996: 5). Idioms are the additional promptings, a thought within a thought or even a game of words in which one's interesting stories become more emphatic (Hassan, 1996: 5).

According to Hassan, the Malay idiom is merely an assembly of simple words which when used appropriately creates an entirely different meaning. However, as will be seen later, this type of idiomatic structure is but one of a variety of structures. Functionally, idiomatic phrases evoke various interpretation, creating subtle comparisons which Malays are fond of using in their communication of pleasantries and of neighbourly gestures. The Malays exploit nature to create their own representations of life. Not unlike English idioms, there is a significant number of Malay idiomatic expressions which use body parts, i.e. tangan (hand), mata (eyes), mulut (mouth), etc. The Malays love to test each other by constantly adding different adjectives or adverbs to further beautify their language as well as to convey certain antagonism without being too straight forward or blunt (Hassan, 1996: 6). For example, the phrase hidung (nose) belang (striped) to mean a "Casanova". This expression may appear more metaphorical than idiomatic. However, it is listed as an idiom in Malay and it is useful to note that classically the metaphor is not identified in Malay literature. The above expression is a more gentle way of calling the person a "skirt-chaser" or a "woman-chaser" (Hassan, 1996: 6). The more literal expression would have been kejar wanita, which literally means '(to) chase (after) women' (Hassan, 1996: 6-7).
As in English, once established, the forms of Malay figurative language are learned and memorized. However, unlike established English idiomatic expressions, Malay idiomatic structures appear to be less rigid. Abdullah and Ainon seem to convey that language users can modify the forms to their needs (1993: Pendahaluan). In the past, the ability to create figurative language was believed to be a natural God-given gift belonging to literary geniuses and writers of literature (Abdullah and Ainon, 1993: Pendahaluan). This view has changed and it is acknowledged that this ability is a reflection of a person’s mastery of the language. Figurative speech, according to Abdullah and Ainon (1993), reflects the natural dynamism of the language. They feel that in the case of Malay language, it is the young who are the vibrant group which contributes to the growth of new coinage. Every new generation adds to the corpus of figurative language and as a result older and more traditional forms have been lost through lack of usage. This also reflects the socio-cultural environment. As an example, otak bergeliga (a person who is intelligent and quick) now has the more modern equivalent of otak komputer. Otak is literally brain and geliga is believed to be a stone with “magical” powers that can neutralize poison, pain, etc. This stone can be found inside animals such as snakes and porcupines. Another example, Harapkan pagar, pagar makan padi (Place trust in the fence, it is the fence that ate the paddy) has the following modern usage: Harapkan tin jaga biskut, tin makan biskut (Place trust in the tin, it is the tin that ate the biscuit) (Abdullah and Ainon, 1993). Note the shift in focus from the esoteric or the occult, i.e. geliga in the first example and in the second example, the traditional occupation of the Malays and traditional food pertaining to rice planting and rice, to more modern preoccupations, i.e., technology and modern dietary preferences. Thus, what Bühler has earlier noted with regard to metaphors is echoed in the above, i.e., theme of figurative language is ‘evidence on what is most interesting to a people’ (Bühler, 1990: 394).

6.2.2.1 Types of Malay Figurative Language
The thing to note is that as far as traditional or classical figurative language in Malay is concerned (see Diagram 2), they are of totally different types to western classical figurative language.
**Bahasa Kiasan**

A general term for all uses of language that depart from literal meanings.

**Peribahasa**

A proverb (KD, 1996: 1018) sentence or a group of words with a fixed arrangement and with specific meanings; classical or Malay figurative language.

**Simpulan Bahasa**

Expressions that are made up of two or three lexical items and have totally different meanings from the denotative meanings of each of the lexical items, for example: *buka mulut* - speak, literally *buka* (open) *mulut* (mouth).

**Personifikasi**

Personification from the Latin *personificatio* 'making a person, loan-translating Greek *Prosōpopoi* making a mask, face, person. In rhetoric, discourse in which animals, plants, elements of nature, and abstract ideas are given human attributes. It has been regarded as both a figure in its own right and as an aspect of metaphor in which non-human is identified with human (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 765), for example: *Old Father Time*.

**Metafora**

Metaphor the figure of speech in which A is spoken in terms of another, B, as in *You are my sunshine*. This term must include all the various types of English classical forms; from old French métaphore, Latin metaphor, Greek...
metaphorá a carrying over, transfer. A rhetorical figure with two senses, both originating with Aristotle in the 4th century BC; two meanings

1) All figures of speech that achieve their effect through association, comparison, and resemblance. Figures like antithesis, hyperbole, metonymy, simile are all species of metaphor. Although this sense is not current, it lies behind the use of *metaphorical* and *figurative* as antonyms of *literal*.

2) A figure of speech which concisely compares two things by saying that one is the other. In such usages, the perception of something held in common brings together words and images from different fields (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653-655).

Hiperbola hyperbole came through Latin from Greek *huperbolé* flung too far. A rhetorical term for exaggeration or overstatement, usually deliberate and not meant to be taken literally. Everyday idioms are hyperbolic: a flood of tears, waiting for ages, etc. Their purpose is effect and emphasis, but frequency of use diminishes their impact (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 491).

Pepatah or *perbilangan* are expressions originating from traditions. Their function is as guide and prescriptive cultural practices, for example: *Tak lekang dek panas, tak lapuk dek hujan* - That which is good and fine will last forever. The gloss of the SL form is, *It won't peel off in the heat, it won't rot in the rain*.

Bidalan phrase or *peribahasa* with the function of advice, for example: *Jika pandai menggunting, hendaklah pandai menjahitnya* (literally: If clever at cutting, must be able to sew). The meaning is: Any work that has been started must be completed.

Perumpamaan comparison or simile, for example: *Umpama membungkus api* (literally like wrapping fire) meaning: to keep a secret which will be found out in due course or, *Ibarat perahu, tidak akan karam sebelah* (literally: like a dinghy, will never sink on one side) meaning: One's family will not allow one to suffer on one's own.
In the diagram, those that are not considered *Peribahasa* are in actual fact elements of western classical figurative language that have been borrowed into Bahasa Malaysia. It is interesting that the diagram above shows only a few elements of classical western rhetoric. This brings into question the extent to which Malay has borrowed from classical western rhetoric. It would be useful to find out whether Malay classical rhetoric is adequate for the needs of the language and the few western classical types borrowed only fill up forms that are not present and reduce the inadequacies that the former lacks. Although it is not inconceivable that many more classical western rhetoric have been incorporated into Malay. Unfortunately, there are no concrete studies to prove that is so. At the same time, it is worth acknowledging that there are other forms of classical Malay rhetoric that do not have equivalents in classical western rhetoric, for example, *pantun*: verses of systematically and preconceived arranged words or ideas (cf. COPY 76). It is debatable whether the *pantun* could fall into the category of rhetoric but there is certainly no equivalent verse form in English. *Pantun* is a type of “poetry” which plays on homophones as shown below.

Yang kurik ialah lundi
yang merah ialah saga
Yang baik ialah budi
Yang indah ialah bahasa.

The translation is as follows:

That which burrows in the earth is the grubs
That which is red is the ‘saga’
That which is kindness itself is deeds
That which is beautiful is the language.

(Translation given in Hassan, 1996: 4)

This is a more elaborate play of rhyme and homophones. The first two lines are meaningless although not nonsensical. Their sole function is to set the rhyme and metre for the second two lines. In fact, the terminology of the first two lines is *pembayang* or “that which provides shadow for”. Exploring the wealth of Malay rhetoric and figurative language would be useful but it would be diverging from this study. It is sufficient to note that the diagram above although provides some insight into Malay figurative language, is far from an adequate summary of it.
6.2.3 Idioms in Advertising

Unlike the other two rhetorical figures, idioms are set expressions that have been documented. Therefore, with the limitation that dictionaries may not have listed all the idioms within the language, relevant dictionaries have been consulted for this section. This means that the idioms identified below are indeed of the form and the usage acceptable. It also means that the definition of the idioms is at the same time correct semantically as well as syntactically.

COPY 92

Need a Helping Hand?

Keywords:

i. helping hand - collocation - meaning: assistance (CD, 1994[1993]: 723)

ii. many hands make light work - proverb - meaning: that the more people that are involved in a job, the quicker the job will get done (NTC's: 210)

iii. tangan dingin - simpulan bahasa - meaning: whatever is attempted produced good results (KPL: 406); literally: cool hand(s).

iv. ringan tangan - simpulan bahasa - meaning: like to help (KPL: 347); literally: light hand(s).

v. tangan - idiomatic/connotative meaning: power, influence, possession (KD: 1367); literal: hand(s).

vi. tanganan - meaning: product from work (KD: 1368).


The advertisement has a picture of an oriental-looking man sitting in a lotus position. He is made to have three pairs of hands similar to the statues of Indian gods. Strategically placed at the positions of his open palms are the sub-body texts. One of the palms appears to be holding up the advertised product.

The key element in the headline is the collocation: helping hand. Note the many hands, in the body copy, outlining the potential advantages of the product SmartSuite 96. This claim is disambiguated in the main body copy (Line 4-5):

The whole suite is focused on making you and your team more productive. The whole concept is centred on the two key phrases (i) and (ii) above. Thus, the message of the advertisement is, 'Do you need any assistance (helping hand)? If you do, we (the advertiser) can extend our hands (the components of the advertised product) to assist you.‘

There is no direct equivalent of the collocation (i) in Malay although colloquially bagi tangan, literally, give hand(s), is informally acceptable and means give assistance. Note that tangan can be singular as well as plural. A common feature of Malay
language is that the plural form is sometimes denoted by the reduplication of the noun, for example, buku (book) becomes buku-buku (books). However, this plural form is not universal, and so, “Their hands are full” is not necessarily “Tangan-tangan mereka penuh” for in this case, it is correct and sufficient to say “Tangan mereka penuh”. Furthermore from context, it is already understood that tangan is plural. Repeating a lexical item may denote plurality but in some instances it is a mechanism to produce a polyseme. For example, kacang is nuts but kacang-kacang denotes a type of fish. Therefore, in the above advertisement, “hands” should not be translated as tangan-tangan because of sense (vii).

Nonetheless it would be possible to utilize the thematic idioms (iii) and (iv) as well as sense (vi). The headline could thus be translated as:

a. Tangan kami dingin.

b. Tangan kami ringan.

c. Tanganan yang sudi membantu.

The last of the above suggestions is not common usage but since the text type is advertisement, it is natural to introduce something that is new or different. It is also possible to use the more colloquial usage of tangan and so,

d. Kami boleh bagi/beri tangan.

The translations as in (a) and (b) would retain the idiomatic form of SL headline. (c) would introduce a new message, i.e. the product. However, it could also be argued that “hands” in the headline is a metonymy for the features of the product advertised. In fact (c) would then have most of the lexical equivalents of the SL headline, i.e.,

tangan-an - hands
membantu - helping.

COPY 93
Our new Choccies completely take the biscuit.
Keywords:

i. take the biscuit - idiom - meaning: to be the most remarkable (NTC's: 321).

ii. take the biscuit - slang- meaning: to be the worst example of something (NTC's: 321).

The two possible meanings of the idiomatic expression are so totally divergent that it is surprising that the expression is used. Note that Fernando and Flavell have pointed out the close relationship between idiom and slang (Fernando and Flavell, 1981: 2). The choice of the above expression could be a sort of tongue-in-cheek exercise. Nonetheless, even if the two possible meanings are understood by the
reader-consumer, it would inadvertently induced the reader-consumer to work out the “real” message of the advertisement. This exercise is part of the “reading” of any advertisement in which the reader-consumer is always “encouraged” to process the copy.

At the same time, the choice of the above idiomatic expression is also appropriate as the theme of chocolates and biscuits are kept in focus. Other possible forms that could convey the message of the best for example, blue ribbon i.e., to denote first prize in a competition; first class i.e., in a class of its own: unequalled or unparalleled; out of this world i.e., wonderful extraordinary. None of these expressions are centred on the theme: chocolates.

COPY 94
Look the bee's knees without being stung.
Keywords:

i. bee's knee - Informal usage - meaning: the last word in excellence (MP: 29); an excellent or ideally suited person or thing (CD, 1994[1993]: 140).

ii. sting - meaning: to inflict wound by the injection of poison; to feel or cause a sharp mental or physical pain (CD, 1994[1993]: 1517).


This headline could not be easily transferred into Malay. A possible translation strategy is to find an equivalent idiomatic expression in Malay. If there is no equivalent in Malay figurative language, the next best strategy is to transfer the message, i.e.,

Excellence that is Not Expensive
or any of the possible variation to the syntax above but keeping the semantics intact.

A possible Malay headline could then be:

Keunggulan yang Tidak Membebankan.
Gloss:
[Excellence] [which] [not/would not] [be heavy] [.]

The above suggestion might explain why Malay headlines are generally of the same type, i.e., basic advertising message and “dry”. The translators/copywriters working
in Malay might have been unable to locate equivalents in Malay rhetorical language. It could also be possible if there are near equivalents, they are not appropriate for the positioning of the product. Therefore, the recourse left is to transfer the basic message: this is what the product is, without worrying about all the other accompanying rhetorical figures and language devices present in the SL copy.

COPY 95
WE BROKE THE STORY TWO MINUTES AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE BROKE THE CITY.
Keywords:

i. break - meaning: to separate or become separated into two or more pieces; to damage or become damaged so as to be inoperative (CD, 1994[1993]: 195)

ii. break - meaning: to disclose or be disclosed (CD, 1994[1993]: 195).

iii. break - meaning: to crack or become crack without separating (CD, 1994[1993]: 195).

iv. break - meaning: to burst or cut the surface of... (CD, 1994[1993]: 195).


vi. break the bank - meaning: to ruin financially or deplete the resources of a bank (CD, 1994[1993]: 195).

vii. break the news (to someone) - idiom - meaning: to tell someone important new, usually bad news (NTC's: 33).

viii. city - meaning: any large town or populous place (CD, 1994[1993]: 297); referring to urban area.

ix. City - meaning: (the) the various financial institutions located in central London (CD, 1994[1993]: 297).

There are a number of rhetorical figures employed in the advertisement. These are as follow:

a. idiom: broke the news

b. metaphor: broke the city

The usage of "broke" here could be argued as that which satisfies Ortony's vividness thesis (Ortony, 1975: 50). The apparent vividness and the very graphic effect of the earthquake could be observed in the photograph. The destruction to the urban environment, i.e. the city is equally dramatic. The senses convey in (i), (ii) and (iv) could be seen in the destruction of road, the cracks across the road and the differing levels or height of the roads/flyovers.

c. epanalepsis: the repetition of "broke" at the beginning and end of the headline.

d. antanaclasis: the pun is a close approximation of the metaphor in (b) as in broke the City - the City being a metonymy as in sense (ix). This argument is of course dependent on the lexical item "city" being read in the lower case. The original
headline is written in capital letters. Therefore there are two different denotations to “CITY” and this is dependent on whichever case the reader-consumer assign to it. Major earthquakes normally cost enormous damages through the loss of lives and destruction to property. All these will add to the amount of aid and money required for emergency services as well as for redevelopment later. The allusion to the sense in (vi), i.e., the cost of redevelopment and such, would affect the financial institutions - banks, etc. - to become bankrupt.

e. resonance: the meaning of “broke (the city)” is focused by the picture. Here the visual pun is enhanced by the vividness of photograph. This argument is dependent on “city” to be perceived in the lowercase. Thus a translation of the above will have to take a number of rhetorical features. Below are possible suggestions based on the translations of the key concepts above.

Keywords:

i. break has the following sense in Malay - hole meaning lubang.
ii. break as in broken parts - bahagian yang pecah, putus, patah.
iii. break as in stoppage - berhenti, terhenti.
iv. break as in recess - waktu rehat.
v. break as in discontinuation - putusnya, terputus.
vi. break as in change - pertukaran.
vii. break as in deviation - kelencengan.
viii. break as in departure - penyimpangan.
ix. break the new - idiom - sampai/menyampaikan, sebar/menyebarkan berita - not an idiom - meaning: to give or convey news (KDMI: 182).

The opportunity to create a new metaphor as in (b) above is possible. The effect of the earthquake is graphically portrayed, i.e., the cracks in the roads, the buildings have become rubbles. All these are because the city was hit by an earthquake. Thus possible keywords in Malay could be the following:

Keywords:

i. the effects of the earthquake - # cracks (in the roads) - literal meaning: pecah.
# city... rubbles - literal meaning: bandaraya ...hancur.
ii. to sent news - meaning: hantar/sebar/sampai berita.
iii. the city was hit by..., the visual cracks, the sound of hit - crack - as if hit by a whip is pukul dengan rotan - sebat; sébat meaning: fast, quite (KD: 1202).

Therefore the headline could be translated as:

a. KAMI SEBAR(KAN) BERITA DUA MINIT SELEPAS GEMPA BUMI SEBAT(KAN) BANDARAYA
or,
Of the two above, the metaphor *hancur* could be considered as stock metaphor and *sebat* could be considered “original” as it is more commonly used in relation to typhoons and strong winds. The second suggestion (b) would, however, retain the visual pun and resonance effect of the photograph. Unfortunately, the idiom: break the news, in the SL copy is not reproduced in the same form in Malay. Although it could be argued the *sebar(kan) berita* is a “new” collocation and thus the idiomatic form is present in (a). Whichever of the two translations is deemed acceptable, there is always going to be some loss, either in the transfer of meaning semantically or, syntactically.

**COPY 96**

**TIME JULY 12 1995**

*Practically free speech?*

**keywords:**

i. **free speech** - collocation - meaning: the right to express one’s opinions publicly (CD, 1994[1993]: 614).


iii. **practical** - meaning: of, involving, or concerned with experience or actual use; not theoretical (CD, 1994[1993]: 1221).

Therefore the headline possibly disambiguates into:

a. In actuality you (the user) have the freedom to voice your views publicly.

The above is, of course, could not be correct for two reasons. Firstly, the product relates to the cost of a telephone service and so there is no instance of speaking in “public”. In addition, the main headline is followed by an aside:

(4p a minute local daytime calls.)

This refocuses the concept on **practically free** as opposed to that of **free speech**.

The headline then further disambiguates into:

b. It will almost not cost you (the reader-consumer) anything to speak using our (the advertiser’s) telephone service.

However, the pun through the collocation (i) is attention grabbing. The message of the headline could then be (b). If that is so then, (b) is also important in positioning the advertisement. The Malay translation has to take the two possible messages into account. Key concepts in Malay to aid the translation are as follow:

**Keywords:**

i. **free speech** - collocation - *kebebasan bercakap/bersuara*. 

224
ii. *banyak mulut* - literally: many mouths; *banyak cakap* - literally: talk(s) a lot - both meaning: like(s) to nag/complain/grumble (KD: 105).

iii. *cakap mulut* - idiom/simpulan bahasa - meaning: speak, the spoken language (KPL: 99; KD: 202).


It would then be possible to produce the following headlines:

a. **Cakap mulut murah** (*murah* meaning cheap).

   Gloss:
   
   [Speak/Talk] [mouth] [cheap]

   Prag. trans.:
   
   Speaking/Talking is cheap.

b. **Boleh bebas bercakap** (*boleh* meaning can; able; could).

   Gloss:
   
   [Can/Could] [free] [speak]

   Prag. trans.:
   
   You can speak freely.

Of the two above, the second (b) is the closest to the SL headline.

**COPY 82**

*The Guardian Weekend April 6 1996*  
**EVEN BEFORE OUR BOAT SHOES MAKE IT ON BOARD THEY'VE GOT UP TO 50 KNOTS.**

**Keywords:**

i. *on board* - meaning: on or in a ship, aeroplane or other vehicle (CD, 1994[1993]: 173).


iv. *up to* - meaning: devising or scheming  
   
   dependent or incumbent  
   
   equal to or capable of  
   
   aware of  
   
   as far as  
   
   as many as  
   

v. *get up* - meaning: to increase or cause to increase in strength (CD, 1994[1993]: 648).  
   
   Informal usage - meaning: to dress (oneself) in a particular way esp. showily or elaborately (CD, 1994[1993]: 648).  
   
   meaning: a costume or outfit, esp. one that is striking or bizarre (CD, 1994[1993]: 648).

vi. *knots* - meaning: any various fastenings formed by looping and tying a piece of rope, cord, etc., ... to another piece of rope, or to another object (CD, 1994[1993]: 860).

vii. *knot* - meaning: a unit of speed used by nautical vessels and aircraft, being one nautical mile (about 1.15 statute mile or 1.85) per hour.
viii. knot - meaning: one number of equally spaced knots on a log line used to indicate the speed of ship in nautical miles per hour.

The headline alludes to a number of things, namely, the sea and fashion. The rhetorical figures utilized in the advertisement are: puns idioms, and resonance.

COPY 97
Daily Mirror January 9 1996
With Christmas over, your Volkswagen dealer is ready to talk turkey.
Keyword:
i. talk turkey - slang/idiom - meaning: talk business (NTC’s: 324).

This headline would pose problems due to the cultural associations of the idioms and the timing of the advertisement. There are a number of business associations as well as "cultural" ones that are influential in disambiguating the message. Firstly, it is assumed that car sales are going to be affected in some way or other after Christmas. It is almost a business practice as much as it is a "social" acceptance in England that there are massive reductions in price in the Christmas and the New Year Sales. This assumption could not be made in Malay and Malaysian business and cultural practice have to be investigated. However, if the SL headline has to be translated, then it could be assumed that the advertiser would furnish other relevant information as well, for example, the timing of the advertisement. Secondly, by changing the timing of the advertisement, it would mean that the reference to Christmas would be eliminated and therefore it follows that the slang: talk turkey would also be eliminated. The translation of the headline could be reproduced alluding to another festive season in Malaysian socio-cultural context and the aptness of the slang above would automatically be redundant. The challenge is then to find a similar idiom with a similar effect in the TL.

COPY 57
Fashion October 7 1995
From Clarks. Waterproof shoes for the man in the street.
Keywords:
i. man in the street - idiom - meaning: the ordinary person (NTC’s: 210).
ii. man in the street - Malay equivalent - orang biasa literally: ordinary people (KDMI: 924).
ii. man about town - idiom - meaning: a fashionable man who leads a sophisticated life (NTC’S: 210).

The resonance effect of the photograph and the headline makes the visual pun work. It might be best to retain the literal message in translating it into Malay. Firstly, the concept of Clarks, the products is that of quality and affordable shoes has to be taken into account. Note that it could have been equally visual to use the idiom with the sense in (iii). However, this would not be mirroring the whole concept attached
to the advertiser's marketing strategy. The literal message of the idiom is then the strongest of all, i.e.,

Shoes for the ordinary man down there in the street.

A possible Malay translation could then be:

*Clarks. Kasut untuk mereka yang banyak berjalan.*

Gloss:

[Clarks] [Shoes] [for] [them] [who] [a lot] [walk(ing)]]

The implicit ideas in the Malay translation are that the shoes are waterproof and that those who have to and do walk a lot out there in the streets are ordinary people. The translation does not reproduce the idiomatic form because the main message is not conveyed through the idiomatic expression.

COPY 98

Malay:

*Dengan Cirinya Yang Memikat*  
*Serta Penghantaran Segera,*  
*Hanya Proton Wira Aeroback Yang Memenuhi Impian Anda!*  

Gloss:

[With] [its characteristics] [which] [attract]  
[plus] [delivery] [immediate] []  
[only] [Proton] [Wira] [Aeroback] [which] [fills] [dreams/desires] [you] []

COPY 99

MEng:

*With Winning Features*  
*Plus Fast Delivery*  
*the Proton Wira Aeroback is the only one you'll want!*

Gloss:

[Dengan] [menang] [ciri]  
[serta] [segera] [penghantaran]  
[adalah] [Proton] [Wira] [Aeroback] [which] [fills] [dreams/desires] [you] []

Keyword:

i. winning - meaning: charming, engaging or attractive (CD, 1994[1993]: 1760).  
   as in, winning ways, a winning smile.

The usage of “winning” in the MEng version is idiomatic. At the same time, the Malay version also has a “poetic” register with the usage of the lexical item: impian.

The two copy are good parallel texts although as with Malaysian advertising language, they do not utilize a variety of rhetorical figures. Nonetheless, it could be argued that in the Malay copy, memenuhi, is metaphorical. The general overall effect of both copy is that of the strong basic selling message.

COPY 100

*Apabila tujuh VIP ingin membuat perjalanan, segalanya tertumpu pada Mazda MPV*  
*MAZDA*  
*WHO ELSE*  

Gloss:

[When] [seven] [VIP] [want] [to travel] [] [everything] [depends] [on] [Mazda] [MPV] []

Keyword:
i. **VIP** - the English abbreviation of VIP is retained; meaning: very important people (KDMI: 1854).

The translation into English is made easier because of the borrowing from English. Incidentally, the advertiser's signature line is also in English. The borrowing may be due to the intention of the copywriter to keep in focus particular elements within the brand name, i.e., **MAZDA MPV**.

**COPY 101**

Malay: 
*Tiba masanya untuk perjalanan yang berbeza*

Gloss: 
[Arrival] [its time] [for] [journey] [which] [different]

**COPY 102**

M-Eng: 
The time has come to travel a different road

Gloss: 
[e] [masa] [sudah] [tiba] [untuk] [berjalan] [satu] [berbeza] [jalan]

Keyword:

i. **road** - meaning: a way, path or course (CD, 1994[1993]: 1337).

The two copy make very good parallel texts. However, I feel there is more in the message of the MEng. I wonder whether there is an allusion to a Robert Frost's poem below:

*Two roads diverged in a wood, and I -
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.*

(Frost, R., The Road Not taken, 1916)

If there is such an allusion then there is more implicit messages in the MEng version than there is in the Malay one.

There are noticeably three main features of the usage of idioms in the above advertisements. Firstly, the **conventional usage**, in which the idiom is used in the normal and conventional sense as defined in dictionaries and reference books. The examples include, **broke the news** and **man in the street**. The second type of use is the **association-deviation**. In this category, the idioms are modified through other rhetorical devices like puns or are used in an allusion, for example in COPY 103 and COPY 104. In this instance, the definitive meaning of the idioms alludes to a more literal interpretation. Thus although the syntax is that of an idiom, the meaning is not that of the same idiom. The last feature is the effect of **resonance** produced by the relationship between the photograph and the body copy, in
particular the headlines. Once again, even though the syntax is that of an idiom, the meaning is more than often literal. All these will have major implications in the translation of the body copy.

6.3 Summary
The variety of rhetorical figures within British English advertisements makes the transfer of meanings and messages an exercise that is both challenging and time consuming. Malaysian advertisements, both in English and Malay, in contrast are more basic and are stylistically consistent with the type identified by Leech much earlier, i.e. the Standard Advertising English (Leech, 1966). There are opportunities for Malaysian copywriters to affect good translations. The prerequisite, I believe, is bilingual competence in the figurative aspect of both languages.

1 This does not mean that The Times is adverse to punning as a journalistic policy. The following headline: Pasta its prime, introduces an article regarding the lack of vitality and youthfulness in the major names fronting haute couture designs (COPY 105 Appendices).

2 An emotional message that uses mood, ambiguity, and suspense to create a response based on feelings and attitudes (Wells et al., 1989: 438).
This chapter will highlight the pervasiveness of metaphors in advertising. It will further explore the cultural messages embedded in metaphors and highlight the cross-cultural issues in translating them.

7.1. Working Towards a Typology

As already stated (cf. 3.3.1.3), there are two senses to metaphor. To reiterate, the first sense refers to all figures of speech, i.e. to all non-literal language. The second sense is that the metaphor is an implicit comparison. The metaphor concisely compares two things by attributing the features of one to another (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653). Thus the first appears to function as a generic term for all figurative language. This definition is no longer current (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 653). Such an all-encompassing definition is much too unfocused to be useful in fully appreciating the second more specific definition. It is this second sense that will be explored in this chapter.

Basically, a metaphor is a means of comparing two conceptual elements. The element that is being compared is called tenor or topic. I will use topic to differentiate from the tenor that relates to register (cf. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). The basis of comparison is the vehicle and the link which the two, i.e. topic and vehicle, have in common is called the ground. These terms are those as used by Richards (cf. Ortony, 1979: 3). Other commentators use other terms. For example, Black uses primary subject, secondary subject and associative implications respectively (Black, 1979:27-28). On the other hand, Newmark uses image, sense and object when he talks about translating metaphors (Newmark, 1988a: 105).

In the metaphor: time is a limited resource, “time” is the topic and “limited resource” is the vehicle of the metaphor. The shared membership between the topic and the vehicle provides the relational basis, i.e. the ground. In this instance, “time” is equated to “limited resource”. On that basis, all that is associated with “limited resource” helps to give clarity to “time”. The assumption that makes it possible for the metaphor to be effective is that the reader is aware of the vehicle and what it constitutes. A further assumption is that the reader identifies the “correct” feature of
the vehicle. This feature must be identical with that which the metaphor creator has in mind when formulating the metaphor for the message to be successfully conveyed (cf. Glucksberg, 1989: 125-143; Glucksberg et al., 1982: 85-98). From the above example, it could be argued that the metaphor appears to be a stronger form of simile. There are arguments regarding the finer points between the essential nature of simile and metaphors, for example the form is different (cf. Black, 1979:30-31; Forceville, 1996:31-33). Black feels that a distinction has to be made between the two. Ricoeur, according to Forceville, believes that the simile and the metaphor do not differ fundamentally (Forceville, 1996: 32). For this study this is not a major issue. For now, I subscribe to Forceville's view that there is no essential difference between them (Forceville, 1996: 32).

In the metaphor men are wolves, echoing Black's earlier example (cf. Black, 1962: 39; Forceville, 1996: 7-11), it could be argued that there are no literal shared features between the topic and the vehicle that are immediately obvious. The metaphor works because the language user accepts that there are similarities or correspondence between the two, i.e. between men and wolves. Again, the "correct" similarity or similarities is/are evaluated by way of identifying the features observed in wolves. There could be a number of possibilities. For example, wolves hunt in packs and men and more particularly the younger ones appear to socialize in groups, etc. In this case the ground of the metaphor is the predatory nature, albeit in different ways, which both topic and vehicle exhibit. This relationship between the three elements, i.e. topic, vehicle and ground is summarized below in Fig. 7.1.

![Fig. 7.1: The Relationship between Topic-Ground-Vehicle](image)

There are a number of points highlighted by the above. In the earlier example, the known knowledge regarding "limited resource", for example the idea that as it is
being utilized, "resource" being "limited" will gradually become depleted could be a possible message. This is the first important point. The metaphor is a linguistic device that brings forth new information through known information. As Black puts it, 'The metaphorical utterance works by "projecting upon" the primary subject (my preferred term being topic) a set of "associated implication" (my preferred term being ground), [...] that are predictable of the secondary subject (my preferred term being vehicle)' (Black, 1979: 28-29). It could also be observed that the metaphor is another linguistic device that brings about intertextuality. By its very mechanism, the metaphor contains and incorporates accepted observations about the world (cf. Forceville, 1996: 7). Forceville rightly reminds us that Black has earlier pointed out that a metaphor cannot be understood by someone who is ignorant about the nature of the vehicle (cf. Forceville, 1996: 8). Conversely, by a similar argument, it could be extrapolated that the metaphor is a linguistic device that brings forth the unknown information through the known (and even the unknown through the unknown). In the second example above, I have accepted the assumption that it is the predatory nature of wolves that is the ground between the topic and the vehicle. In truth, this assumption lies on top of another assumption, i.e. that the vehicle is known. Our knowledge relating to wolves is arguably limited. Further detailed studies in animal behaviour, particularly amongst wolves, may shed more information regarding them. What is currently perceived, as "known" could equally in reality be the "unknown" (cf. Forceville, 1996:9-11).

The above two points bring into focus the fact that the metaphor is also dependent on a cultural context. The choice of the vehicle is going to be limited or extensive, depending on one's perspective, on the metaphor creator's experience. This would inevitably encompass the creator's schemata knowledge and of which cultural knowledge or feature s/he chooses to play an important element in the metaphor. There is thus a degree of shared communication and tacit agreement between the metaphor creator and the metaphor receiver on the basis in which to disambiguate the metaphor (cf. Glucksberg, 1989: 125-143; Glucksberg et al., 1982: 85-98). Of all the possible characteristics of the vehicle, the receiver is expected to identify the "correct" feature that is being foregrounded by the particular metaphor (cf. Black, 1979: 28-29; Forceville, 1996: 6). An effective disambiguation of a metaphor is when the receiver perceptively selects the projection of idea(s) originally decided upon by the metaphor's creator, i.e. '...what both of them understand by the words' (the lexical items in the metaphor), 'as used on the particular occasion' (Forceville, 1996: 6).
All the above more than suggest that a particular metaphor by its very mechanics is original. This aspect of originality brings into the discussion the issue of contemporariness. However, the most important point is that metaphors provide a mechanism for conveying messages.

7.1.1 Messaging Through Metaphors

Black's interactive theory is generally acknowledged to be superior to the other accounts of metaphors (Forceville, 1996:4). According to Forceville, other commentators have only reorganized and restructured Black's theory. It is important to have a good understanding of how metaphors work. However, it is sufficient for this study to adopt a general consensus theory of metaphors. For my purposes, I feel that Ortony provides such an insight into metaphor. Ortony proposes three ways in which metaphors transfer meaning (Ortony, 1975).

The first is the compactness thesis in which he argues that 'the metaphor enables the predication of a chunk of characteristics in a word or two that would otherwise require a long list of characteristics individually predicated' (Ortony, 1975:49). This is largely centred on the argument that language comprehension is influenced by background knowledge, i.e. schemata theory (cf. Andersson and Barnitz, 1984). The schemata theory strongly argues that with regard to the second language reader, the reader's background knowledge, particularly pertinent to the first language's culture, plays an important role in the reading process. This background knowledge influences the reader's reading comprehension. Ortony also shows that in a comprehension process, although he does not differentiate between the native speaker and the second language reader, a reader "reconstructs" a "mental image" of the message (Ortony, 1975).

As an example, consider the following statement: That flat tyre cost me an hour and a lot of sweat. Someone familiar with having to change their own flat tyres would perceive details not mentioned within the statement. The details might include: the speaker having to jack her/his car up, the enormous weight of the car, the speaker having to loosen the hub nuts securing the tyre to the brake drum, etc. Someone else less familiar with this activity would naturally perceive fewer details within the mental image s/he constructs. Ortony calls this filling in of details, "particularization" (Ortony, 1975: 47). It is this that enables large amount of message to be conveyed in the minimal of space and time. The degree of schemata
knowledge would reflect the degree of particularization achieved. In the reader, this would reflect the amount of message perceived.

The second method, the *inexpressibility thesis*, argues that 'metaphor enables the predication by transfer of characteristics which are unnamable' (Ortony, 1975: 49). Consider again: *Time is a limited resource*. "Time", although is measurable in terms of hours, minutes, etc., is not tangible like money. It is accepted that if "time" is not cleverly utilized, when it is past, it is gone and unrecoverable. As "time" goes on, less and less of "time" is available. In this instance, an abstract concept is made tangible and graspable within human experience.

The final method, the *vividness thesis*, allows for perceived experience to be reconstructed to enable a new experience to be comprehended. The proximity of the characteristics, of topic and vehicle utilized, enables the communication of ideas through parasitic utilization of perceived experience (Ortony, 1975: 50). This brings back to the reconstruction of a "mental image" for it is through this imagery that the communication of ideas is effected with a wealth of details that would not be achievable in a literal language. Note that through all the above, ideas are communicated by juxtapositioning and/or comparing existing coherent and recognizable experience(s) and/or knowledge. Ideas convey vivid graphic richness, emotive and sensorial messages as well.

Ortony's theses underline issues pointed out earlier and highlight further points of interest. The first is that the metaphorical principles are motivated by imagery. It is thus not surprising that 'the verbal metaphor lends itself to the visual form' (Forceville, 1996: 5). In addition, as 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5), the metaphor does enable extra-linguistic reality to be represented. Thus, the other important feature of the metaphor is that the conceptual elements of the metaphor, i.e. the topic and the vehicle could not be limited to the lexical level but must encompass the complete "systems of things" (cf. Forceville, 1996: 8). It is crucial to appreciate that, 'A metaphor does not obtain at the level of the *word* but at the level of discourse (Forceville, 1996: 9).

In addition, metaphors tend to have a cumulative effect within the discourse that to isolate disambiguation at the *lexical level* would not only be difficult but impossible.
Ullrych provides the following example in which 'the resemblance between movie-going and religion is conjured and sustained by a series of metaphors' (Ullrych, 1992: 124).

Gradually movie-going altered from relaxation to ritual. In the big cities, you went to massive picture palaces, floating through incense-laden air to the strains of organ music, to worship at the Cathedral of Light. You paid homage to your favourite star; you dutifully communed with the fan magazines. [...] You joined congregation composed of every strata of society... (Ullrych, 1992:124).

The above further leads us from the systems of "cultural imagery" to the question of whether the culture-bound imagery should be treated referentially or pragmatically. Referential treatment of metaphors particularly at the lexical level only could be limiting. The narrower sense of meanings may not have taken into account wider and other possible meanings that a pragmatic treatment of the "systems of things" would undoubtedly produce. For example, the metaphor, backwater in the Malay "systems of thing" is pragmatically hulu, i.e. the source of the river, up-river. Thus the English concept of "back" is in Malay "up" (cf. 7.3.1.2). This debate on how metaphors are to be comprehended must be answered by determining how they are generated. Lakoff and Johnson strongly contend that the metaphor is 'primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 153). This idea lends to Ortony's theses above. I contend that the level of the word is the starting point for disambiguation. The semantic field will provide the grounds on which metaphorical meanings could be explored. I intend to show that the level of discourse is equally crucial in this endeavour.

### 7.2 Metaphors in Linguistic Applications

Ortony feels that the educational power of metaphors is twofold (Ortony, 1975: 51). This explains the phenomenon of metaphors, particularly of pictorial metaphors in advertising. The vivid imagery through metaphorical comprehension effects positively towards memorability and 'generates of necessity a better, more insightful, personal understanding' (Ortony, 1975: 51). This imagery is also very effective as a means for assimilating the less well-known through knowing the well-known, in other words from moving from vehicle to topic. Thus a metaphor can be used to add to and complement knowledge about some already quite well understood topic and it can also be used to describe very unfamiliar topics (Ortony, 1975: 51). Glucksberg et al. have shown that when imagery is "far-fetched", non-literal interpretation is instantaneous (Glucksberg et al., 1982). The sequential, three-staged model as proposed by other linguists (cf. Glucksberg et al., 1982: 85), provides one account on
how non-literal expressions are understood. Sperber and Wilson (1986) have shown, based on Grice's principles, that there is an implicit agreement between communicators to co-operate in communication (cf. Tanaka, 1994). When this agreement is violated, i.e. the statement uttered by one appears untrue or illogical, the automatic reaction of the listener is to reinterpret it as a non-literal statement. This use of non-literal speech is inherent in everyday communication and so is naturally and readily transferable into advertising language (Forceville, 1996).

However, the problem that might be faced by the reader-cum-consumer of an advertising text is in assuming as in everyday speech, that there is an understanding of trust between communicators. This difference with regard to trust between communicators in everyday language and advertising language has to be realized by the reader. In advertising the ambiguity that results with non-literal language is an asset to the communicator (cf. Chapter 2; Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985). With advertising language, the reader-cum-consumer has to "work" to ascertain the true message. In everyday language, once the reader determines that the literal message is untrue, the next recourse to comprehension is to interpret it non-literally. In this instance, one message is definitely untrue and this is normally the literal one. In advertising language, the ambiguity that the literal message creates could provide a screen to the true message whether expressed literally or figuratively (cf. Chapter 6). The possibility of more than one meaning is an effective camouflage to the true message that in advertising is more than likely to be insidious.

7.2.1 Disambiguating Metaphors

A number of vital features of the metaphor have been identified. Firstly, it has to be accepted that the metaphor is a device that carries message(s) through linguistic content(s). But before we can accept that, we have to accept that the metaphor exists in some specific and identifiable "form", i.e. linguistically or paralinguistically. The verbal metaphor undoubtedly adopts a linguistic structure. This linguistic structure makes it possible for language users to create metaphors. It is this linguistic structure which makes it possible for language users, i.e. readers to identify and confront metaphors. It is this linguistic structure which is the mechanism which encapsulates the message or content of metaphors. By a similar reasoning, the paralinguistic varieties of metaphors would have appropriate paralinguistic structure of representation, for example visual metaphors are represented in visuals. In this respect, I further acknowledge the poetic or aesthetic form and function of
metaphors. The third point is that metaphors are *narrative imagery*. This imagery is analogous to the message of the metaphor. The other important feature is that because metaphors are imagery, they also convey *paralinguistic message(s)* and/or have *paralinguistic content(s)*. In addition, because metaphors utilize linguistic and paralinguistic contents, it is inevitable that metaphors are culturally specific to the language in particular, i.e. *metaphors are cultural* (cf. Forceville, 1996: 8). At the same time, it could be strongly argued that metaphors reflect the contemporary experience and realities of the particular language and specific to the corresponding cultural environment, i.e. *metaphors reflect the contemporariness of the language and language users* - the "fashionable" systems of things relating to both. I would thus attempt to summarize the above as below.

```
metaphor
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the figure used/the representation being</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>stylistics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>semantics/contents</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cultural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis-a-vis current/contemporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>imagery</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>literal/real sense of the imagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the interaction between the two above is the metaphor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>produces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>message</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linguistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paralinguistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>effect</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graphic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensorial etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

*I will now look at transferring messages encoded in metaphors into another language and culture.*
7.3  Translating Metaphors

Newmark produces the most comprehensive work on translating metaphors (1988a: 104-112). There has been very little work done pre-1976 (Dagut, 1976: 21). This sad state of affairs, according to Dagut has to be redressed as the metaphor is 'a phenomenon which is both central to all forms of creative writing, whether in verse or prose. At the same time, translating metaphors highlights one of the many occasions in which interlingual incongruence manifests itself' (Dagut, 1976:21). Dagut appears to see translation as '... the active exploration of, and struggle with discrepancies between languages. [I]t could be expected that the “metaphor” would occupy a prominent place in all attempts to establish the theoretical bases of translation' (Dagut, 1976: 21). This paradoxical neglect (Dagut's sentiment), of the metaphor could be due to the fact that linguists, psycholinguists, etc. are still trying to “understand" the metaphor as evident in the nature of research on it (cf. Ortony, 1979; Indurkhaya, 1990; etc.).

Newmark distinguishes metaphors into six different types and provides suggestions on appropriate translation procedures (Newmark, 1988a: 104-113). Newmark's categorization is specific. Mason adds to Newmark's list the "permanent metaphors" (Mason, 1982: 148). Swiatek sees metaphors on a continuum scale with fused demarcations (Swiatek, 1995: 63). Yet other commentators have other forms of categorization (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). It is useful to note that these categorizations, for example Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual system categories, are produced in the course of understanding metaphors and are not specifically formulated in relation to translating metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). It is therefore useful to adopt Newmark's suggestions as the starting point in evaluating the dilemma of translating metaphors (Newmark, 1988a: 104-113). The essence of his suggestions is examined below. I will at the same time attempt to discuss his ideas with those of other key commentators on the subject.

7.3.1  Types of Metaphors

7.3.1.1  Dead Metaphors

The first type is dead metaphors. These are metaphors, by virtue of their very names, have become so much part of the language that they are no longer within the conscious image of the language user. Ironically, the term is a misnomer. By the very definition of the metaphor, as I have outlined earlier (cf. 7.1; 7.2.1), this classification would in fact be a contradiction in terms. Metaphors are in the first
instance, "original" and "live" (Dagut, 1976: 22). Yet this is where Newmark's classifications are important. Many would agree that dead metaphors are those that relate to universal terms such as space and time. These are mainly used in science to clarify and define graphically concepts that are not initially within our human linguistic and cognitive reach (Newmark, 1988a: 106). In many respects, I see dead metaphors in the same light as Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual system metaphors. Such metaphors could be argued to have become, or are, already ingrained in our cognitive psyche (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3-6). Newmark feels that dead metaphors are not difficult to translate although literal translations are not usually possible (Newmark, 1988a: 106). He suggests that dead metaphors could be converted, when working into English translations, into phrasal verbs or metonyms (Newmark, 1988a:107). Here, Newmark appears to agree with Dagut that metaphors could not be translated. Dagut feels that 'since a metaphor in SL is, by definition, a new piece of performance, a semantic novelty, it can clearly have no existing "equivalence" in TL: what is unique can have no counterpart' (Dagut, 1976: 24).

The issue here is, if we accept dead metaphors by the definition above, we have to accept that they have become a form of linguistic representation of cognitive concepts within a particular language system. We then have to accept that dead metaphors could no longer be seen in the same light, as Dagut wants to see metaphors in general, i.e. as "a new piece of performance". We inevitably have to consider that the same or similar cognitive concepts must exist within another language system. It is generally agreed that Sapir-Whorf's linguistic determinism and linguistic relativism are somewhat overstated (Whorf, 1956; Caroll[Whorf], 1956; Salzmann, 1993:151-172, 155; Hill, 1988: 14-36). If that is so, there must be "equivalence" or at least some degree of linguistic representation of similar cognitive concepts within other language systems.

Ullrych echoes Newmark for she suggests that, 'Dead metaphors may be treated more or less as idiomatic expressions as the image they evoke has become so familiar and fossilized that they are no longer thought of as figurative (my emphasis)' (Ullrych, 1992: 121). I appreciate what Ullrych is trying to say but to dismiss the SL rhetorical form may affect the message in some cases and undermine translation opportunities in other instances. To elaborate this, I will first discuss the following examples. The dead metaphor, the leg of the table is sufficiently ingrained in our conceptual systems, i.e. in English. It could still be argued that the image is literal
and that **leg** is the lexical item denoting the vertical support of the table. The BM equivalent is **kaki meja** (literally: **kaki** = leg; **meja** = table) which could also be argued to be the literal denotation based on similar argument. The BM lexical items are classified as **simpulan bahasa**, a form of Malay figurative language (Abdullah and Ainon, 1993: 184; cf. Chapter 6). By a similar linguistic exposition, **the leg of the chair**, is **kaki kerusi** (**kerusi** = chair) and **the leg of the bench** is **kaki bangku** (**bangku** = bench). Again, both are established **simpulan bahasa**. The first expression refers to the physical vertical support of a chair. The latter expression figuratively refers to 'someone who is not good at football' (Abdullah and Ainon, 1993: 184).

Therefore I could with some caution agree with Newmark that dead metaphors are not that difficult to translate. There would be no problems translating **the leg of the table** and **the leg of the chair** into BM. With regard to **the leg of the bench**, the translator has to thread very carefully. The BM equivalent has to have two possible meanings, i.e. one has to be the established figurative meaning and the other meaning has to correspond to similar disambiguation as **kaki kerusi**. This meaning is a “literal” one. The grammatical and semantic rules of BM would allow for both meanings. The syntax and context of the discourse would determine either of the meanings. It is useful to note that a BM native speaker would denote the expression, if it were not in context of a wider text, as that of the latter meaning. However the two possible meanings of **the leg of the bench** would be obvious contextually. In this instance, converting the dead metaphor, **the leg of the bench**, into another form of rhetorical device in BM to distinguish the ‘literal’ meaning from the figurative one might be more problematic than retaining the existing linguistic form. A dead metaphor may cause problems to the translator by being reactivated, for example in a pun. In this example, English and BM are sufficiently parallel lexically for literal translations to be possible grammatically and semantically. It seems to suggest however, that converting dead metaphors into other rhetorical forms should not be the first option. What it has highlighted is that linguistic and literary schemata of both SL and TL are vital knowledge for the translator.

My problems with Ullrych and Newmark therefore centre on the following two reasons. Although there is some rationale in accepting that familiarity makes the **figurative** form invisible, as it appears above, it does not make the metaphor any less **figurative**. At the same time, is not idiomaticity non-literal, and therefore
figurative? In addition, with special regard to punning, an expression could either be figurative or literal as well as functioning as both at the same time. I have exemplified these instances in Chapter 6. The examples of kaki meja, kaki kerusi and kaki bangku above further highlight the case in point. The expressions are all listed as "figurative". The exception is that the last item could have more than one denotation. Between the two possible denotations of kaki bangku, one is more "literal" than the other, i.e. one functions as a dead metaphor and the other appears to be the equivalent to the English idiom. In the examples above, it is the degree of idiomaticity that differentiates the two meanings. Assuming that kaki bangku is the SL expression to be translated, then the importance of noting the figurative form could not be as easily dismissed as Ullrych suggests (Ullrych, 1992: 121). Identifying the rhetorical form is therefore vital in ascertaining the meaning and consequently the message of the SL form. This would inevitably provide the translator with sufficient information to explore the TL language system for optimal translation. Incidentally, this underlines Black's argument regarding the lexical level and the level of discourse mentioned earlier in comprehending metaphors (cf. 7.1).

A further example in differentiating literal and figurative is in the concept of "open". It is metaphorically apt in "open the discussion", "open the door" but is "incorrect" in the context of "open" a tap (see Ortony, 1979: 8). The last concept is however acceptable in BM and French (see Ortony, 1979: 8). What should be obvious so far, is that dead metaphors have become ingrained in the conceptual system of language systems. An exploration of TL’s conceptual systems would more than likely yield the equivalent metaphorical expression of the SL expression. Once again the prerequisite for this to occur is extensive linguistic and cultural schemata in both SL and TL.

7.3.1.2 Cliché Metaphors

The second type is the cliché metaphors, those metaphors that have ‘temporarily outlived their usefulness’ and which are emotively apt rather than meaningfully functional (Newmark, 1988a: 107). Newmark feels that the translation that is required and the client involved, are key considerations in how the metaphors are to be translated. If the text is “anonymous”, the clichés are not to be retained (Newmark, 1988a: 107). Importance is placed on the information; i.e. the optimum reaction of the reader is paramount. A cultural equivalent to the cliché may produce
an unwanted stronger emotive effect that undermines the corresponding semantic function (Newmark, 1988:107-108).

With regard to the last assertion, Newmark does have a valid point. For example, taking the cliché, *backwater*, if in reference to someone from the backwater, the BM “equivalent” would immediately be *orang hulu* or *orang kampung* (*orang* = people or person; *hulu* = the interior of the country; *kampung* = village). The English *backwater* gives the meaning of intellectually stagnant condition and implies a situation where whatever that is being referred to has stopped developing. The BM equivalents have slightly different meanings. The first is more akin to *country cousin*. The second is a spoken form and is stronger and more derogative, i.e. someone who does not know anything. Therefore a cultural equivalent in TL may not necessarily satisfy the same registeral as well as the semantic function of the SL. By a similar reasoning the opposite may also be true, i.e. a cliché in BM may be less emotive than in English and vice-versa.

The problem with Newmark’s suggestion above is that it assumes that cliché metaphors have the same linguistic value and form in the TL as it is in the SL. It is important to be reminded that Newmark’s perspective is translating into English. Here, English writing conventions are being observed. Studies in contrastive rhetoric highlight differences in linguistic and cultural conventions between languages (cf. Kachru, 1995: 21-31; Wakabayashi, 1991: 414-423). Thus, whatever the translation decision to be taken with regard to cliché metaphors is, it must take into account the languages, i.e. SL and TL, the reader and the discourse (genre and function, etc. of the SL and the TL).

It could be argued here that it is not possible to have a specific solution for this particular classification of metaphors. In other words, we have come back to the central problems of translation theory. Dagut has earlier noted the parallels between the issues involved in translating metaphors and the struggles in resolving discrepancies between languages in establishing the theoretical bases of translation itself (Dagut, 1976: 21).

7.3.1.3 **Stock Metaphors**

The third of Newmark’s types are *stock* or *standard metaphors*. These are considered as established metaphors. In an informal context the stock metaphor is
an efficient and concise method of covering a physical and/or mental situation both referentially and pragmatically (Newmark, 1988: 108). Newmark regards the first and satisfying procedure in translating such a metaphor is to reproduce the same image in the TL. This is with the proviso that the SL metaphor is still comparable and appropriate with regard to register. Therefore symbols or metonyms can be transferred where there is cultural overlap (Newmark, 1988: 108).

The second and more common method is to replace the SL image with another established image in the TL. This method however, does not normally produce the same accuracy and registeral effect. The third method is to reproduce the metaphor into the sense or the literal language (Newmark, 1988: 109). This would not affect the SL message. The SL metaphors are after all another way of producing the message which otherwise had been difficult to produce in the literal sense in the SL. The argument here is that although it might not be possible to literally produce the original message in the SL, thus “dismissing” the initial need for the metaphor, it might be naturally and linguistically possible to provide a literal message in the TL. Therefore we have a variety of methods ranging from “creating” an “original” metaphor to producing a literal expression of the message in the TL. However, the same precaution must be taken as in the examples for dead metaphors earlier. As an exemplification, the English wooden face could only be correctly replaced by the TL image of muka batu (literally: muka = face; batu = stone). The BM muka papan (literally: papan = wood; wooden) figuratively means ‘have no sense of shame’ (Abdullah and Ainon, 1993: 293). The English stony/stoney equivalent has the connotations of obdurate and heartless. Although it could be argued that there is some amount of overlap between the English wooden and stony/stoney, there is none between the BM papan and batu. The issue of linguistic and literary schemata surfaces again in the form of the connotations of lexical items.

The other issue that I have not explicitly detailed but could be a progression of the above issues is that of “cultural schemata”. Culture would provide the translator with a means of understanding the differences between the two languages, i.e. English and BM. Dagut too has noted that “cultural context” is of considerable importance when dealing with metaphors (Dagut, 1976: 32). He further states that there has been no real attempt made (at least at the point of his writing) to elaborate on what he admits as a vague concept, i.e. “culture”. This immediate study has been attempting to add further details to the above concept.

243
7.3.1.4 Adapted Metaphors
The fourth type is adapted metaphors. Newmark feels that these should wherever possible be translated by an equivalent adapted metaphor (Newmark, 1988a: 111). The emphasis in this suggestion must be on "wherever possible". For the suggestion would require the translator to be able to identify that a metaphor is adapted from another, for example stock metaphors and for the translator to appreciate the semantic expansion in the adapted version. It also requires the translator to locate a similar metaphor in the TL. Let us take the following from an advertising copy: *Tiers of Joy, COPY 74*. This is adapted from the clichéd, *Tears of Joy*. It is arguable that the headline does somehow encapsulate two meanings. The first is the immediate literal meaning from the lexical items. The second meaning is projected by a direct homophonic resemblance to the cliché. The first meaning would not be difficult to transfer into BM, i.e. *Tangga Kebahagian* (literally: Steps/Tiers Happiness). However, the second more indirect meaning from the pun, would pose some problem. To retain the two messages in the TL would require the literal meaning to be associated homophonically with the second meaning, i.e. in the TL. In addition, the translated form has to be an adapted version of an established metaphor. Once again, only with considerable cultural and linguistic overlaps between SL and TL would this be possible. In addition, the translator has to have considerable schemata knowledge in both languages.

7.3.1.5 Recent Metaphors
As its name suggests, these are newly coined metaphors. These should be treated like neologisms (Newmark, 1988a: 112; see also Newmark, 1988a: 140-150). In essence, this means that the translator has to consider a whole host of issues relating to the text, the authorship, language planning, etc. We have returned to the issues central to translation theory (cf. 7.2; Dagut, 1976: 21). In translating recent metaphors in advertisements, Newmark allows the translator to create metaphors that would be equally and pragmatically effective and follow the same sense of the SL metaphor (Newmark, 1988: 149). The translator's linguistic and cultural schemata must be sufficiently extensive to be able to identify that the metaphors in the SL are recently created. If the translator were translating into her/his language, it would require the translator to be constantly au fait with contemporary linguistic and literary developments of the SL.
7.3.1.6 Original Metaphors

Lastly, original metaphors are metaphors that have been created by the native speaker and/or created and quoted by the SL writer. This type of metaphor should be translated literally if the text is authoritative and expressive (Newmark, 1988a: 112). Otherwise, Newmark feels that the choice on which procedure to adopt is very much dependent on whether the translator wants to emphasize the sense or the image of the SL metaphor (Newmark, 1988a: 113). Translating metaphors literally may be ideal if the translator has one or two metaphors to deal with within a text. Ullrych has exemplified with a text (cf. 7.1) how metaphors tend to have a cumulative effect within the text. It is this cumulative effect, Ullrych argues, that has to be translated (Ullrych, 1992: 124). A literal translation, i.e. dispensing with the stylistic effect in such a text, would make it extremely difficult for the translator to maintain similar pragmatic equivalence in the TL.

7.3.2 A General Methodology: Translating Metaphors

Like Dagut earlier, Newmark concludes that in principle, the translation of any metaphor is the epitome of all translation (Dagut, 1976: 21; Newmark, 1988a: 113). After all, it would be the choice the translator makes in either direction, i.e., of sense or that of image which will affect the syntax and more so, the semantics of the TL text. Ultimately this choice will affect the quality of the translation. What is highlighted above is that the translator needs more than adequate language competence in the SL and the TL. There is nothing in the TL that is fixed and could be “found” as the equivalent to the SL metaphor. Metaphors in any language, unlike proverbs, are not set expressions listed in dictionaries. We have to make a vital differentiation here. In this respect, we are dealing specifically with original metaphors. The crucial question however remains, and that is whether a metaphor can be translated or whether the SL original could only be “reproduced” (Dagut, 1976: 24).

In other words, Dagut repeats an important dilemma, ‘can both, “vehicle” and “topic” be translated or only the “topic” be translated (Dagut, 1976: 25). In the example of the stock metaphors above, the English into BM translation only requires the vehicle to be translated (this is assuming that the topic is face), i.e.,
However, if the translation is from BM and it is *muka papan* (assuming that it is a BM stock metaphor) which is to be translated, the same rule could not be utilized because *muka* has to be translated too, as shown:

- **muka**
  - **meaning:** person with no sense of shame.
  - **topic**
  - **vehicle**
  - **papan**
  - **meaning:** person with no shame

Thus, both the topic and vehicle have to be translated. Crucially too, and picking up on the fact that metaphors are not “fixed” expressions, the translator would have a twofold challenge. Firstly, the translator has to unravel the metaphor. Might this exercise be equally challenging to the native speaker? Secondly, and only then, would the translator be faced with the problem of the actual process of “reproducing” the metaphor. Incidentally, Nida feels that metaphors must be translated as non-metaphors. This is in view of the problems resulting from Bible translation (cf. Nida, 1964).

In addition, as I have also tried to show what is needed ‘is a clear differentiation of metaphor from other types of semantic extension (polyseme, idiom)’ (Dagut, 1976: 32). Even though Dagut works from a small sample, he is justified in believing that,

> it is translation theory that holds the key to a deeper understanding of metaphor: there is no surer way of identifying and analyzing the specific cultural and linguistic components of a given metaphor in any given language than by interlingual comparison and contrast (Dagut, 1976: 32).

Unlike Newmark, Dagut acknowledges that there is no simplistic general rule for the translation of metaphors. It is worth noting that Dagut has not produced a classification of the various types of metaphors. His suggestions of translating metaphors are more “generalized”. The translatability of any given SL metaphor it appears, depends on the following:

1. the specific cultural experiences and semantic associations exploited by it, and,
2. the extent to which (1) can, or cannot, be reproduced non-anomalously in TL will depend on the degree of “overlap” in each particular instance (Dagut, 1976: 32).
suggestions, Dagut's suggestions appear sound. Newmark's work is useful, but the underlying assumption must be that the translator is equally versed in identifying the various categories of metaphors and then and only then could s/he applies Newmark's methods. The translator has to assess the text, the intended readership and all the other issues associated with the text and treat the text "individualistically". This means that every instance in which a metaphor occurs has to be treated specially. Newmark's suggestions (1988: 106-113) are extremely useful in filling the void in the procedures for translating metaphors, could and should only be taken as a general rule of thumb for translating metaphors.

To reiterate, there are two main considerations faced by the translator. Firstly, the translator has to be able to identify the metaphor. This means that the translator has to decode the metaphor, i.e., work out the message in the metaphor. The second is what to do with the message. Here, the translator has the choice of transferring the message into the TL in a similar style to the SL or ignore the style but at all times makes sure that semantically the message is similar to the SL metaphor. Everything actually hinges on the first consideration.

7.4 Metaphors in Advertising

Forceville notes that contemporary advertising contains many metaphors (Forceville, 1996:67). Lakoff and Johnson claim that the 'essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). The potential metaphors offer to advertising are not only obvious but enormous. Williamson elaborating through her "referent systems", has shown how advertising has indeed borrowed characteristics and features from human experiences and transposed these onto the advertised product (cf. Williamson, 1978).

As an example, note how the inanimate lady's bags in the Carlo Rino advertisement have somehow become "cool and sexy", COPY 106. This borrowing or transposition, as Williamson asserts, is 'the essence of all advertising: components of "real", our life, are used to speak a new language, the advertisements' (Williamson, 1978: 23). The metaphor humanizes the advertised product: "commodities as people" (Swiatek, 1995: 64).

The problem in getting the reader-cum-consumer to appreciate the advertised product, and more particularly a new product which is generally beyond the existing
perception of the reader-cum-consumer, is by associating the new product with a desired image or quality that is understood by the reader-cum-consumer (Williamson, 1978; cf. Myers, 1986). In advertising, the commodity advertised is juxtaposed on an object or person whose possession of the quality is "obvious" to the reader-cum-consumer. In the same way as a new piece of information is made explicit by way of an existing one, advertising uses metaphors to transmit the new message through an existing message. It is also interesting that advertising uses more than mere linguistic features of the metaphor, for advertising combines words with images. Forceville points out that the text of an advertisement is often deliberately ambiguous or enigmatic and requires information supplied by the visual to disambiguate (Forceville, 1996: 73). It would be obvious by now that in advertising copy the visual, the headline and the body copy work together. Some researchers would further claim that the three above are important in that order (cf. Swiatek, 1995: 64). Repetition of the crucial "information" in all three components of the advertising copy "verbalizes" the metaphor in the copy. This further "encourages" the intended interpretation of the message of the copy.

The reverse could be equally true (Forceville, 1996: 73). To assume that the visual information anchors the linguistic information would not do justice to the composition and the creativity inherent in advertisements. Forceville believes that inasmuch as this means that linguistic and visual information complement each other, it is also evident that the linguistic and paralinguistic features have "relaying" as much as "anchoring" functions (Forceville, 1996: 73; cf. Barthes, 1977[1964]). The frequent use of visual metaphors, particularly in advertising, makes it imperative that the translator is able to make sense of visuals (cf. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5). The translator must be able to read visuals as easily as reading the linguistic texts. This is unfortunately easier said than done for there is no such thing as a definitive "grammar" of a visual (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Barthes may have been one of the first to highlight and make sense of the image that accompanies the advertising text (Barthes, 1964). Kress and van Leeuwen have added to the reading of images (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; cf. Chapter 4). In the following section, I will look at both linguistic and visual metaphors although my emphasis is on the latter.
7.4.1 Visual Metaphors

The following advertising copy is a very good example of the wealth of information conveyed through visuals. The reader-cum-consumer sees a photograph showing two hands holding up two half-filled test-tubes at an incline. It is as if the picture has been captured at the moment immediately after the two test-tubes have been brought close together and touched. The photograph is placed in the centre of an advertisement with a headline above it and the body copy on both sides, thus surrounding it. Not surprisingly as it is part of an advertisement, the headline is far from a literal denotation of the visual:

COPY 107
Just married: Marion and Hoechst.
To your very good health!
(TIME, December 11, 1995)
Gloss:
[Baru] [kahwin] [:] [Marion] [dan] [Hoechst] [:]
[Kepada] [anda] [sungguh] [baik] [kesihatan] [:]
Prag. trans.:
Pengantin baru: Marion dan Hoechst.
Semoga panjang umur!
[Bride/bridegroom] [new] [:] [Marion] [and] [Hoechst] [:]
[May] [long] [life/age] [:]

The body copy elaborates that the advertiser is a pharmaceutical company that is involved in research and development. Hoechst, is a chemical company with pharmaceutical interests. Marion, is another pharmaceutical company. A third company Roussel Uclaf, according to the body copy, backs the first of the two companies mentioned. These companies have now merged and their new name is Hoechst Marion Roussel that incidentally also reads as a near pun: Hoechst marry Roussel. The photograph metaphorically narrates this imagery of their joined endeavour. In the first instance, the test-tubes are appropriate to the whole message. A test-tube represents each of the two main pharmaceutical companies. The test-tubes signify the scientific and technological nature of their research and development activities. The way the test-tubes have been photographed - the “toasting” position symbolizes that they are now joined as one.

In addition, the test-tubes bring to mind the collocation test-tube baby. A business merger is not a marriage in the legal social concept. None the less, it is still fraught with all the trials and tribulations of adjusting to each other with respect to practices and work ethics. A business decision of the magnitude of a merger between world-leading companies has winners and losers. A not unusual outcome is redundancies
within the existing workforce as well as new additions to the workforce. At the same
time, the companies are now legally bound, and as in a marriage are more than likely
to produce something together for their mutual benefits. This something could only
be produced by their **togetherness**, something positive, something wonderful - a **baby**. In common with everyday life and in the due cause of time, the marriage of
Marion and Hoechst would produce a baby. Denotatively, it is a new-born infant
resulting from its parents’ union. Connotatively, it is a project of personal concern.
Incidentally, **blue** is the colour in some pregnancy-test kits which gives the first indication that a baby is on its way.

There are other possible connotations of the colour blue. In the first instance, it is a
safe and pleasant colour. It may be incidental that the corporate colour of Hoechst is blue but the colour blue in English, is meaningful idiomatically. The merger of the companies may now be a reality but in the past, the companies would more likely have been rivals in the marketplace. They have now - **out of the blue** - joined forces. As this is now the situation, a toast and all the very best to them in their new relationship - **into the blue**.

Thus in the above, the transfer of meaning is through the relationship between the topic, “merger” and the vehicle is “marriage”. The process of “particularization” (Ortony, 1975: 47) fills in the rest of the messages. In this instance, all the three Ortony’s theses on metaphor are utilized. The photograph provides a vivid and compact medium to convey the messages. Although, nearly all the messages are reproduced in the body text, there are messages, for example, the concept **baby**, expressed through the visual were not expressed through linguistic expression. The above copy uses the metaphor to project the advertiser in the category of ‘companies as people acting towards other people (companies)’ (Swiatek, 1995: 70). By contrast, the following is a copy which has almost identical messages as above but projects the advertiser as ‘companies are people acting towards the environment’ (Swiatek, 1995: 70).

**COPY 108**

In the fight against disease, this could be the most powerful weapon yet.

Gloss:

[Dalam] [e] [perang][dengan] [penyakit] [,] [ini] [boleh] [jadi] [e] [paling] [senjata] [lagi] [,]

Prag. trans.:

1. **Dalam menentang/memerangi penyakit, mungkin inilah senjata yang paling mujarab.**
2. **Dalam sengketa menentang penyakit, mungkin inilah senjata yang paling membinasakan.**

250
There are two levels of metaphors here. Firstly, note that the trademark of the company is the metonymy that stands for the advertiser. This trademark, the reader-cum-consumer is told, is the "potentially miraculous" "powerful weapon" in the fight against disease. Through the headline, the reader-cum-consumer is "forced" to acknowledge, empathize and be part of this "fight". Secondly, the domain of the military is borrowed as the vehicle to project the message of the function and the identity of the advertiser. Therefore, Pharmacia & Upjohn, i.e. the advertiser, who have merged, "fight against disease", an upstandingly patriotic thing to do - fight against the enemy. That is their (the advertiser's) duty, what they do, i.e. their function. And how does the advertiser do it? The advertiser forms a partnership. This partnership (Pharmacia & Upjohn) is the "powerful weapon". What is this "powerful weapon"? It is none other than the advertiser. The visual at a glance looks like a painted rock. The incongruity of a painted rock and its purported power as a weapon against disease is intriguing. Is it a magical talisman? Or is this a newly identified mineral, plant or herb? The body copy dispels this and elaborates on the advertiser and its noble ideals. The advertiser is a group of super people, i.e. 'companies are (super) people (Swiatek, 1995: 71).

I have provided two suggestions for a pragmatic translation of the copy. The BEng headline interweaves lexical items from the military domain with the idea of overcoming disease, i.e. fight, powerful weapon. The metaphorical concept appears to be Disease is enemy (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Therefore,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bahasa Indonesia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enemy</td>
<td>musuh/lawan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight enemy</td>
<td>melawan; menentang; memerangi (to fight);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight enemy with weapon</td>
<td>senjata (weapon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to eliminate enemy weapon must be powerful</td>
<td>mujarab (powerful medicine is effective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>membinasakan (powerful weapon destroys).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first translation suggestion mixes military concepts with medical concepts:

*Dalam menentang/memerangi penyakit, mungkin inilah senjata yang paling mujarab.*

The second translation suggestion, except for identifying the topic, i.e. penyakit, = disease retains the military theme throughout.

*Dalam sengketa menentang penyakit, mungkin inilah senjata yang paling membinasakan.*
The following copy shows that although most human concepts are universal, they are not necessarily of one-to-one equivalent. In the first example below, a greater sensitivity has to be observed for cultural and religious purposes.

COPY 109
Heaven can wait.
Gloss:
[Syurga] [boleh] [tunggu] [,]
Prag. trans.:
Surga dunia.
[Heaven] [earth] [,]
Heaven on earth.

In COPY 109, the quality and "essence" of the soap is expressed visually. Note the expression on the model's face. The model is luxuriating in the bath and the "benefits" of the bath and the "soap", i.e. the advertised product appears to produce such a picture of sensual and romantic contentment on her face. The imagery and concept of "heaven" are projected through the cherub in the background and the wisps of clouds. The reader-cum-consumer could disambiguate the copy in two ways. Firstly, the product gives such a wonderful sensation that could possibly equate the attractions of "heaven". How many of us have found a hot bath luxuriating and wonderful and prioritize it as one of the pleasures of this world? On the other hand, "heaven", to most of us is after all an equally intangible and abstract concept. In the visual, it is almost as if the model is saying, 'Whatever it (heaven) is, the present is so wonderful, let me enjoy this (my bath) first'. A possible message of this is, The "real" heaven is inferior to the enjoyment of the product. Secondly, the imagery is a close interpretation of what could already be in the cognitive psyche of most readers of "heaven" (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Thus these characteristics of "heaven" are juxtaposed onto the benefits of the product.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enjoyment of the product</th>
<th>pleasures of &quot;heaven&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>topic</td>
<td>vehicle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have provided a possible translation of COPY 109, as Syurga Dunia. This is actually a BM idiom, a simpulan bahasa that means 'the (ultimate) pleasures of this world/on earth.' This translation may not transfer the above two possible messages above. It does not infer that the real heaven is inferior to the advertised product. It does pragmatically take into account the Malay-Islamic psyche with regard to "heaven". This concept of "heaven" is defined as beyond anything within our human experience. It could be argued that registerally it would be too strong to use the
concept of “heaven” in BM. It might even be blasphemous to denigrate “heaven” by inferring that the enjoyment of the advertised product is superior and that the real “heaven” could just have to wait. For the fanatically religious, read “heaven” read GOD. God would just have to wait His turn? None the less, if there are no strong feelings attached to the religious concept of “heaven”, it is still pragmatically possible to translate the headline into Adakah ini syurga? (Is this heaven?). It could be argued that it is even stylistically and pragmatically apt to have the headline as Syurga Dunia. It could be further argued that if the visual is retained, the female model might be inferred as a metonymy for “heaven on earth”. This would therefore be a different message from that of the BEng copy. This concept of “heaven” is not taken up in the BM copy (COPY 110).

COPY 110
Kini muncullah sabun baru para bintang
Gloss:
[Now] [appears] [soap] [new] [(of) stars]
Prag. trans.:
Now here comes a new soap of the stars.

The BM advertising concept and stylistics as projected by the headline appear rather dated and unsophisticated by comparison to the BEng copy. There is an absent of a “pictorial” visual. The concept, i.e. the advertised products as aspirational acquisition, the essence of the advertising is nonetheless present in the copy. Testimonial advertising works by correlating the associative value attached to the person or personality to the advertised product (cf. Williamson, 1978: 31). In the BM copy, there is no known personality involved but the idea that the product is for “stars”, i.e. celebrities and/or film stars are sufficient to give value to the advertised product, i.e. this is no ordinary product.

For para bintang read ‘beautiful, attractive, desirable females’. This is re-inforced in the body copy through, kecantikan, cantik ⇒ beauty, beautiful; wanita-wanita pujaan ⇒ celebrated women, women “worshipped”..., women adored and kulit yang cantik ⇒ beautiful skin. The lack of a visual of a beautiful woman in the BM copy is “compensated” by a flourish  with lots of curves. The typeface does not connote concepts that are “male”. The BM body copy explicitly identifies the absent personality and the reader-cum-consumer: Mungkin anda salah seorang daripada mereka (May be you are one of them (the beautiful celebrated women all over the world/of the world)). In addition, the BEng imagery is visually represented in the
copy, i.e. “tangible” and the BM imagery is absent in the copy but “present” still made in the mind of the reader-cum-consumer. The BM copy would not pose any translation dilemma linguistically. What the two copy illustrate is the “identity” of the reader-cum-consumer. This reader-cum-consumer is female and beautiful and “desirable”. The “message” is the same yet is conveyed through different narrative imagery.

The significant point from above is that it could be argued that one copy is the translation of the other and vice-versa, i.e. CLASS C variety (cf. 3.1.1 Hartmann, 1980: 37-38). The message of the two copy, which is identical: buy this exceptional product is conveyed metaphorically. The topic of both metaphors is the advertised product. The vehicle comes from different domains, i.e. the BEng copy borrows from religion and the BM copy borrows from the entertainment industry. Thus,

in BEng copy: soap is associated with heaven i.e. heavenly
in BM copy: soap is associated with glamour i.e. glamorous

It could be argued that the emotive message from the two copy may not be identical. The satisfaction from a “heavenly” experience could never be and is not comparable to the satisfaction of aping the world of the rich and famous. This is a valid point. It would be difficult to prove or disprove. It is very much dependent on cultural perspectives. However, I would further argue that the message of the two copy is identical, i.e.

in BEng copy: soap is heavenly heaven is desirable soap is desirable
in BM copy: soap user is glamorous glamour is desirable soap is desirable

or,

in BEng copy: soap = beautiful woman beautiful woman is desirable etc.
in BM copy: soap = beautiful woman beautiful woman is desirable etc.

The equivalent of the BM bintang in English is stars. Read stars, read heavenly bodies or think of “heaven”, think of “sky above” think of “stars”. Although there were no “heavenly bodies” in the BM copy, there is an example of such a heavenly body in the BEng copy. Thus, although the concept of the BEng copy appears “problematic” to transfer into BM, the concept in the BM could be capitalized in a translation into English. In addition, observe how lexical items link the concept in
the two copies. Importantly, note that it is the "connotations" of the key lexical items that motivate the processing and direct the comprehension of the advertising copy.

The next three advertisements are for Italian leather products. The first two different copies advertise ladies handbags.

COPY 111
Classic Italian features
Gloss:
[Klasik] [Itali] [rupa]
Prag. trans.: Rupawan klasik Itali
Note: rupa means looks, features, physical appearance.
rupawan means beautiful

COPY 112
Kehalusan seninya seunggul vintaj Itali.
Gloss: [Fine/Intricacies] [its art] [as outstanding] [vintage] [Itali] [.]
Prag. trans.: The fine art of outstanding Italian vintage.

COPY 113
Beg kulit buatan tangan dengan gaya tradisi Itali
Barangan kulit Benelli. Diperbuat dan boleh didapati di gedung-gedung terkemuka dan peruncit yang diiktiraf. Untuk keterangan lanjut, sila hubungi 03-2014408.
Gloss: [Bag][skin][made by][hand][with][style][traditional][Italy]
[Product][skin][Benelli][.] [Made][and][can][obtain][at][departmental
stores][known/renewal][and][retailers][who][recognized][.] [For][information][more/further][.] [please]
[contact] [03-2014408].]
Prag. trans.: Hand made leather bags made in classical Italian style.
Benelli leather products. Available in top departmental stores and licensed retailers. For further information telephone 03-2014408.

Once again, "the known", that is, what is perceived as classical Italian beauty, vintage Italian wines and Italian classical architecture are transposed onto the advertised product - ladies hand bags. The products that look like any other of its kind have now assumed values that come with the vehicles, i.e. the classical features, the renowned architecture and vintage wine respectively. I personally would not readily associate Italian wines with vintage wines. Admittedly Italians are equally renowned for their wines for example, Chianti. Not being a connoisseur and aaaaand with limited schemata, French wines would be more meaningful since Champagne is likely to be the first thing that came to mind to those whose knowledge in wines is very basic. This may be an important point. To a reader-cum-consumer whose schemata with regard to such beverages is (presumed) limited, it might be sufficient that “wine” connotes a foreign product from Southern Europe. The “Italianicity” of the advertised products is not implicit - “Italy” is mentioned in the
Based on Ortony’s compactness theory, once again, the “unknown” has now become associated with “the known” (cf. 7.1.1: Ortony, 1975: 49). There is a host of characteristics associated with Italian things or people that are now juxtaposed onto the advertised product.

COPY 114
Fresh from the factory.
Pure Intel technology. Great value.

The visual reference to eggs in the copy is significant. The other important concepts are fresh and pure. All three lexical items work through a combination of ellipses and collocations - ellipted collocations (?). The visual immediacy of the eggs brings into focus the following ideations: fresh eggs and fresh from the farm. The headline could be read as Fresh (batch of) (eggs) from the factory (farm[ing]). From fresh as in fresh eggs, the following meanings are possible:

fresh - not stale, newly harvested, newly made, novel, original, latest, most recent; newly acquired, newly created or just arrived (cf. CD, 1994[1993]: 616).

It is also useful to note that more than one egg is featured in the visual. This gives the indication of the volume produced. The concepts of volume and production are synonymous with the concept of factory. Tied in with the concepts generated by the eggs, we could have factory farming - a farm using modern industrial methods. This brings the concept of battery hens, a chiefly British practice of intensive rearing of poultry (CD, 1994[1993]: 132). The concept of battery is pertinent for the idea of the source of power that brings us back to the eggs. Note that the advertised product “powers” computers. The egg metaphor is emphasized by the trademark intel inside stamped on the eggs. It is what is inside the eggs that is the focus. The literal egg is the oval or round reproductive shell consisting of a developing embryo, the food store for new developing species, i.e. the source of the new technology. This ideation is underlined by the first sentence of the body copy: Start your computing day right, the emphasis here is on the lexical items start and day. Start your day with breakfast - English breakfast? Start refers to the beginning - the chicken and egg dilemma?

From pure, the message would most likely be that of cleanliness and purity. Note the figure of a person in a contamination suit/spacesuit-like outfit. This is a typical work gear in semiconductor factories. Impurities introduce defects in the product and affect its quality and reliability. The lexical item pure, also acts as an intensifier. At the same time, there could be a possible intertextual reference to pure gold as the
immediate sentence/phrase is *Great value*. The concept of gold could be extrapolated from the concepts of eggs and egg-yolks/embryos. The message of *high quality* is embedded in *pure*, i.e. example *purebred*. We already have the ideas of breeding through *eggs* and production through *factory*. Another idea is the concept attached to *batch*. This *batch* of product of *intel inside* is a *celeron™ processor*. There are other Intel products. This *batch* of product is distinct from the others.

The interpretations above are undoubtedly this reader's selection of the various possible meanings and message associated with *eggs* and *fresh*. The two lexical items do have negative connotations through certain uses, for example, *have all one's eggs in one basket* and *fresh* meaning youthful and inexperienced or informally meaning presumptuous and disrespectful. These connotations are not "present" in the copy.

COPY 115
Protective Shells
Rigid safety cell, side impact protection and twin airbags as standard.

Gloss:
[Pelindungan] [kulit]
[Tegar] [keselamatan] [sel] [,] [lepi] hentaman] [pelindungan] [dan] [kembar] [beg udara]
[sebagai] [standard] [.]

Prag. trans.:
1. Perisai Kulit
2. Kulit Berperisai
3. Pelindungan Kulit

Sel keselamatan tegar, pelindung hentaman sisi dan beg udara berkembar sebagai standard.

It is the protective nature of the bodywork of the advertised product that is the message. If we assume that this message is the “unknown” information, then the advertisement encapsulates all three of Ortony's methods of meaning transfer very satisfactorily. Firstly, the attributes of the protective nature of the bodywork is summarized through examples of other "shells", i.e. *compactness thesis* (cf. 7.1.1; Ortony, 1975: 49). The information is presented visually with common and less common items. Therefore the “unknown” is also utilized to convey the “known”. At the same time, the examples allow characteristics that are not specifically identified to be metaphorically transferred onto the advertised product, i.e. *inexpressibility thesis* (Ortony, 1975:49). For example, the sea-urchin has a “thorny” outer body. This gives the appearance that the sea-urchin’s body is not only its protection but acts as a weapon against predators. There are nine different “shells”, apart from the
one labelled “human”. This provides a wide schematic information. If a reader-cum-
consumer is unfamiliar with most of them, there should be at least one or two that
s/he has schemata knowledge of. Thirdly, the visual examples vividly allow the “new”
experience of the human example to be comprehended, i.e. vividness thesis
(Ortony, 1975: 50). The communication of ideas is through parasitic utilization of the
examples in the proximity of the “unknown”. The concept of the “shell” as a
protective outer layer could be argued as universal. The information attached to
“shell” is that it is “hard”. In BM, shell translates as kulit, i.e. skin. Specific type of
skins has its own lexical referent. For example, the hard shell or skin of the coconut
is tempurung, the hard shell of molluscs is cangkerang and tortoises have karapas.
However, kulit is accepted as the generic term for all these specific shells. In the
translation above, I have provided three pragmatic suggestions. I have translated
protective as perisai, i.e. shield, berperisai, i.e. with shield and perlindungan, i.e.
protection. These would convey the intended message of the advertising copy.

The concerns of false friends materialize above. The following equivalences are
given by the Kamus Dewan English-Malay Dictionary (KDIM, 1992: 1459 and
1500 respectively):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shell</td>
<td>kulit (skin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cangkerang</td>
<td>(skin of molluscs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempurung</td>
<td>(skin/shell of coconut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karapas</td>
<td>(skin of tortoise and turtle).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However kulit is the generic term for the outer layer of most animate and inanimate
objects and functions as a modifier. Therefore, cangkerang is kulit keras siput (the
hard skin of snail) and karapas is the hard skin of tortoise, etc.

The copy is more than 90% visual and the same percentage of the advertising
message is conveyed through the visual elements. Any of the suggested translation
would direct the attention of the reader-cum-consumer towards the visual and
consequently towards the metaphorical messages in them. It might be opportune for
the advertiser to replace one or two of the examples with those more familiar to the
BM reader-cum-consumer. For example, the visual of the tortoise could be replaced
with a visual of a turtle. In Chinese culture the turtle is a symbol of longevity. The
horse-chestnut could be replaced with a durian, similar looking visually and definitely
more familiar and possibly more favourable to a BM reader-cum-consumer. The
attributes of the durian’s protective skin are common knowledge to ardent durian
lovers. The degree of “known” knowledge to the SL reader-cum-consumer could be
COPY 116
Stainless steel and ebony.
The new Vectis 300. The advanced Photo System sophisticate. Encased in silky smooth, sensual, yet strong, stainless steel. With 3 x power zoom, the Vectis 300 sets the scene. A steal at around £260.
VeCtis
Only from the mind of Minolta.

The human body is used as a backdrop to enhance and encapsulate the "beauty" of the advertised product. In the first instance, the contrast between the dark background and the "glinting" stainless steel makes the product visible. The muscular naked chest projects a certain degree of sensuality to the nondescript looking camera. In this advertising copy, it is the male sexuality that is being utilized to correlate with the product.

Ebony is presumably the solid, hard looking naked chest. The chest belongs to an unidentified person but this person's body language, the way he holds the product suggests that he is a strong person and not just physically powerful. He is not offering the product to the reader-cum-consumer. Holding it close to his chest (his heart?), is he showing it off? The product is placed close to his pectoral muscles, i.e. pectoralis minor and pectoralis major -"pectis" - Vectis (vet this - pun), this is mine'. The muscular beauty and the "strength" of the model's muscles are juxtaposed onto the streamlined elegance and presumably the manoeuvrability of the mechanisms of the camera. The steel (sti:l) in his hand is his and he is aware that it might be desirable to you, that you might want to "steal" (sti:l) it. Steel (sti:l) brings to mind, steel determination. Stainless brings to mind, unblemished reputation.

The body copy elaborates that the product is a sophisticate. It has a 'silky smooth, sensual, yet strong, stainless steel'. What the reader-cum-consumer could see in the visual that is silky smooth, sensual, yet strong is the model. Yet a sophisticate is someone or something that is cultured, complex or refined. It is the Vectis 300 which "sets the scene". The product cannot do this. It has to be manipulated by its user - a human. The advertised product is humanized: "product as people" (Swiatek, 1995: 66; Williamson, 1978). The immediate human characteristics are already made
familiar by the visual. These are transferred onto the product. The domain of photography and films are used through "sets the scene".

COPY 117
It took you a long time before you could walk. Air France will save you some when you want to fly.

The headline does not say exactly what it is that you will save when you want to fly with Air France. Although "time" is the natural assumption the ellipsis has a number of benefits to the advertiser. This is arguable (cf. Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985: 20). The reader-cum-consumer might be intrigued enough to want to process the rest of the copy. In addition the visual is reassuring. "Trust" is an imagery that is being encouraged. Whether the reader-cum-consumer identifies her/himself as the adult or the child, the emotive message is positive and pleasant. There are many more people who suffer from acute fear of flying and this emotive message could possibly "lulled" them into a positive attitude of flying with Air France. On a sombre note, this imagery of the visual could conjure less pleasant memories to another reader-cum-consumer, for example a person who had been abused as a child might not be comforted by the visual. It is worth remembering that advertisements project ideal circumstances or desired circumstances. Advertising is not necessarily successful all the time (cf. Séguinot, 1995: 59; Ricks, 1993). None the less there is a greater certainty that the visual would be positively received. It encapsulates a universal message. In fact there are two messages from the visual, i.e. "trust and care/love".

The intended message of the visual metaphor is elaborated in the body copy. A literal translation of the headline with the same visual would produce similar linguistic and emotive message.

COPY 118
The principles of the unexpected.

The accompanying visual shows a man in a suit standing amongst a flock of sheep. It is not expected for such an elegantly suited man to be placed in such a context. The model is presumably wearing wool, i.e. man in wool clothing. An adapted/extended metaphor is being employed here: wolf in sheep's clothing (cf. 7.3.1.4). The reader-cum-consumer is already told through the headline, to expect the "unexpected". The "man" is then "not a wolf". Even if he were, the message would not be "insulting" to him. Double-standards and the politically incorrect
acceptance that a “rake” is more attractive than a “doormat” is still widespread socially.

There are a number of considerations to take into account in this copy. Firstly, the advertised product is implicitly specific, i.e. wool clothing. Another more culturally acceptable animal could not replace the association with “sheep”. The problem here then would be the product. Would there be a market for wool clothing in a very hot climate? We are redirected to the advertiser - **Principles**, a clothing company. The name of the advertiser is incorporated in the headline. The headline could be translated almost literally, whilst maintaining the advertiser's name into **Principles tanpa Prasangka**. **Prasangka** means negative or bad expectations of someone or preconceived views, usually negative ones, regarding something or someone. **Sangka** means, expect or expectation. The company has a variety of other types of clothing types. So the visual could be substituted. The man could be in a different outfit and in another location. One possibility could have the model wearing leather shoes or outfits and have him stand amongst crocodiles on land. The visual would “read” as **buaya darat**, i.e. land crocodiles or crocodiles on land. **Buaya darat** is a **simpulan bahasa** meaning a **Don Juan**, a womaniser or a man who likes women - a skirt-chaser. The similarities in the meanings between the BM figurative form and the English are noticeable. Firstly, the BM figure specifically refers to “man”, the male gender. Similarly, “wolf in sheep clothing” also refers to the male gender. Secondly, the nature of the “negative” attribute is retained in the BM although it may be more forceful and so may not be similarly focused. The same of someone who could not be trusted is still conveyed. The opportunity here is for an established figure to be further extended.

Again, a purist could argue that the effects of the two figures, **wolf in sheep's clothing** and **buaya darat** could not be identical in the specific languages to its reader-cum-consumer (cf. Dagut, 1976). This is again a socio-cultural issue. However, it could be further argued that an advertising text is not comparable to a serious literary text. The above suggestion would not undermine “information” quality in the former as it would in the latter. It does show that **discourse** play an important consideration in disambiguation, as would **lexical items**.
Kesegaran
Bagaimanakah cara untuk mengekalkan supaya kulit anda kelihatan segar dan muda? Cecair Oil of Ulan Moisture Protection Cream bertindak seperti semula jadi di dalam kulit muda untuk menggantikan cecair lembap penting yang hilang. Sistem pengikat kelembapan yang unik mengunci lembapan sehingga 12 jam. Ini bermakna kulit akan sentiasa segar, lembut dan muda jelita.

KERANA KULIT MUDA MEMERLUKAN OIL OF ULAN.

The visual metaphor here is the link between a fresh red apple and a tub of face cream. The reader-cum-consumer is directed to the freshness and the juicy, appetising looking apple. The drops of water on the apple could not be natural but it gives the message of "moisture", i.e. not parched dry. In addition, it gives the impression that the fruit was picked very early, i.e. when dew was still on it. The early picking adds to the concept of freshness. Red on a green background is also fortuitous. Many things are associated with red and green, either specifically to one colour or to the two colours together as with Christmas, Chinese New Year and even Eid. Chinese would give and receive red packets, ang paus with money during Chinese New Year. Malays have adopted and adapted the custom and give similar looking but green packets instead. Red as a whole is a positive colour to Malaysians. The green leaves in the visual are equally “fresh” looking. With the image of the red, fresh apple still in the mind, the reader-cum-consumer is then confronted by question (2). The “answer” is immediately given below it. The red delicious fresh looking apple is substituted by the tub of the advertised product. It is almost as if all the goodness of the apple has been extracted and put into the tub. The body copy tells the reader-cum-consumer that the liquid oil of the product acts like natural “liquid” to replace the important moisture that are lost. The significance of the unnatural drops of water on the apple is now clear. In this advertising copy the reader-cum-consumer is directed by the layout. The way the reader-cum-consumer processes the text is directed by the copy. The reader-cum-consumer is forced to see the red apple as fresh - segar. All the associated values of the red apple is then equated to the advertised product.

COPY 120
The new Club World cradle seat. Lullaby not included.

The advertisement is a visual pun and a visual metaphor. The seat is aptly called “cradle” seat. This is immediately perceived in the visual. The woman has a baby “cradled” in her arms. The baby's face is replaced by the face of an older man.
Presumably the experience of sleeping in the "cradle" seat is similar to that experienced by a baby in her/his mother's arms. This is the metaphor and an especially emotive one. The reader-cum-consumer is reminded that 'Lullaby not included' and the message of being cradled is reinforced. It is this second sentence that makes the metaphorical link between the "cradle" seat and the comfort attached to seating on it. If the reader-cum-consumer has no true knowledge of what the "cradle" seat looks and feels like, s/he has now some awareness of it (cf. Ortony, 1975: 49; 7.1.1).

7.5 Discussion and Summary: Translating Imagery Linguistically

In the translation of the metaphor, as with other literary figure, 'there is not only meaning to be transferred but also the form of that meaning: the illusionary pattern created by the association and the underlying and surface structures' (García, 1996: 158). Garcia points out that the formulations of the figurative language, particularly with regard to serious literary work, are often the result of conscious and deliberate design (García, 1996:158). The aptness of these literary forms does at times appear fortuitous but this very fact is the "genius" of it all. In this respect, there are parallels between the metaphor and advertising.

Firstly, both metaphors and advertising convey messages. Secondly, the two do that by being subtle: the surface message is not necessarily the real message but is the form that implicitly contains the true message. Thirdly, it should be obvious to some extent that generally both metaphors and advertising are linguistically paralinguistic communications. Fourthly, both communications are directed towards an identified targeted language user. Another important similarity is that the two types of communication are taken seriously by their creator and the creators want to achieve something out of the communication. The metaphor creator wants to impart specific information and chooses a linguistic form within the language system which would make that possible. The creator of the advertising copy too wants to impart her/his set of information and consciously designs the appropriate elements for the communication.

With respect to the above, the metaphor translator might be able to learn from the copywriter. The following diagram best sums up the problem that the translator has to face when confronted with a literary device.
Fig. 7.3: How Message is Conveyed Figuratively

The translator has to transfer the SL message “hidden” in the figure. S/he has to produce a TL figure containing the SL message. In reality, the translator has to translate the real sense of the SL figure and the analogous message to that figure such that the TL message is equivalent to the SL message. For example, in *kaki bangku*, the real sense is the literal meaning, i.e. *the leg of the bench* and the figure used is the stylistics of the figure that could include alliteration, puns, etc. It is the interaction between the real sense of the figure and the analogous message that produces the true message. The problem is arriving at the same message with a similar figure in TL. I have purposely used “similar” because although BM is a highly figurative language, there is no one-to-one correspondence between literary figures in English and BM which produce the same message in the same stylistics and with the same degree of effect. It is inevitable that some linguistic forms are prominent in a particular language system and yet are absent in another.

The analysis in this chapter has highlighted a number of points. Firstly, the approach Newmark uses in disambiguating metaphors, i.e. sense and image appear highly appropriate (Newmark, 1988a). The imagery is the mechanism in which the metaphorical message is encoded. The translator could reproduce the same message using different codes. In this instance, Garcia’s suggestion of exploring other domains for the codes that would produce the same message is a recommendable solution (Garcia, 1996). For example, the concept of “desirability” appears to have been projected through “religion” and through the glamorous world of show business and entertainment (cf. COPY 109 and COPY 110). What is useful from advertising, particularly from British advertising, is that the imagery are not permanently bound in classical elements. In fact, classical schemata are upgraded and modernized. We did not see the model in COPY 118 in shaggy sheep wool. The model is in a smart suit that we inferred to be wool. Therefore, when confronted by a metaphor in the SL text, the translator could develop a similar classical or
literary imagery and extend it in the TL text. In other words, the translator could extend a TL literary figure or an established figure. This might explain why putih sebagai salji is now as common as putih sebagai santan, etc. (cf. Chapter 3). The opposite could also be possible. A modern expression in SL could be transferred in the TL through an established figure. The proviso is that the message and the effect in TL are comparable to that in the SL. Lastly, although I accept that the metaphor should not be disambiguated at the lexical level only, it is evident that the lexical level should be the starting point of disambiguation. The one thing to keep in mind is the problems that could arise from false friends (cf. COPY 115). The translator is never far away from the problems of culture-bound imagery. In this chapter we have returned to the issue of translation theory itself, i.e. pragmatic versus referential.

Endnotes:

1 This literally means Principles Without Bad Expectations. It does appear opposite in meaning to the BEng headline. However together with the suggested visual below that will follow, I think there are merits for the translation (cf. Chanel COPY 24 and COPY 25).
Gender and Language: The Translation of Gendered-Communication

I have raised some gender issues indirectly in earlier chapters. In this chapter, the issues regarding gender and language, particularly pertaining to linguistic sexism, are further explored through the process of translation. The chapter is largely centered on the depiction of female experiences and gendered differences linguistically in culture. It is important to state here that my perspectives throughout this study, and in particular in this chapter are non-Western. This clarification is important because contemporary recognition and articulation of Western gender issues, i.e. sexism is tied to feminism. The feminist movement is unarguably a Western concept at least in the forms that feminism and the feminist movement are understood at present. The analysis throughout this chapter will be from a contemporary Malaysian perspective, although this perspective is tempered with Western-influenced education and socialization. I will briefly discuss contemporary feminism and the feminist movement because I feel that the related ideology is not readily understood from a Malaysian world-view (cf. 8.2.1). It is not that the Malaysian translator is likely to be unsympathetic to the ideology, although that would not be surprising considering Malaysian world-view, it is more likely that s/he is ignorant of the background and the issues relating to them.

My main focus is the transfer of meanings between the three languages, i.e. British English (BEng), Malay (BM) and Malaysian English (MEng). With regard to gender-related aspects of language and the transfer of information through advertising. Gender related issues provide another measure of assessing the influence of language on the Malaysian socio-cultural environment. Accepting that many gender issues have been earlier researched and identified in Western literature, I will use BEng advertisements as the basis for contrastive analysis of similar gender issues in Malaysian advertising texts. This would make such issues appear as a more “noticeable” element in the language, i.e. when expressed in BM and/or MEng. An added benefit of analyzing gender issues in advertising would be to provide a measure of the potential power of advertising language through cross-cultural communication as Malaysian advertising practice and techniques are largely based
on Western ideology and practice (cf. Anderson, 1984: 198-237; section 2.3.3). To put it simply, analyzing advertising texts would show the power, exercised through language, of some groups of people over others.

8.1 Gender: What and Why

A brief account of gender is useful. There are two definitions of gender important to this chapter. Firstly, gender refers to the sexual identity of a person, i.e. male or female. The second definition refers to the grammatical distinction in which words such as nouns, articles, adjectives and pronouns are categorized into sexual groups, i.e. between masculine, feminine, and sometimes neuter (Richards et al., 1992: 153).

It is worth noting that generally in academic studies, for example in Gender Studies, gender is rarely equated to the “biological” but is mostly concerned with the “cultural construct”. With respect to the second definition, Corbett finds gender the most puzzling grammatical aspect of all grammatical categories (Corbett, 1991: 1). Grammatical gender is widespread. Corbett's study on gender covers over 200 languages. Gender is prominent in the languages of the Indo-European family. It is noted in 600 African languages. Swahili, for example, has a system of classification that has been unkindly referred to as “primitive”, having seven "classes" of nouns (Gervais, 1993: 121-122). Yet in some other languages, and this includes other African languages, the gender category is totally absent. Several of the major Asian languages are devoid of grammatical gender (Corbett, 1991: 2). Other grammatical gender-less languages include Eskimo, Hungarian, Turkish and some American Indian languages (Gervais, 1993: 121).

The origin of gender is from the Latin: genus, meaning, “sort” or “kind”. This lexical item has come into modern usage through gendre of old French (Corbett, 1991: 2). It is the originally colloquial or euphemistic usage of this lexical item that later denotes sex. The grammatical gender is a mere linguistic convention and not a linguistic expression of the category of sex (Pauwel, 1998: 68). This could also account for Pauwel's observation,

It is not surprising then that a major reaction coming from both professional and lay sectors of speech communities was (and still is) one of denial: denial that sexism in language exists and denial that it has detrimental effects on the position of women and the relationship between the sexes in society (Pauwel, 1998: 67).
In English grammatical distinctions, gender is mainly confined to the third person singular pronouns, personal, reflexive and possessive, i.e. the feminine: she/her/hers/herself versus the masculine: he/him/his/himself (McArthur, 1994 [1992]: 430). It is important to make a distinction between grammatical gender and what is now accepted as natural gender, i.e. the category of sex.

Another important distinction is that although the feature of sex is important in many natural genders systems, this is not necessarily the case (Pauwels, 1998: 37). The current English gender system is said to be essentially one of “natural gender” based on the inherent sex characteristics of the noun (Pauwels, 1998: 37). It has been said that some modern linguists deny that the grammatical gender categories of “masculine” and “feminine” bear no relationship whatsoever to the categories of “male” and “female” (cf. Pauwels, 1998: 37). Another thing to note is that grammatical gender is central or pervasive depending on the language (Corbett, 1991: 1). A language may have two or more classes of gender. It is important to realize that although in most languages, the classification frequently corresponds to a real world distinction of sex, i.e. male, female or neuter, it is not a universal distinction within languages. In Tamil, for example, the classification for classes of nouns is “high caste” and “low caste”. As with most Dravidian families of languages, Tamil places great importance on the typology of gender. The modern terms for the two classes above are rational and non-rational (Corbett, 1991: 9). Unfortunately there is no known study which shows how “high caste” and “low caste” classification interacts with natural “high caste” and “low caste” issues in the same way in which “natural gender” classifications have influenced linguistic sexism. French grammatical distinction, on the other hand, is between masculine and feminine (Gervais, 1993: 121). These categories do not always correspond to the natural gender distinction between male and female and are not so straightforward. These categories exhibit instability through the ages. Gervais quotes a number of feminine words like, successrice and ministresse, which were in common usage in the Middle Ages and have now been “lost” (Gervais, 1993: 126; 130). This instability in the grammatical gender is also apparent as some French words change gender when used in the plural (Gervais, 1993: 125). This instability seems to endorse the discussion on meanings being destabilized through linguistic and socio-cultural influences (cf. Chapter 3).
It can be seen that gender differentiation is not categorically fixed according to sex, i.e. natural gender. The categories could also be termed as noun classes (Corbett, 1991: 10). As Gervais points out, accepting that '... the distinction between sexes led to the division between genders in grammar' would not '... account for a multitude of nouns which are inanimate and cannot be linked to one sex or another' (Gervais, 1993: 121). For example in English, *ship* can be classified and personified (by sailors, etc.) as feminine. This is personification and relates to particular usage rather than grammatical gender. In humankind reality it can never be successfully argued that a ship or any ship is *female* nor has it feminine attributes. Gender can be based on human versus non-human categories as much as animate versus inanimate differentiation. The categories could vary between four to twenty possible classes. Once again, it is vital to underline this instant that names or terms used for different genders are not significant (Corbett, 1991: 9). This would therefore mean that the denotative meaning of the gender categories could not be and are not meaningful. Consistency of the preferred term in usage is important (Corbett, 1991: 10). It is useful to note that linguistically the choice of gender categories, i.e. whether based on sex or caste system, is supposedly irreverent to its respective semantics. Yet it is interesting to note that it does appear to be somewhat pertinent to the socio-cultural environment of the language (cf. Miller and Swift, 1995[1981]; cf. section 8.2.2).

Accepting for the moment that the semantics of gender, and its categories are not important, the query on its functions within the grammatical system of the language still remains unanswered. It has been suggested that gender is associated with the semantic systems (Corbett, 1991: 7). In this instance it means that the meaning of a lexical item, for example a noun, determines its gender. Conversely, given the gender of a noun or a pronoun as well as the other lexical items accompanying it, the reader can infer something about its meaning. This, through "assignment systems" may aid the first language learner in determining the semantics of lexical items. For example, *Jacintha's dress fits her beautifully*. Immediately, the reader knows that the dress fits a female person and that the dress belongs to Jacintha. The reader might infer that the female person is Jacintha. The lexical item "beautifully" further concentrates the context to be "female/feminine" related. However in, *Jacintha's dress fits him beautifully*, the reader is being told that if Jacintha is female, as the
name would imply that there is definitely another person who is being talked about and that person is male. The BM translation of the first statement is *Baju Jacintha muat dengan cantik di badannya*. The pronoun *her* in English is the BM -*nya*. The translation of the second statement *Baju Jacintha muat dengan cantik di badannya* is acceptable only if there has been a cataphoric reference or there will be an anaphoric reference to the second person, i.e. "him". Therefore the same statement in Malay would not yield the gender of "nya". The third person pronoun in BM does not indicate the gender. The third person pronouns of inanimate objects are also non-gender specific. The wider context of the text would provide the necessary background information. In its absence, the BM to English translation would not be able to provide information regarding the gender of -*nya*. The BM sentence is a correct translation in a wider context but as a statement by itself it does not have the same meaning as the one in English. It could be argued that the lack of gendered values in lexical items in BM poses limitations on the reader's comprehension. Yet the foreign language learner and the translator working in the language may not welcome this same feature. This is because amongst languages that use the "masculine" and "feminine" as a gender distinction, with the exception of pronouns the masculine/feminine gender in one language does not automatically correspond to the masculine/feminine gender in another (Corbett, 1991: 10; Gervais, 1993: 122). In other words, the set of nouns that are listed as feminine in the one language may contain a rather different set of nouns in another language. The feminine gender in French contains large numbers of inanimate objects; yet the corresponding "feminine" gender in Tamil does not (Corbett, 1991: 10). As a further elaboration, *ship* is a feminine noun in Italian and German but in French, it is a masculine noun, and; in Malay, *ship* is "neuter". Malay does not have such a grammatical category, *ship* as other inanimate nouns in Malay is "gender-less".

It has been suggested that one function of the gender system in languages is to disambiguate various constructions (Corbett, 1991: 320). With the examples above, the BM sentence is ambiguous because its pronoun does not denote gender. However as Claudi has shown, the earlier suggestion does not ring true in German (Claudi, 1985: 33-45 cited by Corbett, 1991: 320). Heath on the other hand, believes that a major role of gender is as the glue that holds a language system together. Apparently this seems to be the case in Nunggubuyu, an Australian language
Another major role of gender is referential tracking. In Yimas, Foley and Van Valin believe that gender carries most of the load of referential tracking (Foley and Van Valin, 1984: 327 cited by Corbett, 1991: 322). Secondary to that role, gender shows the attitude of the speaker. The use of a particular gender may be fixed or it may be available for "switching" in particular circumstances according to the speaker's attitude.

It is important at this juncture to reiterate Claudi's assertion that the names given to the various gender categories are not significant (Claudi, 1985: 33-45 cited by Corbett, 1991: 320). This means that whether a particular lexical item is feminine or masculine or high caste or low caste is irrelevant to the true meaning of the term used. As argued above, this means that when a ship is classed as a feminine noun, it does not in reality mean that it is feminine in the sense that a human being is feminine. Or for that matter, should it be classed as high caste or rational, i.e. the gender categories in other languages, it has to be understood that there is no semantic link between the gender category and the ship. However I believe that the usage of whatever term used for the gender category, is "meaningful" to the language user. The term used has a meaning that the language user is familiar with, and inevitably s/he will utilize it in her/his cognitive process. It may be a means to aid her/his competency of the language. This is where I fear, particularly with reference to natural gender categories, the whole problem of "gender" in language originates, particularly with respect to "gendered connotations" in semantics.

In summary, there are three main points to note. Firstly, that gender in language is a category of grammatical distinctions. Secondly, gender need not be based on natural gender and thus not tied to the sexes. Thirdly, gender can determine meanings. The following section will explore the more widespread issues of gender in society and in language.

8.2 Historical Perspectives: Gender and Language

To understand why the grammatical gender has become an issue of linguistic sexism within some language system, for example in English, it is imperative to have some idea about feminism and the feminist movement. A brief account of both would not do justice but I will attempt to put some perspective into these concepts.
Gender is a sociolinguistic issue in English language and one that has given great impetus to the current drive towards political correctness. Feminism and the feminist movement are undoubtedly at the root of it all. It is useful particularly for the Malay translator to have an awareness of the two and its context within the socio-cultural environment of the English language.

It must be emphasized that feminism and the feminist movement as currently understood are largely Western in origin. The two concepts have never been fully explored within the Malay socio-cultural environment. This is obvious by the lack of material on the subject in Malay. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, issues that appear to be alien to the socio-cultural needs of Malaysians are readily dismissed as unimportant to the point of being “nonsensical” particularly from the Malay and so called “traditional” Asian perspective. This is not to say that there is no women’s movement and no agency fighting for specifically women related rights and needs. There are, but these agencies’ ultimate goal is for general equality for all members of the society. Secondly, feminism and the feminist movement may not have triggered a sympathetic chord with the Malay language. Sadly once again, issues that on the outset appear alien to the culture and the needs of the society are never of much interest and therefore never explored. Whatever the reasons, the outcome is a general ignorance coupled with many misconceptions regarding the two concepts.

8.2.1 Contemporary Feminism and the Feminist Movement
One might date that the current wave of Anglo-American feminist consciousness started from the late 1960s and early 1970s (Coote and Campbell, 1986; Simon, 1995: 2; Von Flotow, 1997: 5-12). It is not to say that women have not been aware of social injustices that they had to suffer in the past. It is just that that was the “right” period and the “right” social climate in the West, which has to date produced some radical and significant changes about the role of women in society that women are currently benefiting (Coote and Campbell, 1986).

8.2.1.1 Gender and Linguistic Injustice
These social injustices manifest themselves in the language. One of the main objections of the feminist movement is the use of the generic “man” to mean men
and women. Miller and Swift provide an interesting etymological account of the generic *man* (Miller and Swift, 1995[1981]: 12). Although in old English, *man* meant *person*, the narrow senses of *man* to refer to an individual male and the usage that refers to both men and women had become established by the eighteenth century. Thomas Jefferson, for all his good intentions, used the word "men" to mean "males". For quite a while this usage in the American statutes excluded the other half of Americans from its government and power base. Thomas Jefferson had stated (rightly or wrongly - depending on his personal denotation of "men" of course), that "all men are created equal". He was interpreted, it is assumed, as stating "all males are created equal" (Miller and Swift, 1995[1981]: 12). Fortunately, it has come to a point in women's civilisation to have to accept that men in the men's own interests, do not have the desire nor the impetus to be part of the "generically" *man* or *men*.

A look at pre-1970s advertising copies, for example COPY 121, would show that society was encouraged to see women as dependent upon men, i.e. on males' fortunes and that women are hangers-on on men wealth (cf. Littlefield and Kirpatrick, 1970: 72). This tongue-in-cheek copy alerts the male person to take note of this potential threat to their hard-earned money. As much as women being "freed" from marrying their children's fathers, the pre-1970's men were given further overt encouragement to having it all. Women are seen as "scroungers" on men's wealth and well being. Coote and Campbell acknowledge that Greer 'sought neither to blame nor diminish men' but her book 'introduced many thousands of women to a new sense of themselves' (Coote and Campbell, 1982: 20). This attitude towards the whole issue of equality is significant.

8.2.1.2 **Issues of Equality**

The main focus of the feminist movement has resulted in two key issues. The first shows that the differences between men and women have been largely due to artificial behavioural stereotyping (Von Flotow, 1997: 6). This stereotyping is in some ways similar to that I have discussed in earlier chapters, a "learned" art or knowledge that could be argued as gender conditioning. The previous advertisement, COPY 121, could be part of this subtle gender conditioning. As with other "learned" things, this stereotyping could actually be "unlearned" and be eliminated. Advertising texts
provide opportunities to explore this element of “learned” and “unlearned” gender features.

Secondly, the feminist movement has highlighted the instances where females are exploited culturally and politically. Women subjugation has been assessed in the open and this has given women the opportunity to redress social imbalances that are the result of their gender. It has also given women the impetus to be individuals and to exercise their rights within society.

8.2.1.3 Anglo-American Feminism versus French Feminism

There is a divide between the various strands of feminism. This divide is significant in fundamental terms and is important in relation to how language is affected. English feminism is largely the result of a social movement reacting to social injustices as I have briefly outlined above. The American wave has its origin in the grassroots women’s movement set into momentum following the Civil Rights campaign in America (Sellers, 1991: xiii). On the other hand, the French feminist movement is largely based on French feminist writing that was in the main a response to a philosophical tradition (Sellers, 1991: xiii). Anglo-American feminism believes in women reclaiming their rights within society. The French feminists, however, feel that equality if achieved under the present socio-cultural system would only force women to function like men. The latter advocates a more revolutionary and aggressive approach for they believe that equality could only be achieved by challenging the present system itself (Sellers, 1991: xiv). To the French feminists, their re-examination of the major works which have shaped Western society, for example, Greek philosophy of Plato, show that Western socio-cultural in every aspect, i.e. political, academic, etc. is encoded from a male view of the world. At the heart of the French feminist debate is the fact that this world-view is translated into the language and transmitted across centuries of learning so that it appears both natural and inevitable (Sellers, 1991: xiv). Thus language embodies, carries and preserves man’s, i.e. males’ vision of the world. The world has no intrinsic meaning prior to the structures society imposes on it, and since it is in language that these structures are symbolized, language holds the key to their understanding and to initiating change (Sellers, 1991: xiv). The French feminists see that women could never have their rights in a patriarchal society. The whole structure of society has to
be changed before women could achieve equality with men. Basically the French feminists are saying that without the changes to the present system, women only make it in a men's world.

The Anglo-American feminists have also noted that language oppresses women and they put the stress on 'the power of "naming" and the debilitating effects on women of our masculine or negative linguistic placing' (Sellers, 1991: xiv). However their "recommendation" to the changes in language, i.e. neutralizing "gendered-terms" like 'chairman' into 'chairperson' is nothing short of surface changes to some staunch French feminists. To these French feminists, language is not only intrinsic to the way individuals and society think - the way individuals and society perceive themselves and others and construct both their public and private persona and their world. The French feminists do not believe that adding women's voices to the debate can simply right the resulting omissions and restrictions. The patriarchal system is so entrenched in language that women trying to overcome conditioning and becoming man's equal is not the way. Anglo-American emphasis is on women articulating their experiences. This has brought about an interest in valuing women's experiences and instigates a search for a female literary tradition and positive representation of women characters.

The key for the French feminists is 'not what has been said, since this will inevitably be the result of our patriarchal schema and language, but the process by which meaning has been achieved' (Sellers, 1991: xv). The focus is then not on tracing or developing an authentic female voice. It more radically lies in de-constructing the various symbolizing procedures that holds the patriarchal vision in place, and which silences, distorts and mis-appropriates any other (woman's) view (Sellers, 1991: xv - xvi). It is only by focusing on processes by which language creates current meanings, as well as on what it omits, that women could begin to unravel the patriarchal structure that encloses them. By disobeying existing laws, women could begin to change the way they are perceived and hence end the stranglehold of the patriarchal system itself (Sellers, 1991: xvi). Below are some of the key areas in language that have negatively affected women.
8.2.1.4 Patriarchal Language: The Objectionable Bias

These are stereotypes that differentiate women’s language from men’s language. Lakoff seminal work is one of the first to “highlight” and make an issue of what she has observed as the differences between female and male language which are negative to the former (Lakoff, 1975). Women’s language seems to reflect that women are marginal to the serious concerns of life (cf. COPY 122 vs. COPY 92). It is the men whose language makes up where women’s language is seriously lacking (Lakoff, 1975).

8.2.1.4.1 The Pragmatics of Communication

The first is to do with the use of lexical items. It appears that women’s choice of lexical items in their everyday communication is “unsatisfactory”. Women tend to use such words as adorable, cute, lovely sweet in describing people and such vocatives as my dear, darling, sweetie (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430). On the other hand, men’s tendency is to be more direct and be “sensitively” inadequate in communication is the preferred model in language (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430). Not surprisingly, in a patriarchal outlook women’s language overflowing with adjectives and adverbs is undesirable (cf. COPY 38, COPY 39, COPY 40, etc.).

In addition, women’s eagerness to talk about feelings and emotion is ‘thought of as ‘gushing’ (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430–431; cf. COPY 38, COPY 39, COPY 40, etc.). The patriarchal consensus seems to accept men’s inability to be as emotive and vocal is not a psychological inadequacy but defines the boundary of human’s experience and expectation (cf. COPY 26). Could there be more rationale in Chambers’ claim that ‘Women possess superior linguistic powers and, in particular, have a clear advantage, over men in terms of their socio-linguistic competence (Chambers, 1995: 132).

Another “weakness” of women’s language is the use of so, such, quite as intensifiers. For example, ‘It’s been so nice to see you again...’. Similar lexical items are also used as qualifiers. For example, ‘Well, he’s so, you know, so helpful, and it’s such a shame...’ (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430–431). Men’s inability to be effusive in expressing natural emotional reactions is currently being addressed by society. The image of men crying is now more acceptable than in earlier generations. The
next development would be the verbalization of emotional expression. There must be something to it in the way women cope with their everyday experiences and challenges. After all, for years the statistics have shown that women outlived men. If language is a key feature of this, there can never be anything lacking in their language. Women language is also more polite and more concerned about “correct” and “proper” grammar and pronunciation (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430-431). Once again, it is interesting that the “model” language should be below women’s standards of proficiency and communicativeness.

Women use more tag questions is another case in point (Lakoff, 1975; McArthur, 1994[1992]: 431). It reflects their insecurity and hedginess. However Lakoff has not provided empirical evidence to support her claim (Coates, 1986: 103). Studies attempting to prove this assertion have largely been inconclusive. Most studies merely confirm the general belief that Lakoff is correct but does not prove that women actually use more tag questions. And yet a few similar studies keeps the debate alive (Coates, 1986: 104; cf. Siegler and Siegler, 1976 and Dubois and Crouch, 1975). On the other hand, women’s apparent tendencies to interrupt more than men do ironically show women are overbearing (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430-431). It appears that women should know better than to open their mouths, for when they do, they are timid, stupid or boorish fools. Incidentally, Zimmerman and West have shown that men interrupt more than women (Zimmerman and West, 1975). Men committed almost 96% of interruptions in their study. Men use interruptions, in mixed-sex conversations, to deny women the right to control the topic of conversation. In all men conversations, Zimmerman and West find that the control of topics is normally shared between participants in a conversation (Coates, 1986: 101; Zimmerman and West, 1975).

Middle-class women’s timidity about using obscene and blasphemous language is another in the list of women’s language “weaknesses” (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 430-431). Part of the female socialization process is to be taught not to use “rough talk” (Lakoff, 1975). In addition, it appears that men are judged according to their work whilst women’s assessment criteria include their appearance. Language is part of a woman’s appearance. However, men must be sufficiently intimidated by women that they avoid using crude language in the company of women (McArthur, 1994[1992]:
Other writers descriptions of women's polite use of language is more to do with their attempt at prescribing 'how women ought to talk' (Coates, 1986: 22). Coates believes that, 'Avoidance of swearing and of "coarse" words is held up to female speakers as the ideal to be aimed at' (Coates, 1986: 22). Although there are a number of research projects have led many to accept that women and men differ in relation to the use of "coarse" words, 'there is still very little evidence to confirm or refute this belief' (Coates, 1986: 22; 102-109). Women's polite nature extends to their avoidance strategies in dealing with realities like death and sex by using polite euphemisms to refer to these topics (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 431). Chambers seems to believe that women possess superior linguistic powers and greater verbal ability (Chambers, 1995).

Basically, when men talk they are concerned with worldly things such as politics, sports and wars (McArthur, 1994[1992]: 431). It is after all vital for society at large that a man's car can get him home in 3 minutes (COPY 7). Women find that a particular washing detergent cleans whites whiter and colours brilliantly (TV advert for washing detergent). Women are only able to verbalize on "trivial" and "gossip". The only males who appreciates women who can clean whites white are generally below 10-years old (TV advert for a washing detergent- Ariel).

The above differentiate the pragmatic usage of language between men and women. The differing ways in which men and women use language can lead to miscommunication between them (Coates, 1986: 160; see also Coates, 1986: 151-155). In addition Coates has suggested that the way girls use language is a contributory factor to their advantaged position (Coates, 1986: 160; see also Coates, 1986: 155-160). The interesting point here is that, in the 1990's the current concerns in British schools is the under-achievement of boys compared to girls. It appears that the positive-discriminatory measures taken to assist girls have negatively affected boys. It would be interesting to see how positive measures taken at present to help boys would affect girls in the future. The main point I feel, is that language is relative, or rather standards in language are relative to the perspective employed. If positive value is given, as an example, to interruptions, then interruptions could be easily explained away as a positive feature. Similarly, if a negative value is attached
to it, interruption is readily a negative ability in language. What is obvious though is that anything to do with women is at the outset negative.

8.2.1.4.2 The Semantics of Communication

Another important differentiation between men and women’s language can be found at the semantic level. In English, lexical items are coded as being either masculine or feminine in gender. Inadvertently, each lexical item has the gender denotation feature incorporated and encoded into its meanings. This brings about a connotation that has sexual or gendered overtones to the lexical items.

The personification through sexuality of inanimate objects allows the potential for creatively subjective gendered imagery. Hurricanes and typhoons have in the past been allotted female names. An obvious aspect of personification in English is that many more things are represented as female than male (Miller and Swift, 1981: 81). Miller and Swift feel that, ‘Just as men have influenced our language more than women have [...] their [men’s] fantasies have more often assigned characteristics of the “other” sex to non-living things’ (Miller and Swift, 1981: 81). The largest category where personification is given the female “attributes” is that of vehicles and mechanized contraptions (Miller and Swift, 1981: 81). Although female attributes are attached to virtuous concepts like justice and liberty, law and order have in the past largely exercised by men. There must be some degree of psychological satisfaction to have access to the control of the female. There must be psychological satisfaction to be able to ‘handle her (a ship) well’ as must as ‘Give her (a motorcycle) a good kick and she’ll start’. Men dominating men may be too close for comfort or is much more challenging, as least physically. At the same time, it could be argued that male domination over women is an impossible reality, fantasy is the next best option. In addition, conditioning and nurturing has to start somewhere, why not fantasy-prophesying reality. Is it not interesting that there is no opposite equivalent to misogyny? Or is there?

Basically, there are two main points with regard to gender and language. The first relates to the issue of gender in a grammatical sense. Gender should not relate to sex but unfortunately in English language it does. The masculine and feminine
marking is transferred into the language. Secondly, gender reflects social and cultural realities.

8.3 Gender and Translation

Gender issues in translation could be looked at from three main aspects. The first aspect concerns language. Tied to that is the second aspect which is related to sociolinguistics. The third aspect centres on the practice of translation.

8.3.1 Gender and Language: Gendered Message through Translation

In this section I will just concentrate on lexical items. As stated in 8.1, gender systems serve to disambiguate various constructions (Corbett, 1991: 320). This is a key feature when translating between a language with grammatical gender and one without. In English, grammatical gender is not as prominent as in French but Malay could be said to be devoid of any gender system.

8.3.1.1 The Problem of Generics

The first problem in translation concerns generic terms. English generic terms could be used for both males and females. These have caused more than confusion linguistically. The polysemous nature of generic terms has disadvantaged women (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]; Doyle, 1995). In some instances, man has been conveniently argued to be specifically "men". Although the general rule is that the term man is generic to mean men and women, it has been convenient for men with vested interests to adopt whichever denotation suits their requirements. Interestingly, man in Old English meant person (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]: 12). The confusion is added, as seen earlier in 8.2.1.1, when men as used in Thomas Jefferson's, 'all men are created equal' and 'governments are instituted among men...' is opened to interpretation (cf.8.2.1.2). In the old ways, men would constitute both sexes (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]: 12).

In Malay, the generic term for man is manusia and the term for man, the male person, is lelaki. The translator will have to decide which man or men, is the correct equivalent. His/her choice is very important in the transfer of the original message. Therefore in, all men are created equal the translator could translate it into:

1. semua manusia dilahirkan sama
or,

2. *semua lelaki dilahirkan sama*
   
   [all] [(male persons)] [born] [equal]

The former option, if the original message only refers to male persons, would be an over translation and the latter would be quite correct. However if the original message includes both the sexes, then the second choice would be an under-translation. Unfortunately, the ambiguity in the English would not be possible in Malay. A possible translation,

3. *semua orang dilahirkan sama*

   [all] [people/persons] [born] equal

would still be similar to (1). The slight possibility to it being ambiguous is that *orang* is an epicene. Just as it is correct to add modifiers to person, i.e. in, *male* person or *female* person, it is equally correct to modify *orang* with the equivalents *male* or *female* adjectives, i.e. *orang lelaki* = man/men; male person(s) and *orang perempuan* = woman/women; female person(s).

In the original English, the ambiguity could be argued and resolved, if not immediately at a later time or whenever there is a need for greater clarity. In a statute as in any legal text, it is imperative that the language be precise. Ambiguities are resolved through interpretations. The translator might choose to retain the ambiguity if it is possible to do so in the target language. However, if that were not possible, the implication to the effect of the message would be more far reaching than the effect of the original text. Assuming the translator chooses to translate *man* or *men* as to mean the male person or persons, the female person or persons will no longer be able to address this ambiguity. In fact any reference or possible reference to the female persons will be altogether removed from the text. Any redress in a legal text would need a change of the statute. This means an act of Parliament. It would not be a simple process and would be time consuming as well.

### 8.3.1.2 The Problems of Pronouns

In English, pronouns are normally gender specific. *He* and *she* refer to male and female specifically. Admittedly, the former also refers to an indefinite antecedent such as one of unknown or unspecified sex. However, the major difference between
English and Malay in this respect is that in Malay, there is no gender specific pronoun. The third person is always dia or ia, regardless of the person’s natural gender. Any distinction between the two sexes is nearly always immediately and instinctively understood from context. In other instances, it could be argued that the third person’s gender is unimportant or irrelevant to the information transfer. If that is not the case, then the appropriate modifier will be added into the text. For example in,

1. Consider the effects long-distance driving can have on an executive. Chances are when he arrives at his meeting he’ll be feeling every inch of that journey. Worse, his tiredness may make him unresponsive and irritable. Would you feel happy about doing business with a man like that? (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]: 52)

The British Rail Advertisement above assumes that the long-suffering executive is male. Note that the pronouns used refer to the male gender. Is this advertisement saying that executives are male and that there is no such thing as female executives? Or if there are female “executive”, there is another terminology to denote them and because that terminology is not evident in the text, the reader is to assume that female “executives” are not being addressed to in this advertisement. Another explanation would be the age-old excuse that he is generic. But the Thomas Jefferson’s blunder is a lesson that should not be conveniently allowed to happen again. A more conscientious advertisement would be expressed as such:

2. Consider the effects [...] Chances are when she or he arrives at the meeting [...] doing business with someone like that? (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]: 52).

A Malay translation of (1) would be:


As much as dia is non-gender specific, nya is also a non-gender specific equivalent for his/hers/him/hers, etc. The Malay translation conveys the message of (2) with a lot more simplicity of form and syntax. Swift and Miller note that, ‘the problem of he or she form is that it becomes awkward when repeated, as anyone trying to use the double pronoun construction discovers’ (Swift and Miller, 1995[1982]: 53).
The other problem with he/she or s/he form is when the pronouns are used to refer to animals and inanimate objects through personification. Consider the following example:

The Ferrari is his latest acquisition. She cost him a lot of money but for such a beauty, he was willing to mortgage his house. He is exceedingly ecstatic over her.

Ferrari itu merupakan pembelian lelaki itu yang terbaru. Kereta itu amat mahal sekali tetapi untuk sesuatu yang sebegitu cantik, dia sudi mengadai rumahnya. Dia amat megah sekali dengan keretanya.

his = lelaki itu = that man  
She = kereta itu = that car  
he = dia = he/she  
his = -nya = his/her  
He = Dia = He/She  
her = keretanya = his/her car

The "Ferrari", in the Malay text is not seen as a female. Its beauty is acknowledged, through cantik. This adjective is normally used to refer to women and when men are described as beautiful, not a usual occurrence in English anyway, the appropriate adjective to refer to a physically beautiful man is tampan and lawa. The second adjective is not a gendered adjective as beautiful women are also lawa. It is a matter of collocation, such as it is possible to say a strong tea and a strong car. When strong is replaced by powerful, a powerful car could be synonymous to a strong car but a powerful tea is something else. The usage of lawa for men is more conventional than gendered influenced. Although it is not grammatically wrong to say, that “man is cantik”, it is not a common collocation.

It might be worthwhile to ponder, at this stage, whether the use of “genderless” dia, ia, nya in Malay makes gender stereotyping less prevalent in Malay than it is in English. Similarly, when an English mechanic tells a car owner that there is nothing wrong with his car that, ‘Give her a good thump and it would start her up’, the Malay mechanic would only be saying, ‘Give it a .... start it up’ and with not a thought of a female/woman in mind. Could it be possible then that in English, the language allows for the male users to vent some of their inter-gender dissatisfaction linguistically? (cf. Fowles, 1996: 215 –225; COPY 123).

8.3.1.3 The Problems of Gendered Words

As shown above, gender agreement is a vital part of English grammar. In addition, English lexical items carry gendered connotation. Firstly, we have the problem of lexical items. Secondly, the gendered connotation.
This I find the most interesting of the features I am discussing here. Firstly, there are social values attached to English words (Leech, 1974). Mills has listed a few to show the differences in denotative and connotative meanings (Mills, 1995: 110-120; see also Doyle, 1995; Swift and Miller, 1995[1981]). Mills show in her examples that feminine equivalents carry a connotation which is nearly always "negative", i.e. insulting, unfair, etc. (Mills, 1995: 110-120; see also Doyle, 1995; Swift and Miller, 1995[1981]). The masculine forms, however do not carry negative connotation, and when they do in other instances, the connotations are generally more "positive" i.e. complimentary. In addition, in some instances, the feminine equivalents are not true equivalents to the masculine, for example, as between bachelor and spinster. The swinging unmarried man is believed to be eligible and desirable to women (cf. COPY 121). The unmarried woman is dried up and old. I have used the term "unmarried" for a reason. A man or woman who is not married is now more usually termed "single". Then again there are different meanings, denotations and connotations, attached to either of the terms when used for the different genders. There is no common usage for an "unmarried" man although it would just denote a man who is not married. There are "unmarried" mothers or "unmarried" women who are now more normally termed as single mothers. In addition, the meaning of "unmarried" seems to suggest that the benchmark is "married". The deviation from normality is "unmarried". This implies a failure on the part of the "unmarried" woman to get herself legally tied to a partner. A man who is yet to acquire a partner legally is equally "unmarried". It is strange that society prefers to see him not as an unmarried man but as an eligible bachelor.

The translation challenges of such lexical items highlight the sexist values inherent in English. Below are some lexical items that Mills has listed as examples that exhibit a wide difference in meanings between the masculine and feminine equivalents. I have provided the equivalent Malay dictionary definitions of these lexical items. These include some possible denotative and connotative meanings.

- male
  - courtier - orang istana
  - literally [person] [court]; thus a female "courtier" would be orang istana
  - mistress

- female
  - courtesan - gundik - wife who is not of royal descent; wife who is not official; courtesan - a prostitute; the mistress of a man of rank (CD, 1994[1993]: 367).
male teacher - guru
woman who is kept - perempuan simpanan

man in charge - tuan
female teacher - guru, cikgu

"person" in charge - tuan

man in charge of household - ketua/kepala

owner - tuan
female owner of a pet - tuan

menentukan
mistress of her own destiny - (wanita yg)

be one's own master - berdikari
be one's own mistress - berdikari (KDIM, 1992: 977)

host
one who entertains guests - tuan rumah

woman who acts as host - tuan rumah (wanita)

woman who entertains patrons of night-clubs etc.

be, play/... to

the same terms apply

host (of a show) juruacara

tuan rumah

Juruacara

Guru, cikgu, tuan rumah, pelayan, juruacara, are epicene terms. Tuan is a form of address that is now largely used for respected males. The feminine equivalent is Puan is now the more common feminine equivalent. Although in certain usage and dialects, Tuan is retained for the females too. In addition, it could also be argued that tuan is a generic term that is actually masculine because by usage tuan is used in many more instances specifically to refer to men as shown below:

tuan hamba - classical Malay for tuan; hamba literally meaning slave; pragmatically meaning My Lord/My Lady or a "respectful" you amongst equals.

owner of...

head of... or manager

respected man

address for man with title or man who should be respected, e.g. doctor, judge

tuan muda

[Tuan muda] [Young]
refers to the eldest male/son or the brother of the master or mistress of the house.

The problem here would be similar to that in English or French as "traditionally", there are more men in positions of authority (cf. Gervais, 1993: 127-135). However, as Malaysians generally do not see white collar professions as the preserves of men, there are no gender limitations to the terms. Tuan is an epicene term for,

address for an aristocratic male or female

very formal or "fine" address for either man or woman in a conversation

owner of house or property

Tuan yang Berhormat (yang Berhormat = who is with Respect/Honour)
There appear to be no consistencies with regard to gender although generally *tuan* appears to be generic. The Malay dictionary does not provide much information on the etymology of lexical items unlike English dictionaries. In addition, I have also provided the English translations to the Malay equivalents. The National Language and Literary Agency (Malaysia) as given by the authoritative English-Malay Dictionary produce most of these equivalents.

8.3.2 Gender: Translating Gendered Cultural-Coded Messages

In many Western writings on advertising, it is acknowledged that it is the female who is the target reader-cum-consumer (cf. Tanaka, 1994). This acknowledgement is tied in to social norms and lifestyles. Central to this are the many studies that show that it is the women who make household buying decisions (cf. Dyer, 1982: 83; Tanaka, 1994). Tanaka, in her interesting analysis, and taking cues from Dyer also assumes that the consumer is female (Tanaka, 1994: XV). Where there are no comparable studies on Malaysian lifestyles it would be difficult for me to confidently draw upon on this aspect of the gender of the advertisers and consumers. It would be very difficult in particular for me to assume that the target consumer of the Malaysian advertisements is typically female. Indeed except for specifically female related products, I cannot make the same assumptions regarding the gender of the Malaysian advertisers and consumers at this stage (cf. COPY 129). The gender identity of both might be determined from the advertising copies analyzed in this chapter. Here is where the problem of gender determination lies (cf. COPY 129).

8.3.2.1 The Problems of Focalization

Focalization is the process whereby the events in a story are related to the reader through the consciousness of a character or narrator (Mills, 1995: 207). In *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4* (on Registers), I have identified the *tenor*, i.e. the relationship between addresser and addressee in advertising texts. I have also shown how this relationship is non-static, i.e. the speaker is not the same “person” throughout a single copy. In fact in many examples, there are multiple speakers incorporated within a single copy. This does not mean that they all speak at the same time. It does mean that their “voice”, i.e. what they have to say, is incorporated within a single text. Invariably, it is not surprising that the identity of addressees is also non-static.
The non-static nature of focalization has been identified elsewhere (Mills, 1995: 180; cf. Rimmon-Kenan, 1983). It has been proposed that the degree of focalization varies between three distinct types, i.e. fixed, variable and multiple. These depend on whether focalization remains fixed throughout the text or alternates between two predominant focalizers or shifts amongst several focalizers (Mills, 1995: 180). According to Mills, the purpose of the concept of "focalization" in a text is to provide a means of identifying the consciousness through which the contents are presented in a text (Mills, 1995: 181). In a narrative of a social introduction for example, focalization places the narrative in a particular context and perspective, i.e. that of an interested observer who witnessed the occasion or one of the persons being introduced or both of them. In that instance, the "role" of the narrator would alternate with one person followed by the other.

Focalization by itself is not essentially an issue of gender, at least it has not been shown to be so (Mills, 1995: 181; cf. Scholes, 1982). However, "focalization" does provide a means of identifying the "voice" of the text, i.e. the addresser of the text and inevitably the addressee and message of the text. In addition, the "vision" or imagery presented by the text through the focalizer could influence the effect(s) of the message of the text on the reader. As Mills puts it, "Focalization may manipulate the reader's sympathies by means of the vision which is presented and the evaluation which is implicit in that representation' (Mills, 1995: 181-182). Advertising is adept at utilizing every available tool to influence the reader-cum-consumer. The feminist contention in relation to focalization comes from the fact that the way a "vision" is represented could clearly determine the gendered perspectives it represents. For example,

Yes, it looks like a sanitary pad but you don't use it for your periods. As you can see it is a little too small for that.

At first glance, there are no gendered lexical items. However, it would be difficult to accept that the neutral you and yours addressee a male reader-cum-consumer. It would be more difficult still to accept that the male reader-cum-consumer is the target consumer of the advertised product. And it is this target male consumer who would personally use the product. Analysis of the copy places it as specifically directed to female readers-cum-consumers through the following lexical items - sanitary pad and periods. The addressee is thus identified as female but the
gender of the addressee is not so readily identified. The copy below, for now, could
be argued from a focalization viewpoint as being neutral. Next consider the following
copy.

COPY 26
TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH WITNESS A
Kind of eerie it were. Doors open. Lights on. Music still playing. It was the music, what I heard
first. Sort of playin' on the wind. Something about the air too. Electric like, I'd call it. Dog didn't
like it one bit.

The lexical and syntactic indicators within the text place the speaker within a
particular socio-economic status, i.e. more working class than upper-middle class (cf.
Chapter 4; cf. section 8.2; Coates, 1986). In addition, syntactically it could be
argued that the text is produced by a British native speaker of English as opposed to
a native speaker of English from mid-west America. However the gender of the
speaker is less obvious. The copy goes on to add,

No-one around so I had a sit inside. Right comfy. Bags of room. Smart interior. That sort of
thing. Didn't touch nothing but - fingerprints and the like. Bit of an amateur detective myself,
you see.

After coming to this stage in the copy, it might be argued that "WITNESS A" is more
likely to be male than female. The "strong" clue is from the sociolinguistic aspects,
i.e. in the language style in which male speech is normally vernacular and below the
prestige standard (Coates, 1986: 71). The other clue is based on "content" or
"topic", i.e. the claim made by the speaker as being "an amateur detective". There is
no explicit evidence here that the speaker is categorically male. However, English
reader-cum-consumer's cultural and social schemata would disambiguate the text
and hint at the "witness" being male. There is no conclusive evidence that men see
themselves as "amateur detectives". In British popular literature there are a number
of male and female "amateur" detectives, for examples, Father Brown and Miss
Marple to name but two "famous" ones.

The other clue could be that in the last line of the first paragraph, i.e. the "Dog" infers
that the speaker was out walking a dog. Once again this is not a conclusive proof
but the accompanying visual of the copy, an isolated country lane might encourage
the English reader-cum-consumer to think that only a man would take his dog for a
walk along such a deserted looking location. For someone who lives in the country
such an isolated looking location would be part of the neighbourhood and would not
be considered the desolate isolation as shown by the visual as potentially dangerous
for anybody walking their dogs, either be they males or females. However, as the body copy identifies itself as a transcript from WITNESS A, the reader-cum-consumer could expect accounts from other witnesses. This could also suggest that although the location is isolated and desolate looking, it is not “unpopulated”. If WITNESS A is female, she need not necessarily be a lone female out walking her dog. Even if the witness is a “she”, the “dog” could be explained as her “security”. It is useful to keep in mind that visuals are not necessarily “truthful”. What not shown by the visual, i.e. the other side of the camera, or whatever has been cropped out by the frame is important for disambiguation towards the “truth” (cf. Chapter 5). The next part of the body copy may discourage the possibility that witness A is female.

For instance, did you notice the two airbags, the 16-valve engine, the power steering, the alloy wheels? No? What about the anti-trap electric windows and sunroof then? Call yourselves investigators?

If one believes in stereotypes, one is more likely to accept that this part of the body copy is likely to be uttered by a man. This is assuming that men are better informed and concerned about the technical and engineering features of a car. The last paragraph of the body copy, I feel, provides the most interesting clue to the identity of the gender of the Witness A.

Driver must have been dooolalley don’t you think? Nice car like that. If no-one claims it, does that means it’s mine?

According to Collins English dictionary, doolally is a slang that means ‘out of one’s mind; crazy’ (CD, 1994[1993]: 465). This term is believed to have originated from the 19th century and is originally a military slang. Deolali is a town near Bombay. The denotative meaning of doolalley, as in the body copy seems to coincide with the denotative meaning of doolally. This slang does not appear to be in common usage and therefore I contend that Witness A would have to have some connection with the military. The difference in spelling from that recorded in the dictionary could be a feature of advertising rhetoric. It could also be the sociolinguistic “evidence” of a male speaker, working class or not. Such an “archaic” slang also seems to indicate that witness A is not young and had been in the military for the association with the Military would be at least around the Second World War period and not much later. The use of the slang could also be explained as a manifestation of an idiosyncratic dialect. Based on this assumption, I further contend that witness A is more likely to be male.
The above exercise in identifying the focalizer of the advertising copy is a consuming process. Other texts could provide that information more easily and readily. Advertising texts are produced for a specified or identified target audience who would have identified the focalizer almost instantly. However the main objective of the exercise is to show that texts have a focalizer or focalizers who provide(s) an imagery of the texts from the gendered perspective of the focalizer(s). This provides the gendered information.

8.3.2.2 Images and the Women
If words have been unkind to women (cf. 8.3.1), pictures are equally unrealistic. The other important issue is with regard to how women are depicted in imagery. The western concept has always seen women as the fairer, weaker sex who is sensitive, warm, romantic and submissive (Fowles, 1996: 22). A strong woman is not your average "gentle" woman but one who has spiritual strength and independent, normally of men. A strong man is more than likely to be physically powerful. It is woman as the fairer sex that is the major preoccupation of the media. It is the woman who provides us the "erotic spectacle"; always gazed at by the reader or the unseen lover or the voyeuristic male gazer (Sanders, 1997). In American magazine females are more likely to be depicted in a subordinate position (Fowles, 1996: 211). Men, on the other hand, are always depicted either as the strong silent type - the gazer of the reader or the active, energetic strong individuals. Therefore women are largely depicted as ornamental whilst men are functionally depicted, COPY 126 vs. COPY 104 (Fowles, 1996: 208). The male image as an "erotic spectacle" is largely new and as Fowles notes, this imagery is still in some degree of flux (Fowles, 1996: 217). As Sanders puts it 'Gender stereotyping continues unabated, albeit with a dash of ambivalence and confusion' (Sanders, 1997). So for all the cry of the new man, the yobbish lad is predominant. An interesting observation is that men in advertising are largely portrayed as uninvolved in human relationships (Fowles, 1996: 208).

There are a number of key approaches in depicting women and these are related to the nature of the products advertised. Products that are classified under "Female Only User Products", such as, sanitary pads, nearly always depict active women (COPY 10; COPY 127). Lingerie depicts the ideal silent beauty, COPY 86.
Otherwise, females are mothers or career women doing housework, COPY 11. One or two products use male characters as the "smart aleck" who does the work better because he secretly has the product. The soap product Persil depicts the woman as lounging around whilst the product is being used - still the inactive female being gazed at by the reader or unseen admirer, COPY 22.

Sanders has shown that women depicted in certain French advertisements are put in unnatural and unusual poses. In COPY 106, there is no "evidence" of how the product is useful in a practical sense. The English headline and sub-headline:
COPY 106
Carlo Rino's cool and sexy.
Now, why can't men be like that?

becomes:

Carlo Rino, bersahaja namun mendebarkan.
Kenapa tiada jejaka sedemikian.

Who is "cool and sexy" or "relaxed and heart-throbbing"? The "advertised product" is placed around the frame of the visual. The main visual image is the female model lounging in a black dress looking silent but "inviting". Her black outfit is not defined but almost fused into the background. The advertised products are clearly distinct in form. The advertised products actually "fringed" the model into centre stage and the products are incidental. Sanders says, 'For the reader flicking through the magazine, it is hard not to equate woman and object...' (Sanders, 1997). Although in this copy, the woman is not "arranged" to imitate the product, she is still subjected to an unusual camera angle (Sanders, 1997). The model looks up, presumably to a speaker who voices the "disparaging" headline and sub-headline. Would a female speaker want a "cool and sexy" man? Would the speaker be a male who wishes other males to be "cool and sexy" like the model? Could the speaker be the model sending that message to the reader-cum-consumer? If it is the last, than would the reader-cum-consumer be males? Why would a woman make such a remark, i.e. headline to another woman? Frustration? That is their ideal man and men are not like that? Or could it be a "challenge" to men? Is this what we, i.e. women want? Sanders has noted that the image in women's magazine is at least partly directed at
men (Sanders, 1996). Is this because men are the head of households and have the final say in products to purchase and at what value? Thus although the product is for female use, it is the male who would be buying it for her. But Tanaka has argued that it is women who are "active" consumers (Tanaka, 1994). Then does this mean that this is how a woman sees herself, i.e. cool and sexy, the way they want to be perceived by men.

An interesting difference between the headline and sub-headline in English and Malay is between the message. The English message refers to something that belongs to Carlo Rino which or who is cool and sexy. The Malay equivalent is ambiguous. Linguistically it appears that Carlo Rino is the addressee of the sub-headline. It is not clear who or what is cool or "relaxed and heart-throbbing". This is a major error in the message transferred.

Sanders also notes that women are also being addressed condescendingly in advertisement. COPY 122 is a good example. The female driver, presumably the owner of the car, is shown to be more interested in herself. Contrast this advertisement with COPY 104. Whilst the body copy (COPY 122) is very creative, 'Not every girl wants to settle down with a roof over her head... Throw away your hair dryer. And instead of getting browned off in the car... get brown...' etc., the tone of voice is patronizing. The addressee is seen as attractive but frivolous. Read another layer of the message and the addressee is unintelligent. The similar gendered message, this time addressing the male, makes the addressee and addresser almost equal partners in the communication. The addresser is trying to "please" the male addressee, "Rest assured, ...". The two copy are similar in that they address the less mechanically interested reader and yet provide the necessary technical information about the respective vehicles. In addition the setting of the two advertisements are centred on the more "mundane" everyday practical use of the vehicles. Yet the tone of voice is different. There is the gendered stereotyping attached to the identity of the reader-cum-consumer. It is as if the female reader-cum-consumer would not be in the position to ever make an objective and rational decision in making an expensive purchase.
In comparing the image of women in English advertisements and in Malay advertisements, there does seem to be a good deal of difference. Gender stereotyping equates women with flowers (COPY 126; Sanders, 1997). The flux in this stereotyping observed in Western advertisement is also evident in COPY 11 and COPY 127. It is the male as an object, a current theme in Western advertisement that is being relayed in these copy. It is the image of the modern upper middle-class western women that is being represented in Malay advertisements (COPY 10, COPY 42, COPY 11, etc.). These are evident in the fashionable chic outfits and life-style. How many young Malaysian women go rollerblading? The "rollerblading" activity could be argued as a metaphor to the modern active lifestyle. If this is the case, another culturally appropriate metaphor could be explored. Then again, this image of the active liberated women who goes rollerblading, bicycling during her menses, etc., has been questioned also in the Western perspective (Treneman, 1994[1988]: 153-165). How does the imagery fit with the Malaysian perception of women? This is an issue that the translator has to consider in a more "serious" text. In an advertisement, the issue may have a socio-cultural impact. However as Fowles has noted stereotyping in the American context has no great impact. It is the real world that defines the masculinity and the femininity and these concepts are fought and resolved through the interactions between members of the community (Fowles, 1996: 197-227). Yet it has to be acknowledged that advertisement could not be seen as merely a media exercise to promote a product in many parts of the less "developed" world. In Malaysia too, in a dynamic developing society, ideas and values from the West are constantly being considered and incorporated in Malaysian values. Thus, the question here is what is the gendered image from a Malaysian perspective.

8.3.3 The Practice of Translation
Under this aspect, there are three further issues. Basically, these issues concern gender and translation holistically, from ideology to practice.

8.3.3.1 Translation is feminine
In Western eyes translation is seen as a feminine act (Simon, 1996: 1). Translating a published or established manuscript is considered an inferior profession to the act of writing an original one. This whole viewpoint is centred on what women were and
did historically in the West. Simon documents that '... translation was the means through which women, beginning in the European Middle ages, gained access to the world of letters' (Simon, 1996: 2). As I have mentioned in section 8.1, women have for long been excluded from the male society and were unable to participate equally in many preserves of the males. Thus debarred from original authorship, women gained access into the public domain of the literary world through translation. Simon also sees translation as an important part of the social movements in which women participated, for example anti-slavery and feminism. Translation gave women the opportunity,

| to build communication networks in the service of progressive political agendas and in the creative renewal of literary traditions. The great works of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century French, Russian and German modernism were translated in part by women who made translation an expression of their political convictions (Simon, 1996: 2). |

This view is also agreed by Kontiris who sees women's translation of religious texts as a very limited point of entry into public writing activity (Kontiris, 1992; Simon, 1996: 3). Simon argues from a feminist theory of translation which 'identify and critique the tangle of concepts which relegates both women and translation to the bottom of the social and literary ladder' (Simon, 1996: 1).

It has been argued that translation is an inferior activity and it is feminine is still a contemporary conventional acceptance (cf. Simon, 1996). This certainly appears to be the case even with some contemporary feminist writers. For example, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood's own admission, 'I am a translation because I am a woman' (de Lotbinière-Harwood, 1991: 95) is dangerously limiting to translation and not least of all, to women. John Florio (1603), as cited by Simon, has noted this double identity, much earlier (Simon, 1996: 10). Simon summarizes, 'Because they are necessarily 'defective,' all translations are 'reputed females' (Simon, 1996: 1). Simon also highlights that, '...language used to describe translating dips liberally into the vocabulary of sexism, drawing on images of dominance and inferiority, fidelity, libertinage' (Simon, 1996:1). The most persistent adage, "les belles invidèles" ambiguously and ambivalently continues to compliment and insult women and translators alike. Some might find that the adage is an amusing metaphor but it is also a quirk if French grammar that "translation" is feminine. This is what I have arguing, i.e. the fact that when gender categories reflect natural gender categories sexist connotation are inevitable. With regard to translation women are told that they
are at the bottom of the social ladder. This imagery is further juxtaposed on translation with respect to the literary hierarchy. Women in Western society are seen as the fairer sex and thus the weaker member of the society. Translation, although this is arguable, by its very nature is necessarily "defective" to the original text. For "defective", read "inferior" and therefore, the "natural" and "logical" corollary is to see translation as "females" for, within society a similar superior-inferior relationship is observed between the "superior" males and the "inferior" females. This appears not only to have been an acceptable metaphor but a succinct observation. This outlook is both unkind to women, not to mention the fact that it is not provable.

Interestingly enough, women themselves do not seem to counter the above perspective. In all probability, the above adage is accepted as an amusing metaphor that corresponds to a theoretical dilemma quite wittily. Although contemporary writers are vociferous in asserting the feminist point of view, they have not appeared to do their cause much success by tacitly accepting this sexist attitude towards translation. In one swoop, the metaphor legitimates the tenor and makes fact the vehicle. The metaphor summarizes a heritage of double inferiority. Translators and women have historically been the weaker figures in their respective hierarchies: translators to writers, women to men. The inferiority of translations to the original texts and consequently the inferiority of translators to the original authors could and can be measured and determined. Or rather attempts have been made for such measurements and determinations (cf. House, 1981[1977]).

Criteria for such an assessment are easily assembled. Firstly, there is originality in authorship. A translator works from a tangible and finished text. An author works from an empty, clean piece of paper. It is the author who selected and organized lexical items and syntactically organized them into the stylistics that is semantically and grammatically acceptable in her/his language. The translator, on the other hand, need not go through that process. S/He has the masterpiece of the author as her/his starting point, not a blank sheet of paper. Thus the author comes before the translator.

Society is such that equating translation to women is inevitable, particularly if men had started it all. "Les belles infidèles" of Ménage (1613-1692) may have been a
valuable currency of the translation strategy of Perrot d'Ablancourt and his school of translators named after the adage (Simon, 1996: 10-11). Translation has moved on from being systematically and purposefully being unfaithful to the original. Now there is all the more reason to question the meaning and the negative gender connotation. But we have to reassess our criteria for such an exercise. It is like comparing a Formula one racing driver to a cross-country rally driver, or a sprinter to a long distance runner. None the less it is not possible to ignore the sexualized relationship between author and translator and between the original and the translation (Simon, 1996: 10). Chamberlain may quote Thomas Drant, the sixteenth-century English translator who may have taken the cue from Deutronomy 21:12-14 whilst translating Horace for equating translating with female attributes (Simon, 1996: 10; see Chamberlain, 1992). Fiorenza may quote Elizabeth Castelli who appears to put the blame on Jerome, the father of biblical translation for such a sexist analogy (Simon, 1996: 10; see Fiorenza, 1993: 195; Castelli, 1990). This gendered theorizing of translation has continued on to Steiner (1975).

8.3.3.2 Technical challenges
Feminist writers have identified sexuality as the factor underlying stereotyping, and have responded by breaking open these stereotypes and moving beyond these clichés. Women's sexuality and women's eroticism, described from a woman's point of view, have become preferred areas of experimentation in feminist writing. Writers have looked for and developed vocabulary for censored or denigrated parts of the female anatomy and tried to create erotic writing that appeals to women. They have responded to the challenge to 'tenter l' érotique, to attempt and tempt erotic (Von Flotow, 1997: 17). French writers are particularly innovative and bold in this area (Von Flotow, 1997: 17).

Translating this body of work into English is challenging. There are distinct problems in locating the choice of words and open translators' eyes to the limitations of their own languages. It also raises issues of self-censorship and 'decorum', for where one linguistic group may focus on 'writing the body' as a means of making political progress, another may be averse, even unable, to make a link between erotic writing and politics. Indeed, the entire semantic field around issues of sexuality has caused serious problems for translators (Von Flotow, 1997: 18). Susanne de Lotbinière-
Harwood has demonstrated the translation problem through an analysis of Brossard's *Sous la langue* and its translation in English by Gail Scott. She takes the word *cyprine* that does not exist in English. *Cyprine* in French means female sexual secretions but according to de Lotbinière-Harwood is not in the dictionary because 'lexicographers don't want to give women access to this word' (Lotbinière-Harwood, 1991: 145; Von Flotow, 1997: 18). Her solution is to go back to Greek etymology and create the English version "cyprin". De Lotbinière-Harwood's challenge has not only created a neologism but have further drawn attention to both the 'sanitized' aspects of the English language and the effects gender awareness in translation can produce (Von Flotow, 1997: 18). Interestingly, the accompanying translator's note on the word has had to account for the neologism to the extent that neologisms in journalism and through popular usage have no need of. This aspect highlighted through translation has as Von Flotow notes demonstrates an insufficient knowledge of female biology (Von Flotow, 1997: 19). In addition it underlines the aggressive transgressive approach in language and translation.

Another technical challenge is linked to the translation of puns. Some writers have identified wordplay on aspects of language related to culture. Mary Daly invents such neologisms as 'the-rapist', 'bore-ocracy'. These neologisms work remarkably well in English but are lost in German (Von Flotow, 1997: 21). Similarly in Malay, there is no immediate linguistic relationship that can be exploited. The problems arising from such wordplay is that the extra semantic allusion is lost. This extra semantic feature that is lost could be humour, for example Erika Wisselinck's literal translation of Daly's womb-tomb. This loss in semantics made the translation heavy reading but that is the more immediate effect to the reader. Importantly, it affects the stylistics of the translation. The accompanying message about the original writer and the "cynical" perspective that was placed on the topic is also lost (cf. Von Flotow, 1997: 21). These lost information could be "recovered" in the translator's notes but it has an effect on the reading and enjoyment of the translated text. The issue regarding these experimentations in linguistics and discourse genre is that they are arguably not direct "creative reflections" of contemporary culture.
8.3.3.3 Politicizing Gendered Perspective

Newmark has argued that translators have a certain degree of "autonomy" in correcting the source material (Newmark, 1988b: 46). He feels that only with authoritative texts that the translators have no right to put in their "creative" input in transferring the text into the TL. Otherwise, translators have the "moral" obligation to make "correct" facts as known (Newmark, 1988b: 46; Von Flotow, 1997: 24). This invitation to be in control of the SL text has opened the floodgates to "feminist" translators. The past decade has seen women translating SL texts from a "feminist" perspective. In some instances, women translators have gone on and intervened by making changes when the texts depart from their perspective (Von Flotow, 1997: 24). COPY 12 and COPY 13 might be conscious creative work to underline a feminist perspective.

Two very good examples with regard to literary texts are faced by Carol Maier and Suzanne Jill Levine with reference to her work on texts by Cuban writers in exile (Von Flotow, 1997: 24-30). In Maier's case, her identity as a North American woman translator was in conflict with the perspective taken by the Cuban poet Octavio Armand whose work she was translating. She located "...subtle indications of misogyny in the way Armand describes the link between language, his 'mother tongue', and his anxiety about its capacity to express what he wants' (Von Flotow, 1997: 25). Ironically, this is also the theme of many feminist writers, particularly those staunch French Feminists, who are discontent with their language. It appears that Maier saw that Armand's writing focuses on the "father" as the key actor in all phases of life. The role of the "mother" is 'an absence, a smudge' (cited by Von Flotow, 1997: 25; see Maier, 1985: 5). With negative images of the female and the women abound in the Armand's text, Maier finds that she is unable to '...reproduce the sexism...' she encounters (Von Flotow, 1997: 26). It is not surprising that she reacts with anger for the work in question refers to the image produced by Armand of his birth from 'his father's womb' (Von Flotow, 1997: 25). It would be beyond normal understanding if she had accepted meekly the "mother's womb" being absent in the process of Armand's birth and that its lack of contribution in making the poet's life at all possible. Like Maier, Levine finds the work of Guillermo Cabrera Infante "oppressively male" (Levine, 1992[1983]: 85; cf. Von Flotow, 1997: 26) and the work of Manuel Puig and Severo Sarduy "either idealized or degraded" women (Levine,

In the process of "doctoring" the SL text, the translator could also be guilty of "redefining" the socio-cultural environment in which the SL text originates. As in Maier's case above, the SL text is placed in an environment, source language environment (SLE), which appears to be more sexist and more patriarchal than an American one. However, there are many other aspects of the SLE that might have escaped the translator. For instance, although Central American and Latin American society appear to be chauvinistic, the "mother" or "matriarch" role also appears to be far stronger than in North American society. There are parallels here between Western or English socio-cultural environment and Malaysian socio-cultural environment. A Malaysian woman may walk a few steps behind the Malaysian man but that is not indicative of her role in relation to him. In the African bush in the times when there were more wild and dangerous animals, the African man walked in front of his woman. Therefore, it would be interesting to know the degree of literary interpretation and analysis of the SL text Maier carried out for her translation. Reacting to the written tangible text is insufficient in translating that genre of discourse. The irony is that whilst the women were fighting to have a voice they were not allowing the men to have theirs. In addition the women were only able to have a "voice" by devaluing the men's original and personal "voice".

Interestingly, both Maier and Levine oppose the idea of censorship, i.e. non-translation (Von Flotow, 1997: 27). In addition, for all their strong reactions to their respective SL texts, it appears that the changes they made are sparse (Von Flotow, 1997: 26). Maier and Levine elaborate why they had to constitute the changes. On the other hand, de Lotbinière-Harwood sees no need for excuses or justifications for feminist interventions in texts. Her stronger stand on feminist translation are not explained as excuses or justifications but are due to "compelling reasons" (Von Flotow, 1997: 27). De Lotbinière-Harwood conscious and righteous intervention is based on the belief that '...issues of sexism or women's silencing need not only be pointed out, they need to be solved with deliberate feminist intervention that redistributes the imbalance and places women distinctly in the language (Von Flotow, 1997: 27-28). To have strong views that the interventionist advocacy is
engineered and practised by feminists is incorrect. Past translators have followed this course for one reason or another. The renowned translator of *Rubiyatt Omar Khayam* was known to have looked down despairingly on Persian poetry and according to him, had improved it in his translation. Von Flotow reminds that the patriarchal perspective is also maintained through translation. As an example the woman protagonist's hesitation in Christa Wolf's *Der Geteilte Himmel* was largely deleted. This was done without any notification and explanation (Von Flotow, 1997: 25). How does the Malay translator’s philosophy fit into this debate?

There are two important issues. Both centre on the discourse or text. In fact, there are two types of texts that the translator has to acknowledge. The first is the general text, i.e. text that is non-gendered and is not consciously extolling a gendered issue. As Von Flotow points out, 'It needs to be stressed that gender refers to the socio-cultural construction of both sexes' (Von Flotow, 1997: 5). Yet through the nature of what is largely accepted as a "patriarchal" and sexist language, a gendered or sexist perspective is noted in the text. The gendered elements are present despite the fact that the text and its content is "general", for example, an editorial in the newspaper or an advertisement. The results of this "gendered" element in "general" text have been to produce a demand for non-sexist language, i.e. political correctness is the ambivalent dilemma current in English language. Leading on from this political correctness in language is the more controversial and radical demand towards feminist ideology in language. The second type is the gendered discourse. The agenda of such a discourse is clearly stated and the feminist gendered perspective is the most notable of the "gendered" discourse.

### 8.4 Discussion and Summary

With regard to the patriarchal language issue, there are two general approaches. The first as has been discussed is the reformist view that has more immediate consequence to language itself (Von Flotow, 1997: 8). The second is the radical view (Von Flotow, 1997: 8-9). This has more direct effect on the whole concept of the philosophy of language and translation. The first approach views conventional language as a *symptom* of the society that spawned it, accepting it as conceivably reformable, if good intentions prevailed (Von Flotow, 1997:8). The reformist approach is more prescriptive with the fundamental aim to represent women in the
language system and remove the opportunity where women are subsumed under the category “Man” (Von Flotow, 1997: 9). The radical approach as the terminology applies is to view conventional language as an important cause of women’s oppression, the medium through which women were taught and came to know their subordinate place in the world (Von Flotow, 1997: 8; see also Cameron 1985). The radical feminist view accept that language is a man-made artifact and that it reflects men’s lives, their realities, their ideas. Thus the language is unable to cope with and excludes women’s realities (Von Flotow, 1997: 9). Writers who are advocates of this view took issue with standard language and criticized, rewrote or ignored dictionaries and other established literary genres as reflecting and perpetuating patriarchal power structures. They tried to find a new language and new literary forms for women that would reflect and respond to women’s realities. They criticized and radically change existing language so that it might be rendered useful, rather than inherently dangerous for women (Von Flotow, 1997: 9). Work on etymology has unearthed obsolete and old words that described women’s activities. Further outcomes in the search for female identity in language include women-identified language, new language and new uses for ‘old language (Von Flotow, 1997: 11). Women explored their uncharted history and unearthed their past and made their past significant.

The Malay translator has to be aware of these issues in dealing with contemporary English discourse. The fidelity of messages is the key question to her/him. Feelings of aggressive rivalry or affectionate fusion have often been evoked to describe the closeness which translators feel for the text they are working on and by extension, to their authors (Simon, 1996: 3). The most compelling question here is how social, sexual and historical differences have been expressed in the language and how can these differences be transferred across languages (Simon, 1996: 8-9). In the late 1950s through to the early 1980s, Malay linguistics introduced a number of morphological measures to accommodate the need for the feminine in Malay. In a similar move to the French language, suffixes were added to nouns to denote gender. The Malay equivalents are -wan and -wati for masculine and feminine respectively. It is interesting that whilst the Anglo-American and the West were in the process of discarding gendered denotations in their attempts to remove gendered connotations, the Malay language was introducing them. The usage of –wan and –wati does not appear to have been taken up by language users at large.
At present it is not noticeable that there have been significant new coinages for gender differentiation. The reason given by Malay linguists for the introduction was to aid translations and to accommodate the "ambiguity" apparent in Malay, as shown earlier. The success of this prescriptive language is rather doubtful because the Malay language has never been rigorous in demanding gender clarity. Nonetheless, the Malay translator has to be aware of the differences in politics regarding key issues in the English source text.
9

Conclusion and Recommendations

The thesis aims to ascertain the ways in which translation is a cross-cultural communication. The use of advertising texts for linguistic and paralinguistic analysis has been illuminating. Advertising texts have proven to be contextually appropriate and rich in contents. An eclectic approach has been taken and this has involved an analysis of the genre and the discourse. This chapter summarizes the findings of the study and offers some suggestions to the translator and for translation practices in Malay-English language pairs.

9.1 Genre Analysis: Advertising

The similarities between advertising the concepts and the practices in the British and Malaysian contexts are noticeable. In some advertisements, there appear to be considerable closeness between the Malaysian copies and the BEng copies. It might not be wrong to say that one is a copy or an adaptation or a translation of another, for example, COPY 22 and COPY 23. What is also observable is that the characteristics of English in the MEng copies do not appear to differ from the English of the BEng. This seems to suggest that the variety of English in the MEng advertisements is not different from BEng. At the higher level proficiency MEng is equivalent to BEng (Asmah, 1994: 68-69; cf. 1.1.4.1).

There are also significant differences in the advertising copies looked at. A degree of "seriousness" of the activity, i.e. advertising, is still present in the Malaysian examples. This level of seriousness of the activity is manifested in how the products are promoted linguistically. In the Malaysian advertisements, the language and concepts employed reflects the ways in which Malaysian advertising tends to be straightforward business persuasion/selling activity. The Proton series of advertisements (cf. Chapter 4) show that the British advertising copy contain humour and employ a sub-literary genre. These features make the advertising texts interesting and more personal in tone. The Malaysian advertising copy is more straightforward.

Undeniably there is a wealth of content in the advertising texts that is culturally bound. The contents of advertisements are coded in verbal messages linguistically and paralinguistically. The messages in advertising texts could be classed into two
categories. The first is product/producer-based information. This is the message about the product/service and/or the producer. In many ways this type of messages provides basic information about the product/service or the producer/advertiser. The second is target consumer–based information. This is the part of the message that orientates the target consumer towards a positive response to the advertised product. It is the second type of message that contains cultural codes. The two types of messages together make up a text which is characteristic of the advertising genre. It is through these cultural codes that a product/service is made persuasively attractive and acceptable to the consumer. The cultural codes could take on many forms.

9.2 Registers
The first immediate form in which culture is encoded is linguistics. Cultural messages are embedded in the stylistics of the language. They could be represented through the rhetorics employed. This is apparent in how a product is positioned in the different cultures in this study. In contrast, diamond jewellery is associated with romantic relationships in the British series of advertisements. There is an apologetic tone running through out this advertising copy. This I believe is a reflection of the culture of the target market and that the advertisements accommodate its target market's psyche. Thus the product is made culturally acceptable as well as attractively affordable to the target market. This is achieved by placing the product in mundane "real life" everyday activities.

An analysis of the registers in the advertisements further reflects the differences across the three languages, BEng, MEng and BM. Again, the Malaysian advertisements tend to be simpler in concepts and in registers. The De Beers series of advertisements is a case in point. Whilst the BEng advertisements employed a wide range of advertiser vs. reader-cum-consumer relationships, the Malaysian advertisement are more limited. This wide range of relationships used in BEng is reflected in the registers utilized within a single copy. The registers encode social and cultural information about the target consumer of the advertised product and the reader-cum-consumer of the advertisements. The Malaysian advertisements do provide some information but these are not represented linguistically.

The above highlights the need for the translator working with similar type of texts to be truly conversant with the socio-economic culture and values of the source text.
the need for the optimum transfer of information is imperative. In addition, such awareness would aid the translator in her/his work.

9.2 Visual Messages
Cultural messages are also coded visually. I have shown that this feature of message representations could not be readily dismissed. As much as the linguistic forms provide verbal messages so do the visuals. Interestingly it is the BEng and the MEng advertisements that utilized these the most. The BM advertisements have incorporated some amount of visual messaging, i.e. through visual puns and visual metaphors, for example COPY 37 and COPY 68. There is an element of inter-lingual verbal message in the visuals. This is interesting and not surprising and reflects awareness on the part of the advertiser of the potentials of the multi-racial and the multi-lingual target consumer. A case in point is the diamond *De Beer’s* series of advertisements. In one of the Malaysian advertisement, COPY 43, diamond is equated with gold. The product is promoted as a product that women would acquire for themselves, COPY 44. The potential for cross-cultural communication is forever present. There is also the potential for cultural borrowings, i.e. the visual imagery of the clouds being employed inter-lingual as in COPY 68. An important point that the translator has to be aware of is that visual functions in a variety of ways. Visuals are not mere exemplifications of the accompanying text.

9.3 Semantic Interplay
The sub-literary nature of advertising texts provides a means to understand the nature of puns, idioms and metaphors. Generally the MEng advertisements emulate the creative elements of BEng advertisements. The BM texts have not employed figurative language as much as the other two languages. The question here is whether this is a reflection of genre conventions (cf. Sidiropoulou, 1998). This could not be a general rule as COPY 76 has cleverly used a favourite and common Malay literary form, i.e. the *Pantun*. The analysis of the rhetorical figures has provided a mechanism towards understanding them and interpreting the messages encoded in them. In addition, the "form and design", i.e. the ways in which the figures encode messages provide a means towards finding a pragmatic translation solution for figurative language. It has been shown that the figures encode a substantial amount of socio-cultural information and values.
9.3 Gender Information

There are two key issues with respect to gender. The first relates to the gender information encoded in lexical items. The second is the debate on maintaining an apolitical transfer of information. These issues have to be considered by the translator when dealing with sensitive “gendered”, i.e. mostly feminist discourse. I have mentioned that BM has tried to introduce gender values into its lexical items at about the same time when socio-cultural and political issues in the language systems of the West were questioning and attempting to undo the gendered values entrenched in theirs. The significant point here is that translators and linguists working in BM must be aware of the processes in other language systems. This is not so that they can adopt these language developments but so that they can assess the effects on their own language and the impact on their related disciplines.

9.4 Recommendations

I have shown that some cultural messages are transposed from the English language cultural schemata into the Malay language cultural schemata. In an advertising context, this has the advantage of making an advertisement interesting. It adds values to the advertisements and the respective products, for example a foreign/prestige value. This brings into consideration the debate regarding domesticating and foreignizing the cultural element and, consequently the message. What is most significant is that cultural messages are covertly coded. Translators must realize this.

In additions, translators must have at their disposal a wealth of knowledge of the linguistic devices of the languages they work in. In this respect, I feel Alexeiva’s (1997) and Garcia’s (1996) suggestions on translating figurative language have merits. At the same time, the exploration of the various subject domains could only benefit the target language, i.e BM. It would provide the target language an opportunity to grow in its own environs and with the mechanisms within its language system. Accepting that figurative figures could be translated and not simply borrowed into the target language would benefit socio-culturally as well as linguistically. The other benefit of this is that translated texts could be more domesticized and consequently, more “target reader friendly”.

Another important thing to realize is that meanings are dynamic. The translator working in BM must realize that this dynamism is marked in English. Meanings are
destabilized through socio-cultural processes, for example through the exercise of expressing a new experience. The analysis in this thesis shows that referential meanings as provided in dictionaries are reliable. However the dynamism of some languages must be taken in account, i.e the language system itself can "change" the referential meanings (cf. 3.1.4.3). This awareness is vital for the optimum transfer of information of the source text. In this respect, BM is also a dynamic language. The only difference is that English has up-to-date records and references of its growth and BM is lagging some distance behind. With respect to the last point, it is interesting to note that BM, as the target language need not accommodate to the needs of source languages, for example English. This brings the discussion back to central issue of the optimum transfer of cross-cultural communication.

9.5 Consequences for Translation in Malaysia

This research seems to suggest that translators have to have an all-encompassing knowledge in both the linguistic and the culture of the languages they work in. The implication is enormous for translator training and this echoes Shakir (1995). Translators have to be equipped with linguistic skills and culture knowledge to the point that they are "native speakers" in the languages they work in. In addition the research also suggests that part of the knowledge translators have to have is the knowledge in the area that they are translating. This suggestion is not new and although it is not impossible it is more often not feasible. Translators have to be responsible and need to constantly improve their knowledge resources. Reliable reference materials may be useful aids in assisting translators in this matter. Otherwise translators with expertise in the either of the language pairs should work together in producing a translation. This suggestion is ideal if the text is highly sensitive and important.

What is also significant in this research is that the Malaysian translators have to be up-to-date with the changes and the development in the language that they are less familiar in. Their awareness will have positive effects on the quality of the translations produced. The research has also highlighted the opposing linguistic policies, for example gender, being adopted into the language at about the same time. The difference between the Malay language and the English language is that whilst the changes in Malay was being prescribed by linguists, the changes in the English language were generally socially based. The Malay language appears to be
quite prescriptive and may be more studies are required to fully appreciate the language in common usage.
REFERENCES


Cultures Now and in the Past, London: The Octagon Press.


COWIE, 1996 (June), Car Advertising and the Female Driver, Cowie Market Research.


Jerome Publishing & Namur.


HALLIDAY, M. A. K., MCINTOSH, A. and STREVENS, P., 1964, *The Linguistic Sciences and
Language Teaching, London: Longman.
HUNT, Liz, 1996, 'The Image Drivers: headstrong, suggestive, sexy ... but for women its the Wax factor that sells the car', *The Independent*, Wednesday 17 July.
Kamus Dewan, 1970, *Disusun oleh Dr. Teuku Iskandar* (Arranged by Dr. Teuku Iskandar), Kuala...
KEY, W. B., 1972, Subliminal Seduction, New American Library.
KEY, W. B., 1976, Media Sexploitation, New American Library.
LAKOFF, G and JOHNSON, M, 1980, Metaphors We Live By, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
LINTON, R. (ed.), 1963[1940], Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith.


NIDA, E. A., 1995, 'Sociolinguistics as a crucial factor in translating and interpreting' (manuscript) see SCHÄFFNER, C and KELLY-HOLMES, H., 1995, Cultural Functions of Translation, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.


PITCHUCK, I., 1977, Scientific and Technical Translation, Andrew Deutsch.


PRESTON, M., 1996, 'Girls just want to have facts', Times, Saturday 20 July.


DICTIONARIES:


VOLUME 2
APPENDICES

by

Aniswal Abdul-Ghani
(A. G. Aniswal)

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Surrey for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 2000
CONTENTS

Volume 2

APPENDIX 1  Some Key Concepts / Terminologies in Advertising  321
APPENDIX 11  Definitions of Figurative Speech  323
LIST OF ADVERTISEMENTS  325
APPENDIX I: Some Key Concepts / Terminologies in Advertising

advertorial: an advertisement that looks like the editorial content of a publication
appeal: the advertisement's selling message
art: create atmosphere; convey impression; style; distinctiveness; glorification of product
artwork: the visual components of an advertisement, not including the typeset text
body copy: the text of a print advertisement, not including the headline, logo, or subscript
brand name: name used to distinguish one product from its competitors; it can apply to a single product, an entire product line, or even a company
buried position: placing an advertisement between other advertisements in a print publication so that readers are less likely to see it
caption: the text accompanying an illustration or photograph
colour: colour influences the reader-cum-consumer's perception of the product and the advertising message through the effect of emotion
copy: text or body of an advertisement; the words printed in the smaller size type or the spoken words; text plus the heading; the body copy plus the headlines and subheads; broadly to include all type of matter in the advertisement - the text plus the headings plus all the printed elements i.e., picture, caption, slogan, brand names, etc.; the entire advertisement.
copy objective: influences the attitudes and actions;
  direct action objective for immediate response
  indirect action objective for brand loyalty
copy format: how the copy story shall be told
  # straightforward, direct presentation of buyer benefits and reasons for buying
  # first person
  # dialogue
  # cartoon
  # strips or continuity strips - picture and caption
  # trade characters
  # verse
  # omnibus - itemised lists of brands and principles
  # single element e.g. Perfume advertisements showing nothing but the illustration of the product
  # question - and - answer : effective for new products and long copy
  # testimonials
    i. experts
    ii. celebrities/person prominent in the world of sports, etc.
    iii. ordinary, everyday person i.e. person on the street, housewife, etc.
  # editorial
  # sponsored column
copy story: the advertisement message
full position: an advertisement is surrounded by reading matter in a newspaper, making it more likely for the consumers to read it; this is a highly desirable location for an advertisement
hard sell: a rational, informational message that emphasizes a strong argument for calls for action
headline(s): is a word or phrase printed in large letters and implying, in effect, that just below (occasionally to one side) is an advertising message; captions are not headlines; functions: make contact with buyer/consumer/reader; induce buyer/consumer/reader to read the text or body copy; deliver a short but complete selling message; types: content — identification, boast news, benefits; form — question, command, curiosity, selective
illustration: pictorial expression; refers to the accompanying visual image of the advertisement
island position: a print advertisement that is completely surrounded by the editorial material, or a broadcast advertisement surrounded by program content, with no adjoining advertisements to compete for audience
layout: a drawing that indicates the relative positions of elements (e.g. headline, photo, logo, body copy, etc.) of a advertisement requisites of good layout: unity; contrast; proportion; movement - gaze motion and structural motion (solid or broken lines); balance
leading: the space between lines of type; point size
optical centre: the point of greatest attention value i.e. the point on which the advertisement hangs
paragraph:
  Lead paragraph refers to the main text of the advertisement
  Interior Paragraph refers to the secondary text of the advertisement
photograph: accurate; incite belief; realistic; authentic; proof - conviction value; obtained easily;
record in time
positioning: the way a product is perceived in the market place by consumers
**puffery** advertising or other sales representation that praises the product to be sold using subjective opinions, superlatives and similar devices that are not based on objective fact.

**slogan** frequently repeated phrase that provides continuity to an advertising campaign

**soft sell** an emotional message that uses mood, ambiguity, etc. to create a response based on feelings and attitudes

**subhead(s)** secondary headline(s)

**tag line** a slogan or phrase that visually conveys the most important product attribute or benefit that the advertiser wishes to convey; generally a theme to the campaign

**target audience** people who can be reached with a certain advertising medium and a particular message

**text** see **body copy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of text</th>
<th>short copy</th>
<th>long copy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 100 words</td>
<td>&gt; 200 words</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

influenced by intent of advertiser; nature of product; nature of medium; prospect's need for information

**trade name** the name under which a company operates

**trademark** icon, symbol or brand name used to identify a specific manufacturer, product or service

**typeface** typefaces have personalities depending on the variety; influences: nature of product; type of buyer to be influenced; appeal to be stressed; recent and current choices of faces; impression desired by advertiser; medium to carry the advertisement; size of the advertisement; amount of copy; quality desired: readability - familiarity and communicativeness; appropriateness - dignity, snob appeal, bargain appeal; attractiveness - handlettering, emphasis, contrast, attention, individuality, variety and range

**typography** the designated suit for printing purposes
APPENDIX II: Definitions Of Figurative Speech

**alliteration** repeating and playing upon the same letter.

**anadiplosis** Gk: doubling; a device of repetition to gain a special effect.

**anaphora** a grammatical relationship in which a linguistic unit takes its interpretation from something previously expressed.

**anatocism** a type of pun.

**antithesis** Gk: opposition; fundamentally, contrasting ideas sharpened by the use of the opposite or noticeably different meaning.

**apostrophe** a figurative expression in which an idea or inanimate object is directly addressed, or an absent person is addressed as if present.

**assonance** the repeated use of vowels or vowel-like sounds to achieve a particular effect; the notion is especially found in the analysis of poetry.

**anaphora** a grammatical relationship in which a linguistic unit takes its interpretation from something previously expressed.

**antithesis** Gk: opposition; fundamentally, contrasting ideas sharpened by the use of the opposite or noticeably different meaning.

**apostrophe** a figurative expression in which an idea or inanimate object is directly addressed, or an absent person is addressed as if present.

**assonance** the repeated use of vowels or vowel-like sounds to achieve a particular effect; the notion is especially found in the analysis of poetry.

**chiasmus** a balanced pattern of sentence construction in which the main elements are reversed e.g. Love's fire heats water, water cools not love (Sonnet 154).

**ellipsis** a sentence where part of the structure has been omitted, for reasons of economy, emphasis, or style; sometimes called reduction, contraction or abbreviation; the omitted element can be recovered from a scrutiny of the context (and some grammatical approaches insist that this must be possible) e.g., Where are you going? Town.

**epanalepsis** Gk: taking up again; a figure of speech which contains a repetition of a word or words after other words have come between them.

**epanaphora** see anaphora.

**epanorthosis** Gk: setting up again; a figure of speech in which something is corrected or commented on.

**epistrophe** Gk: upon turning; a figure of speech in which each sentence or clause ends with the same words.

**homonyms** words which have the same form but different meanings; heteronymy; homophony; homography; homonymic clash.

**hyperbole** a figure of speech which involves emphatic exaggeration e.g. where there are million of answers.

**imagery** words or sentences which produce clear or vivid mental pictures; concrete nouns e.g. are highly imageable, whereas abstract nouns are not; context of literature, term has a much more restricted meaning, referring to the use of figures of speech.

**irony** language which expresses a meaning other than that literally conveyed by the words, usually for humorous or dramatic effect.

**litotes** a figure of speech where something is understated; the words comes from Greek 'simple' meagre' e.g. not bad for something really good.

**metaphor** a semantic mapping from one conceptual domain to another, often using anomalous or deviant language.

**metathesis** an alteration in the normal sequence of elements in a sentence - usually of sounds, but sometimes of syllables, words, or other units; the effect may be heard in everyday speech e.g.: asks for ask.

**metonymy** a figure of speech in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself; the press = newspapers.

**oxymoron** a figure of speech which combines words of incongruous or contradictory meaning; e.g.; living death.

**paradox** a statement which is contradictory or absurd on the surface, which thus forces the search for a deeper level of meaning e.g. War is peace.

**parallelism** a sequence of identical or strikingly similar elements in speaking or writing.; the notion is esp. used in grammatical description, where the whole constructions can be related through their use of parallel syntax; but sounds can be and words may be used in parallel too.

**pararhyme** repetition of the same initial and final consonants in different accented words, or of the final consonant(s) only; also known as half-rhyme.

**paradox** a statement which is contradictory or absurd on the surface, which thus forces the search for a deeper level of meaning e.g. War is peace.

**personification** a type of metaphor in which human qualities are ascribed to nonhuman entities or notions.
puns  a witticism which relies for its effect on playing with the different meanings of a word, or bringing together two words with the same or similar form but different meanings.; notwithstanding the content poured on the poor pun, they have a respectable and long standing literary history.
repetition  an essential unifying element in nearly all poetry and much prose; consists of sounds, or part syllables.
resonance  vibrations of air movement in the vocal tract which are set in motion by a source of phonation; the effect on meaning by the juxtaposition of a phrase with a picture.
reversal  see peripeteia.
rhetoric  the study of effective or persuasive speaking and writing, especially as practised in public oratory; several hundred rhetorical figures were used by classical rhetoricians, classifying the way words could be arranged in order to achieve special stylistics effects.
rhetorical question  a question to which no answer is expected.
rhyme  a correspondence of syllables, especially at the ends of lines in verse; internal rhyming is the rhyming of words within a single line of verse.
scheme  an affect which changes the structure of language without affecting its meaning.
simile  a figurative expression which makes an explicit comparison, typically using such words as or like.
substitution  the process or result of replacing one item by another at a particular place in a structure.
syllepsis  see zeugma.
synecdoche  a figure of speech in which the part is used for the whole or the whole is used for the part; e.g.; I got a new set of wheels.
trope  an effect that does not affect the meaning.
zeugma  a type of figurative language in which a word is made to govern two other elements in such a way that a different sense relation is obtained in each case; the effect is usually semantically incongruous; e.g.: I lost my money and my dignity.

Note:
Gk - Greek

References:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COPY</th>
<th>ADVERTISER/BRAND NAME/PRODUCT</th>
<th>SOURCE/REFERENCE/DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Protex</td>
<td><em>The Star</em>, 29 September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Peugeot 106</td>
<td><em>The Times</em>, 19 September 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Peugeot 206</td>
<td><em>The Guardian Weekend</em>, 7 November 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Peugeot 406</td>
<td><em>The Guardian</em>, 5 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mercedes S-Class</td>
<td><em>Business Times</em>, 23 September 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mercedes E-Class</td>
<td><em>The Sunday Times Magazine</em>, 16 March 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Whisper Ultra Thin</td>
<td>Cleo, September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sanita Silk Cuffs</td>
<td>Cleo, September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Carefree Applicator Tampons</td>
<td>Cleo, May 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Carefree Panty Shields</td>
<td>Female, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Johnson &amp; Johnson Stayfree Silk</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, March 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Johnson &amp; Johnson Stayfree Original</td>
<td>n.a., March 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tendre Poison</td>
<td>Marie Claire, April 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tendre Poison</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, November 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Tendre Poison</td>
<td>Jellita, March 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>Time, 15 April 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 28 May 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lancôme Primordiale</td>
<td>She, February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lancôme Primordiale</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, August, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lancôme Primordiale</td>
<td>Jellita, February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Persil finesse</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Elba</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 15 November 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Hydrabase Chanel</td>
<td>Hello, 30 November 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hydrabase Chanel</td>
<td>Jellita, August 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mitsubishi Motors Colt</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Lanes Olbas Oil</td>
<td><em>The Guardian Weekend</em>, 6 April 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Silk Cut Cigarette</td>
<td><em>The Guardian Weekend</em>, 2 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bufori</td>
<td>Men's Review, January 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Carefree Panty Shields</td>
<td>Wanita, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Carefree Panty Liners</td>
<td>Company, October 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Clarins Multi-Active Nuit</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, August 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brand/Company</td>
<td>Publication/Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Clarins Multi-Active Nuit</td>
<td>Jelita, May 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Colgate Platinum</td>
<td>New Woman, September 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dreamland</td>
<td>The Star, 20 October 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Brands</td>
<td>Mingguan Malaysia, 13 February 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>De Beers (Merisik...)</td>
<td>Wanita, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>De Beers (Julia Scott)</td>
<td>The Times Magazine, 14 September 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>De Beers (Susie Hunt)</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 1 February 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>De Beers (Kate Norton)</td>
<td>Vanity Fair, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>De Beers (Eternal ...)</td>
<td>Her World, September 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>De Beers (Kekal ...)</td>
<td>Jelita, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>De Beers (Kecantikan ...)</td>
<td>Wanita, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>De Beers (Mampu ...)</td>
<td>Jelita, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Nokia (Mat ...)</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 18 September 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Nokia (Tipah ...)</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 22 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Nokia (Hey John, ...)</td>
<td>Sunday Mail, 13 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nokia 2110</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, November 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Nokia 8110</td>
<td>The Independent Magazine, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Carefree Comfort</td>
<td>Marie Claire, March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Perdana Proton</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 7 June 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Proton Persona (Reliable ...)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Proton Persona (Heart ...)</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 9 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Proton Persona (Thrills ...)</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 24 February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Proton Persona (Surprise ...)</td>
<td>Night and Day, 14 April 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Je Taime (Lady's finger ...)</td>
<td>Jelita, February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Clarks</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Nike</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 2 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>CDX</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Guzzi</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Giorgio Armani</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Scandinavian Seaways</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 17 February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Total Image</td>
<td>Female, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Venusa</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Panama Jack</td>
<td>Fashion, 7 October 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Delta Air Lines</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>VW Sharan</td>
<td>The Sunday Telegraph Magazine, 24 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>MBSB</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 6 June 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>British Airways/Qantas</td>
<td>Daily Mail, 27 April 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Wonderbra</td>
<td>Marie Claire, March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>d'Eau Eden</td>
<td>Marie Claire, September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>d'Eau Eden</td>
<td>Jelita, August 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Four Seasons Hotels</td>
<td>Financial Times, 28 April 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Woolwich</td>
<td>Financial Time, 28, 29 April 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Time, 3 July 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Simespring</td>
<td>Jelita, October 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Mum</td>
<td>Her World, June 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Mum</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 7 June 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Fortune</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Disneyland Paris</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>The Legend Hotel</td>
<td>New Straits Times, 3 June 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Timberland</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Canon (All sorts ...)</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Canon (Warna ...)</td>
<td>E-Mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Canon (Bubble...)</td>
<td>The Star, 23 September 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>The Ultimate Lift</td>
<td>Female, October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>BRS Car Lease</td>
<td>Financial Times, 28 February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Imedeen</td>
<td>The Sunday Times, 30 March 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Imedeen</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 11 September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Wella Design (Design ...)</td>
<td>Cleo, September, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Wella Design (Gayakan ...)</td>
<td>Jelita, February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Lotus SmartSuite 96</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Thorntons</td>
<td>Daily Mail Weekend, 1 November 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>VW Golf SE</td>
<td>The Guardian Weekend, 17 February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>CNN International</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>BT</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>VW Hi Torq</td>
<td>Daily Mirror, 9 January 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>USPD Proton-DRB</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 2 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>USPD Proton-DRB</td>
<td>New Straits Time, 24 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Mazda MPV</td>
<td>Utusan Malaysia, 11 September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Volvo 960</td>
<td>Berita Harian, 17 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Volvo 960</td>
<td>New Straits Time, 4 October 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Bausch &amp; Lomb</td>
<td>Cleo, June 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Rover 800</td>
<td>Time,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Pasta its prime</td>
<td>Style, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Carlo Rino</td>
<td>Jelita, March 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Hoechst</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Pharmacia &amp; Upjohn</td>
<td>Time, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Lux (Heaven ...)</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Lux (Kini ...)</td>
<td>Berita Mingguan, 28 September 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Product/Brand</td>
<td>Source/Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Benelli (Italian features...)</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, December 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Benelli (...vintaj ...)</td>
<td><em>Jelita</em>, February 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Benelli (Beg ...)</td>
<td><em>Jelita</em>, August 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Celeron Intel</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>VW Polo</td>
<td><em>The Guardian Weekend</em>, 7 November 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Minolta Vectis</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Air France</td>
<td><em>Time</em>, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Principles</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Oil of Ulan</td>
<td><em>Jelita</em>, March 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>British Airway (cradle seat)</td>
<td><em>Time</em>, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Roberts</td>
<td>Littlefield and Kirkpatrick, (1970: 72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Nissan 100NX</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Mercedes C-Class</td>
<td><em>The Sunday Telegraph</em>, 24 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Carefree Panty Shields</td>
<td><em>Cleo</em>, September, 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Rover 200</td>
<td><em>Time</em>, n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Amani</td>
<td><em>Jelita</em>, March 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Laurier</td>
<td><em>Her World</em>, December 1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Mitsubishi Motors</td>
<td><em>Time</em>, 18 March 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Ford Escort</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And you thought this was enough.

The haze leaves its mark in other ways. On your skin, for example. Haze is made up of dirt particles that carry bacteria and germs in abundance. And you come into contact with it every time you step out the door. You can't fight it, but you can wash it away. The Minister of Information recommends washing and bathing often as a precaution. So use Protex to keep you and your family clean and healthy.

THE PEUGEOT 106 INCA.
NOW WITH FREE INSURANCE
AND A THREE PIECE SUIT.
(SUIT YOURSELF WITH THESE 3 OFFERS.)

### PEUGEOT PASSPORT – 10% DEPOSIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>106 INCA 1.6 LITRE 3 DOOR PETROL</th>
<th>PASSPORT PRICE</th>
<th>DEPOSIT (10%)</th>
<th>ONE OFFER OR SHARING THE AGREEMENT</th>
<th>AMOUNT FINANCED</th>
<th>FINANCE CHARGES</th>
<th>TOTAL AMOUNT OWED</th>
<th>23 MONTHLY PAYMENTS</th>
<th>GUARANTEED FUTURE VALUATION PAYMENT</th>
<th>CUSTOMER APR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£7,995.00</td>
<td>£779.50</td>
<td>£779.50</td>
<td>£6,215.50</td>
<td>£8,632.70</td>
<td>£177.82</td>
<td>£6,606.00</td>
<td>£6,606.00</td>
<td>£177.82</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures are based on a 106 Inca 1.6 3 door petrol engine with an agreed mileage of 10,000 p.a. A £625.25 fee is payable on signing a sales agency agreement. If you require this option, further charges may be made subject to mileage, condition and if the vehicle is not returned on time. (A sure mileage charge range between 15p and 35p per mile as agreed at the time of purchase.) The sales agency option expires if the vehicle is not returned within 30 days from the end of your finance agreement. *Passport price shown includes delivery, number plates and 12 months road fund licence, extended warranty and full 48 cover. Please serve at the time of going to press.

### PEUGEOT FIFTY 50 – 50% DEPOSIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>106 INCA 1.0 LITRE 3 DOOR PETROL</th>
<th>ON THE ROAD PRICE*</th>
<th>£7,075.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50% DEPOSIT</td>
<td>£3,537.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT FINANCED</td>
<td>£3,537.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCE CHARGES</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRST AND ONLY INSTALLMENT DUE</td>
<td>£3,537.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 MONTHS AFTER REGISTRATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PAYABLE</td>
<td>£7,075.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2 YEARS 0% FINANCE – 30% DEPOSIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>106 INCA 1.0 LITRE 3 DOOR PETROL</th>
<th>ON THE ROAD PRICE*</th>
<th>£7,075.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30% DEPOSIT</td>
<td>£2,122.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMOUNT FINANCED</td>
<td>£4,952.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCE CHARGES</td>
<td>NIL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 X MONTHLY PAYMENTS</td>
<td>£206.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PAYABLE</td>
<td>£7,075.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FREE INSURANCE†

18–75 YEARS OF AGE.
AVAILABLE ON ALL NEW 106 INCA'S PETROL OR DIESEL.

---

THE PEUGEOT 106. LEAVE IT ALL BEHIND.
MANAGE THE KINKS, THE STONES AND DIRE STRAIGHTS.

What! Here comes the Peugeot 306 XSI as it winds its way along the cliff towards some sandy shore in the beautiful south of France.

Away from the jam on the main road, the sweet 1.6-litre, fuel injected engine delivers in excess of 120 bhp. Acceleration in a blur to 60 mph in just 9.2 seconds.

Five star handling complements this power, preventing the skids in mud or wet, wet, wet conditions.

The XSI is also available with ABS. Good news for stray cats in the middle of the road.

Further safety features include a driver's airbag and side impact beams to protect you and the various cars from an unexpected wham or other such madness.

The temptations continue with the car's chic matching skirt and sill, sports seats and a 6 speaker radio cassette with RDS and remote control. You might also be awed by the electric front windows and central locking with deadlocks for the doors.

We've even ensured barren nights for the public enemy lurking in the shadows thanks to the alarm and engine immobiliser.

For the full ABC on the XSI, just visit your local Peugeot dealer or call 0345 306 306. No commitments whatsoever.

THE PEUGEOT 306 XSI DRIVES THE IMAGINATION.
But the average person seldom ignores the motoring press.

Allow us to draw your attention to a few typical quotes from some astute observers:

"The 406 has the answer for questions that
“The 406 has the answer for questions that would have many Mercedes and BMWs scratching their heads.” AUTOCAR.

“Brilliant handling and ride plus a superb safety package.” BUSINESS CAR.

“Peugeot has redefined the boundaries... the finest family car that money can buy.” WHAT CAR?

And “If you love driving you will love the Peugeot 406.” CAR.

Above average notices, don’t you think?

THERE'S NO SUCH THING AS AN AVERAGE PERSON.

406 PEUGEOT
THE DRIVE OF YOUR LIFE

THE NEW PEUGEOT 406 FROM £12,595. FOR YOUR FREE INFORMATION PACK CALL 0345 000 406.
The only problem with being your own boss is what do you give yourself on Bosses’ Day.
In a class of your own. The S-Class.
In three minutes, you'll be completely settled.

8pm. Rush hour. You want to go home. Your nerves are fractured, the brain's fermenting, it's in rigor mortis. It's been a Black Monday of a day and it's not over yet. Now you have an appointment with the traffic. You churn, you fume, you exhale.

Slowly, as it hums to life, a quiet little voice of calm resonates inside you. You nestle down into your seat, rest your hands on the wheel and slide into the street. The red lights become lanterns, the horns are a symphony and the traffic melts. 6:33pm. Hush-hour. You're home.
If Susan had used Whisper Ultra Thin instead of her usual pads, she won’t have to run off to check for stains halfway through her PE lesson.

You see, like all Whisper pads, Whisper Ultra Thin has a unique Dri-weave topsheet that draws in wetness quickly. The absorbent layer immediately pulls in the wetness to the ultra-absorbent core with gel that will lock and hold it away from the surface even under body pressure. Whisper Ultra Thin is so absorbent, yet it’s so thin (only 2mm thick) and comfortable, giving Susan that cleaner, drier feeling of protection she needs. Then she will be able to complete her PE lesson without having to worry about staining. After all, it’s not a problem she can run away from. Unless she uses Whisper, of course.

Whisper. For a cleaner, drier feeling of protection.
What can be more interesting than the boys at tuition?

We know. That cute guy at the back row has been eyeing you. Maybe he's even said hi.

But boys will come and go. Your girl pals are those who are really important. Friends you can tell secrets with, giggle at pop stars, try on make-ups. In fact, there are tons of growing up stuff that girls share: boys don't even have a clue.

Like getting your period. You're changing emotionally and physically, growing up, developing new trends...

Getting your period should never stop you from enjoying your found interests. All you need is a reliable pad that can keep you dry and comfortable.

Silk Cuffs has unique twin cuffs along the sides that prevent leakage better than ordinary pads. And each pad can absorb up to 1000 times its dry weight so it's really more effective.

The air-through top sheet keeps you dry and clean, and the contoured shape keeps you snug and comfortable.

Remember, getting your period simply means you're growing up, not a signal to stop having fun. So get yourself Silk Cuffs.

Growing up's more interesting without having to worry about your period!

Sanita Silk Cuffs works so well, you can't tell.

A free sample of Sanita Silk Cuffs, complete and send this coupon to EAC Holdings (M) Sdn Bhd, Marketing Services Division, Sanita Silk Cuffs, P. O. Box 174, 46910 Petaling Jaya, Selangor no later than 31.12.1997.

Name: ___________________________ Age: ___________________________

Address: ___________________________ IC No.: ___________________________

Tel: ___________________________ Mobile: ___________________________

Available in leading supermarkets, department stores, pharmacies, personal care stores and retail outlets.
Why should you have to stop when you're raring to go?

You needn't have to stop doing the things you like just because you're having your period. Just switch to CAREFREE Applicator Tampons.

Unique rounded petal top for maximum insertion comfort.

Silky smooth Gentle Glide applicator for greater ease of insertion and withdrawal.

Applicator side section is grooved for easier handling.

Being an internal protection, it's worn inside your body and held firmly in place by your internal muscles. So you can enjoy even vigorous sports without fear of your tampon getting in your way. Neither will your tampon get lost inside you - there's simply no place for it to go and the removal cord assures you it's there! You'll also be surprised to discover how easy it is to use CAREFREE Applicator Tampons. The exclusive Gentle Glide Applicator with its silky smooth surface and unique rounded petal top make insertion and withdrawal extremely easy. There's even an indented, grooved section for sure handling especially for beginners.

And what about protection on heavy flow days? No problem. CAREFREE Applicator Tampons have a unique absorbent core that gently expands widthways into a cupshape to better fit your individual body contours. You're well and truly protected with less risk of leakage and staining. With CAREFREE Applicator Tampons, you are completely free to do the things you like. Nothing shows. And you won't feel a thing. Now, there's no stopping you.

Yes, I want to discover the easier, the smoother, the sure protection. Please send me a CAREFREE Applicator Tampon sample pack free.

Name: ________________________________
Address:........................................................................................................................................

And get rid of tampons forever! ............................................................
Send to: The Personal Care Advisor (CAI)
JOHNSON & JOHNSON SDN. BHD.
Jalan Tuanku, P.O. Box 801,
Pj Selangor, 46700 Petaling Jaya.

CAREFREE makes protection comfortable.

Trademark © 1959 XCVI

COPY 10
You’ve taken care of ‘that time’ of the month.
Let CAREFREE* take care of the rest.

There are many other days in the month when you need protection. That’s because, like most women, you would experience a natural discharge in between your period days.

That’s where CAREFREE* Panty Shields come in, to keep you feeling fresh as well as protect your panties.

CAREFREE* is so thin, so discrete, you won’t feel it’s there! You’ll also love the petal-soft embossing which gives you extra comfort and which helps absorb better so you stay drier.

Choose your favourite fit from CAREFREE* Regular or CAREFREE* Longs.

Now you can face your day with one less care!

All day freshness. Everyday.

Yes, I’d like to discover freshness all day, every day. Please send me a CAREFREE* sample pack, free.

Name: ____________________________________________
Address: ___________________________________________
Postcode: __________________________________________
Tel: ____________________ Age: ___________
Profession: __________________________________________
Brand/s now using: ____________________________________

Send to: The Personal Care Advisor
JOHNSON & JOHNSON SDN. BHD.
Jalan Tanda, P.O.Box 8017,
Pejabat POS Kelana Jaya
46780 Petaling Jaya

Johnson & Johnson
Very protective.
Reliable.
Understands
my body.
Knows how
to make me
feel good.
Can really
perform.
(What? Introduce you...?)

It could only be the new STAYFREE* Silk. With a cover that's silky smooth, you really feel good and extra comfortable.

Besides that, this special cover can also really perform. Designed with millions of tiny holes, it allows fluid to rapidly pass through and be absorbed by the pad so you'll feel much cleaner and drier. It knows your body well, as the pad fits the contour of your body snugly. STAYFREE* Silk is also available with wings that wrap over your panties, to provide extra protection from side leakage and accidental staining of the panties. You can be assured of silky soft, dry and clean protection. STAYFREE* Silk comes in lights and maxi with and without wings—so even during your worst periods, you know you can always count on them.

STAYFREE*, Protection You Can Trust.

Johnson & Johnson
Pelindung yang sungguh baik.
Pandai jaga ku.
Lembut, tapi hebat.
Memahami diriku.
(Nak aku perkenalkan?)

INTRODUCING
TENDRE POISON
FRESH. PLAYFUL. TENDERLY SEDUCTIVE.

Christian Dior
PARIS
INTRODUCING TENDRE POISON
FRESH AND
TENDERLY SEDUCTIVE.

Christian Dior
PARIS

The quality of Parfums Christian Dior's products is guaranteed only when purchased from an Authorised stockist.
Christian Dior
TENDRE POISON

MEMPERKENALKAN
TENDRE POISON
SEGAR, CERIA, LEMBUT MEMPESONA.
A finished product doesn't mean our work is over.

Let's make things better.

At Philips, when a product is finished, it still has a long way to go.

My name is Anne-Marie Visse. I am a Sales Representative for consumer products at Philips Lighting and I work on a daily basis in collaboration with distributors.

My role consists of guaranteeing the regular presence of Philips Lighting Products at the largest number of points of sale and on the best displays, backed up by original promotional operations.

This makes sure that our products are not only the best, but are seen in all the best places.
Sebenarnya kerja kami belum beres walaupun sesuatu produk telah sempurna.
Bersama wujudkan yang lebih baik.

Let's make things better.

Angga Bima Wisnoe, Xядаа Indonesian Language

PHILIPS

Copyright 18b
In 8 days, visibly younger looking skin.

PRIMORDIALE

Visibly Rejuvenating Treatment

It's a dream come true: PRIMORDIALE, a breakthrough in the fight against skin ageing.

The Nanocapsule of Pure Vitamin E. This patented microscopic carrier, exclusive to Lancôme, is a leap forward in fighting the ageing effects of UVA rays and free radicals. It is capable of delivering even more Vitamin E into the skin.

In 8 days, visibly younger looking skin. PRIMORDIALE contains a very gentle acid to brighten your complexion. In just 8 days fine lines are smoothed, your skin is more supple and soft. Day after day it's more visible.

PRIMORDIALE.
Your skin looks visibly younger!

Lancôme
Paris
In 8 days, visibly younger looking skin

PRIMORDIALE

Visibly Revitalising Treatment

Primordiale, a cosmetic breakthrough and a leap forward in the treatment against the signs of passing time.

The Nanocapsule of Pure Vitamin E
- Nanocapsule is a patented microscopic carrier exclusive to Lancôme.
- Capable of delivering up to 30 times more Vitamin E and with more efficiency to the skin's epidermal cells. Primordiale radically helps treat damage to the skin from UVA rays and free-radicals, the major causes of premature skin-ageing.

In 8 days, visibly younger looking skin
Vitamin-enriched Primordiale also contains a very gentle fruit acid to brighten the complexion. With this wonderfully soft fluid-gel and in just 8 days, the look of fine lines are smoothed, your skin is more supple and soft.

Day after day it's more visible
Thanks to Vitamin E - the revitalising vitamin - the cells* are repaired and protected. Your skin looks visibly younger.

PRIMORDIALE
Every day, younger looking skin!

Lancôme Paris
SUATU PENEMUAN:

Dengan Nanocapsule yang mengandungi Vitamin E Tulen, 30 kali lebih Vitamin E lebih dekat kepada sel-sel kulit.
Kini, satu penemuan untuk menampakkan kulit yang nyata lebih muda.

**PRIMORDIALE**

**RAWATAN MUDA NYATA**

Primordiale, penemuan kosmetik dan selangkah kemajuan menentang tanda-tanda usia.

_Nanocapsule yang bervitamin E tulen._

Primordiale penuh dengan vitamin serta mengandungi asid buah-buahan yang ringan demi mencerahkan cahaya muka. Dengan gel cair lembut yang menakjubkan ini, kedutan halus akan dilicinkan dan kulit anda akan menjadi lebih lembut dalam jangkamasa paling singkat.

Lebih nyata hari demi hari.
Terima kasih kepada vitamin E yang menggiatkan semua sel-sel, perlindungan dan pembaikan kulit akan bertahan lebih lama. Kulit anda akan kelihatan nyata lebih muda.

**PRIMORDIALE.**
Kulit yang kelihatan lebih muda, setiap hari!

---

**LANCÔME PARIS**
New Persil Finesse gives handwash care in your machine. Its pH-neutral formula gives a rich gentle lather to cushion and refresh your machine-washable delicates. So, while Persil Finesse is doing the work, you can do whatever you like. If you would like to know more, call the Persil careline on 0800 776644.


Mrs Debbie Spencer handwashing her pure woollen scarf.

*Always read the garment label.*
Yal Elba cantik dipandang dan cepat bekerja. Ini adalah kelebihan Elba dan teknologi Italy yang canggih dan inovatif. Buktinya, Mesin Basuh Elba didatangkan dengan ciri-ciri hebat seperti:

- Menjimatkan Tenaga
- Amat Senang
- Kini jelaslah kepada anda mengapa Elba selalu dikenali sebagai Mesin Basuh Elba jika anda juga melihatkan ayu rupawan betina membasuh atau memperiksa pakaian... menyeterika pakaian...

Yal Elba cantik dipandang dan cepat bekerja. Ini adalah kelebihan Elba dan teknologi Italy yang canggih dan inovatif. Bktinya, Mesin Basuh Elba didatangkan dengan ciri-ciri hebat seperti:

- Kovalan Saha
- Pilihan Tekpa Putar
- Amat Senang

Kini jelaslah kepada anda mengapa Elba selalu dikenali sebagai Mesin Basuh Elba jika anda juga melihatkan ayu rupawan betina membasuh atau memperiksa pakaian... menyeterika pakaian...

Yal Elba cantik dipandang dan cepat bekerja. Ini adalah kelebihan Elba dan teknologi Italy yang canggih dan inovatif. Bktinya, Mesin Basuh Elba didatangkan dengan ciri-ciri hebat seperti:

- Kovalan Saha
- Pilihan Tekpa Putar
- Amat Senang

Kini jelaslah kepada anda mengapa Elba selalu dikenali sebagai Mesin Basuh Elba jika anda juga melihatkan ayu rupawan betina membasuh atau memperiksa pakaian... menyeterika pakaian...
Plead your lips to the colour nature did not dare to give them.

HYDRABASE
CHANEL
HYDRABASE
CHANEL
TAKE A BREATHER

- Instant relief from congestion, catarrh, colds and sinuses
- A few drops brings immediate relief
- Powerful Olbas formula contains only pure, natural ingredients

THE POWER TO BREATHE Naturally

Olbas Oil
INHALANT DECONGESTANT

Immediate relief for catarrh, colds and sinuses
Always read the label

Lanes LEADERS IN NATURAL HEALTHCARE Lanes
SMOKING CAUSES

Chief Medical
5 mg Tar

COPY 28a
HEART DISEASE

Ticerc's Warning
5 mg Nicotine
How To Go And Come At The Same Time.

Aha! Didn’t think it was possible, did you? Wrong. With the new Bufori, now you can. As fast as you want, Anywhere you want. With whoever you wish. For as long as necessary. So fire your psychiatrist.

17, Jalan Yap Kwan Seng, 50450 Kuala Lumpur. Tel: 03-262 4188 Fax: 03-261 4188

A Member of the SII Group of Companies
Anda telah bersedia menghadapi hari-hari haid setiap bulan. Serahkan kepada CAREFREE* untuk kesegaran hari-hari lain.

Banyak lagi hari dalam bulan itu anda memerlukan perlindungan. Kerana sebagai wanita, anda biasanya mengalami lelana keputihan antara naid secara semula jadi.

Pada masa inilah CAREFREE* Panty Shields memainkan peranan iaitu memasukkan berasa segar dan juga melingkung setau dalam anda.

CAREFREE* sungguh nipsis dan sungguh tidak ketara - tidak terasa anda memakainya! Pasti anda suka pada lapik penyerap bercorak bunga timbul yang lebih selesa dan lebih handal menyenap.

Jadi diri anda lebih selesa dan bersih.

Pilihlah yang sesuai dengan anda.

CAREFREE* Regular atau CAREFREE* Longs. Sekarang anda boleh menghadapi setiap hari dengan lebih yakin!

Ya, saya ingin merasai kesegaran sepanjang hari, setiap hari. Sila hantarkan pek sampel CAREFREE* percuma.

Nama: ____________________________
Alamat: ____________________________
Poskod: ____________________________ Umur: ____________________________
Tel: ____________________________ Pekerjaan: ____________________________
Jenama yang dipakai sekarang: ____________________________

Kepada: The Personal Care Advisor
JOHNSON & JOHNSON SDN. BHD.
Jalan Tandang, P.O.Box 8017,
Pejabat POS Kelana Jaya
46780 Petaling Jaya

*Trademark © 1934 XCV

Kesegaran sepanjang hari, setiap hari

COPY 30
Two continents, three time zones and fifteen hours from my last shower. When suddenly I was hit by the most astonishing sensation.

My knickers felt fresh on.

How long does a fresh pair of knickers feel fresh?
The answer of course is it depends. On the time of the month. The state of the weather. Where you are. What you're doing. Or whether you're wearing Carefree Panty Liners. Carefree are designed to keep your underwear clean and dry.

Not only when you're having a period but also for those periods in between. And because Carefree are slim, soft and secure they won't show, they won't rub and they won't fall out. By changing them as often as you like, you'll keep your knickers feeling as fresh as when you put them on.
Multi-Active Night Lotion

Wake up to youthful radiance every morning.

Minimises the visible signs of ageing at night.

At night, even with the absence of sunlight and air pollution, certain free radicals contribute to skin ageing. Noctoferrine® balances them. Its action to promote the qualities of youthful-looking skin is enhanced by the presence of two essential vitamins particularly active at night.

Selected oils and fruit acids enhance firmness and luminous radiance.
Allergy tested, non-comedogenic.

A relaxed youthful appearance.

The natural soothing ingredients of Multi-Active Night Lotion promote rest and relaxation, and the signs of fatigue fade away.
Barangan khas untuk anda.

MULTI-ACTIVE NIGHT LOTION ini kaya tetapi sungguh ringan dan menyerap dengan mudah menjadikan kulit lembut dan halus.

MULTI-ACTIVE NIGHT LOTION.

Untuk wajah yang muda dan berseri-seri setiap pagi.

Anda kelihatan muda, berseri dan menyenangkan.

Diperbuat daripada bahan-bahan asli yang menyamakan. ia merehatkan kulit dan menghilangkan keletihan serta tanda-tanda kelesuan dengan cepat lagi berkesan.

Mengurangkan tanda kedut yang tidak kelihatan pada waktu malam.

Pada waktu malam, dengan tiadanya cahaya matahari dan pencemaran udara serta tanda-tanda negatif yang menyebabkan proses penuaan akan dinetralisasikan oleh Noctoferrine®. Tindakbalas ini berserta 2 vitamin utama menyebabkan kulit lebih sihat. Ramuan daripada minyak dan buah-buahan terpilih juga menjadikan kulit pejal dan berseri-seri. Diaji selamat dan tidak menyebabkan alah kulit.
A close-up of a Colgate Platinum toothpaste. Not only does its unique formula help remove stains, it fights cavities and too. So wonder Elite model agency chose Colgate Platinum to sponsor their Look of the Year competition.
On your wedding, get 50% off Dreamland mattresses. Double happiness indeed.

If you're going to spend each day of your lives together, shouldn't your nights be just as meaningful? That's why we're offering the Dreamland Romance at an outstanding discount. This chiropractic mattress uses the Miracoll spring system for a firmer support, and because of its unique construction, partner disturbance while sleeping is minimal. Additionally, they'll be available with a plush comfort layer in romantic pastel pink. Dreamland, where else would the union of two souls take place?

FREE

2 anti-snore pillows and 1 bolster worth RM248 with every purchase of a Dreamland Romance.

Queen Size
Normal price RM1,518  
Now RM759 (50% Saving)**

King Size
Normal price RM1,858  
Now RM929 (50% Saving)**

**Prices are valid in West Malaysia only.

Dreamland Romance
The Chiropractic mattress built with Miracoll spring system, engineered with continuous coil and high performance wire construction for superior spine support and alignment.

- Firmer Support
- Superior Spinal Comfort
- Superior Edge Support
- Double-sided For Long Life
- Minimal Partner Disturbance
- Excellent Comfort Without Any Sample
- Safe And Reliable
- Fully Heat Tempered For Super Strength

The pioneers in spring mattress technology.
Merisik
Lambang
Abadi
Cinta
Sejati
Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers
It's an unaccountable thing but, since our anniversary, I just love hailing taxis, calling for the bill in restaurants, or simply strap-hanging.

The Julia Scott Diamond.
Mined from half a mile below the earth's surface. Polished by Jan Wouters, whose family have been diamond polishers for over a century. Bought by Robert Scott for his wife, Julia, whose interests now include waving to friends. For a brochure on diamond solitaires from £695, phone 0115 970 8383.

A diamond is forever
De Beers
i love you, loves me, loves me not
with a diaphond so little.

He loves me, you can stop counting.

There's none of this loves me, loves me not.

The Susee Hunt Diamond
(A Diamond is Forever)

Adirondack Green Diamonds

Shipped from the frozen lands of the Arctic Circle, this rare, almost perfect diamond was specially cut to honor the love and devotion of a young couple. Designed by Roberto Lupano, this solitaire engagement ring is a symbol of the couple's unyielding love and commitment to each other.

Bought for just over a month's salary, the diamond was chosen because it has a diamond for every girl he's loved. The story of this beautiful stone is a testament to the enduring power of love and the magic of diamonds.
I never could see why
I should wear my hair short, even for him.
Then, on my birthday, he came up with
a couple of brilliant reasons.

The Kate Norton Diamonds.
Retrieved from the earth's core as small pieces of crystallised carbon.
Transformed by a diamond polisher in New York. Set by a jewellery
designer in Milan. Presented with love in Carlisle to Kate Norton, who
suddenly needed a haircut. For a brochure on solitaires from £695,
phone 0115 970 8388. To help choose your diamond from 0.20 carat
here are some examples of actual size.

A diamond is forever
De Beers
Eternal, everlasting, enduring. If you don't deserve a diamond, who does?

A diamond is forever
De Beers
(Lagipun, ia kekal selamanya).

Kekal, abadi, selamanya. Jika bukan anda yang patut memiliki berlian, siapa lagi?

Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers
Sebenarnya, kami

Kecantikan
KERLIPAN
dan Kegemilangan
(Sebenarnya, kami bukan sekadar berbicara tentang anda)

Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers
COPY 43
Mampu dimiliki.
(Lagipun Tiada Harga Senilai Dengannya).
Abadi nilainya tiada bandingan, sepadan dengan anda.

Berlian adalah abadi
De Beers
Bagaimana Mesej Berteks ADAM menyelamatkan anda daripada situasi yang memalukan.

Kadangkaia, kita akan terjerat dalam suatu situasi yang tidak dapat dielakkan. Hanya dengan tindakan bijak ADAM saja, yang boleh menyelamatkan anda daripada situasi sebegini. Kerana dengan ADAM, anda boleh menghantar dan menerima mesej berteks, dengan menekan butang telefon bergerak anda. Untuk keterangan lanjut tentang keistimewaan ciri ini, sila dalil 017-17-17. Atau kunjungi wakil jualan berdaftar kami yang berhampiran dan bertanyalah tentang ADAM.
Bagaimana Mesej Berteks ADAM boleh merapatkan hubungan yang dingin.

Sekiranya anda berselisih faham, ambillah kesempatan ini untuk menjadikan ADAM sebagai perantaraan di antara anda dan si dia. Kerana ADAM merupakan satu-satunya sistem telefon bergerak terunggul yang mempunyai perkhidmatan mesej berteks. Dengan menekan butang telefon bergerak anda, mesej akan terus sampai ke pangkuannya. Untuk keterangan lanjut tentang keistimewaan ciri ini, sila dail 017-17-17. Atau kunjungi wakil jualan berdaftar kami yang berhampiran dan bertanyalah tentang ADAM.
In life, and in business, sometimes a quick discreet message can bail you out of potential disaster. With ADAM PCN, the world's most advanced digital telecommunication system, you can send and receive written messages by pressing a few buttons on your mobile phone. For more information on this unique feature, call 017-17-17. Or visit your nearest authorised dealer and ask for ADAM.
There's simply no argument.

The Nokia 2110 is simply the best digital phone in the UK. For the last two years in succession it's won the independent What Cellphone Best Business Phone Award. It offers a host of sophisticated features in an amazingly compact design, yet it's so simple to use whether you're in the UK or abroad. For instance when you want to pick up a text message on SMS, you'll find a menu guide ready to help on the large easy-to-read screen. And with the Nokia Cellular Data Card, you can send a fax while you're on the move, or access your e-mail. Add to that our range of genuine accessories and you'll find the Nokia 2110 is very hard to beat. No debate. Call 0990 002110 today for a brochure.
Simply the right balance.

The new Nokia 8110 digital mobile phone is unique. Because for once, the balance between form and function is perfect. It's the ideal size and weight to carry around, with a beautifully curved design and a cover which slides shut to make a smooth shape for your pocket. Yet it will give you an amazing 2hrs and 5 mins talktime and 70 hrs standby time on an incredibly lightweight battery. And its beauty is matched by its brain. The sheer intelligence inside the 8110 makes it one of the most powerful pieces of mobile technology available today. It is fully data capable and features a high quality graphics display which adjusts the size of text automatically for easy viewing. With a full range of genuine Nokia accessories to choose from too, the Nokia 8110 is simply the shape of things to come. Call 0990 002110 today for a brochure.
You might have tried body shaped pantyliners before. But you've never experienced one with Carefree softness before. That's why our new pantyliners are called Carefree Comfort. They have a gently rounded shape, molded to your body, combined with terry softness, too. And they're so comfortable that not only can you wear them either side of your period but for any slight discharge which, as you know, can happen any time of the month.

With Carefree Comfort, no matter how endless your day, your knickers will feel as fresh and comfortable as when you first put them on.

CAREFREE COMFORT PANTY LINERS. FOR THAT FRESH ON PANTY FEELING.
Posk Serb menolak berlakunya pembunuhan beramai-ramai itu. Mereka memandang pertikaian AS yang dibentangkan kepadanya sebagai kesalahan yang memberatkan di bawah pancaran matahari panas terik, para penyiasat itu menguak petunjuk-petunjuk yang selama satu meter dalam, 2.5 meter lebarnya dan empat meter panjang.

Kereta-kereta polis Serb yang dipindu pertikaian karap melintasi kawasan penggalian itu, tetapi kejayaan berjalan tanpa sebarang gangguan. — Reuters.

GAYA PEMANDUAN YANG UNGGUL.
DENGAN MATLAMAT KE DESTINASI MERCU JAYA.


Neta
KAHERRAH
Perdana : Benjamin F memastikan menaikkan harga minyak pada 6 J ini atau awal bulan April.

LE HAVRE (AFP) — Ditahun di bung pom berdiri.
Mayat A El Kabbani, 17, 3 hari tewas.
Anaknya ditahun di bung pom sebentar.

EON
Edaran Otomobil Nasional Berhad.
A long-term relationship requires more than just physical attraction. Looks are important of course, style too, and personality goes a long way. But you also need to feel comfortable. And what about reliability? Relax, Persona has all of these qualities. And to prove it, it has The Best New Car Warranty Package in Britain - The Proton Customer Commitment. Plus, for a limited period, 2 Years Free Servicing. The Persona is a car you'll get on with. Have fun with. Feel comfortable with. And above all, want to stay with. Desirable features; Power Steering, Electric Windows, Central Locking and Multi-speaker Blaupunkt Stereos figure highly. And for those who stray off the straight and narrow, Persona will protect you with its steel reinforced safety cell, front and rear crumple zones and side impact bars. What could be more appealing? Find out more about Proton's very special offers. Make the first move to a lasting relationship.

CALL NOW FOR A FREE INFORMATION PACK
0645 601 601
CALLS CHARGED AT LOCAL RATES. OFFERS UNTIL 31ST MARCH 1990.

A RELIABLE PERSONA

EASY TO BUY WITH THE PROTON OPTION PLAN FROM £114.54 A MONTH PLUS DEPOSIT AND FINAL PAYMENT*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARRY PRICE ON</th>
<th>DEPOSIT</th>
<th>BALANCE TO</th>
<th>MONTHLY PAYMENTS</th>
<th>GUARANTEED</th>
<th>TOTAL CARRY</th>
<th>CARRY PRICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT THE ROAD</td>
<td>£3,995.00</td>
<td>£3,995.00</td>
<td>£3,995.90</td>
<td>£196.64</td>
<td>£3,995.00</td>
<td>£114.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£8,990.00</td>
<td>£3,990.00</td>
<td>£2,990.90</td>
<td>£1,960.44</td>
<td>£23 + £114.54</td>
<td>£8,990.00</td>
<td>£114.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£8,995.00</td>
<td>£3,995.00</td>
<td>£2,995.90</td>
<td>£1,965.44</td>
<td>£23 + £114.54</td>
<td>£8,995.00</td>
<td>£114.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£9,000.00</td>
<td>£3,999.00</td>
<td>£2,999.90</td>
<td>£1,970.44</td>
<td>£23 + £114.54</td>
<td>£9,000.00</td>
<td>£114.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Typical example based on 6,000 annual mileage Persona Persona 1.4 DOOR

PROTON
JAPANESE TECHNOLOGY MALAYSIAN VALUES.

From only
£8,495 to £11,450

Excluding road tax, number plates and £995 delivery.

220 DEALERS NATIONWIDE

COPY 52.
YOUR HEART WILL LIKE IT AS MUCH AS YOUR HEAD

Buying a new car usually involves a lengthy debate between the heart and the head.
At heart, everyone knows what they are looking for: performance, comfort, reliability and style. The trouble is, just when you think you have found it, the head comes in and says you can't afford it.
But all is not lost.
Take a look at the Persona range from Proton. Compare the Persona with its mainstream competition and you'll see, £10,000 or more.
Better still, after 18 months without a price increase, you've just realized Persona prices offering a further saving of up to £316.
A Persona has all the features your heart desires. It turns heads because it's beautifully built and gives outstanding performance day-in, day-out. It raises eyebrows because it's often models which feature power steering, electric windows and door locks, central locking and airbags.

£8,999 TO £11,699 The price you pay to drive away

in the business, The Proton Customer Commitment. What's more, the price you see is the price you pay to drive away including number plates, delivery and 12 months' road tax. With Proton there are no hidden extras.
And just to make the head completely happy, there are a range of low cost finance plans to make buying a Persona so much easier.

It means you can finally make a level headed decision about a car which will also set your heart racing.

Send to: Proton Cars Information Centre, 152-154 Norhall Road, Harrow HA2 0EA or Telephone: 0645 601 601
The look of the car creates immediate impact. Turn the ignition and the real excitement starts. The 1.3, 1.5 or 16-Valve 1.6 engines produce their power smoothly and efficiently. The handling is precise, the braking surefooted and roadholding secure. Compact is a thrill to drive without having to make the wheels spin.

Well appointed too. Models offer specifications which make a difference: air conditioning, power steering, electric windows and door mirrors, central locking and Blaupunkt in-car entertainment.

Safety is always of paramount importance, with a driver's airbag (optional on 1.3), anti-lock brakes and a steel reinforced safety cell.

And reliability isn't just a showroom talking point, it comes in the form of probably the best long-term warranty package in the business, The Proton Customer Commitment.

You might think this is adding up to a high price. Think again, because here's the part you'll probably read twice. Compare the Compact to £10,799 and its mainstream competitors and, spec for spec, you'll save £1,500 to £2,000. What's more, the price you see is the price you pay to drive away including number plates, delivery and 12 months' road tax. With Proton there are no hidden extras.

There is also a range of competitive finance plans to make buying a new Compact easier than ever.

So, while other car companies give you fancy frills on their prices, the Persona Compact simply gives you brilliant value on the road.
Admit it, you're surprised the new 1996 Persona SEi looks so good.

You'll also be surprised by the performance from its outstanding new 1.8 litre engine, spirited enough to satisfy the most demanding driver.

Its specification may surprise you too: air-conditioning, power steering, central locking, electric windows and mirrors, alloy wheels and a Blaupunkt stereo.

More surprisingly still, the entire restyled Persona range, including a new 2.0 litre diesel, costs from only £10650 to £13650. And that's the price you pay to drive away. There are no hidden extras.

At Proton we believe in stylish, affordable, trouble-free motoring, so it won't be a surprise that we give you probably the best long-term warranty scheme around, including RAC membership.

Call us today, and tomorrow surprise yourself with your new Persona.

0645 601601
Nothing looks more perfect on a lady's finger.

This festive season is the perfect time to find out for yourself. Whether you're looking for the feet of love or treating yourself to a little indulgence, this exquisite South Sea Pearl nestled in a bed of diamonds and rose and white gold is sure to put the sparkle in your holiday.
FROM CLARKS, WA
FOR THE MAN

COPY 579
TERPROOF SHOES IN THE STREET.

BEGONIA

WANDERER

GRENDALE
The perfect all-round waterproof in Dark Olive Smooth Leather or Dark Brown Waxy Leather. Sizes 6 to 11 and £20.99.

ROTTENOE
A classic formal business shoe in Black Leather or Black Nubuck. Sizes 6 to 11 and £15.99.

CLARKS WATERPROOF RANGE IS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE CLARKS SHOP AND OTHER LEADING CLARKS STOCKISTS. PLEASE CALL OUR FREE HELPLINE 0800 616 427 FOR THE ADDRESS OF YOUR NEAREST STOCKIST.
Nike-Air cushioning will save the earth. One court at a time.
The New CDX Sport
Road Handling Sys

Revolutionary shock-absorbers, superior road handling and grip, a fully leather lined interior.

At a mere £69.99, the new K CDX Sport is undoubtedly one of the most lavishly equipped modes of getting from A to B to be found on the streets of Britain.

On the outside it has the crisp, razor sharp lines of a top of the range executive shoe.

Open one up however and you’ll discover a shoe fairly bristling with comfort technology.

The Most Sophisticated Shock-Absorber Ever Seen In A Shoe.

Hidden in the heel for example is the innovative ‘Shock Control System’.

A free moving rubber pillar located in a cavity directly under the heel, which in turn sits on a highly shock-absorbent mattress.

As your heel strikes the pavement the impact is transferred via the pillar to the mattress, absorbing the shock.

For The Hard-Pressed Executive, A Fully Leather Lined Interior.

As for the interior, it too is designed and constructed to provide the hard-pressed executive with the
The Most Advanced Gem in the World.

'crumple zone' underfoot.

A high density foam sandwiched between two layers of leather that cossets and cushions the foot when walking on rough surfaces.

A Unique Anti-Slip Tread Pattern for Superior Handling and Grip.

that is made up of a compound with more than seven times the wear of a more traditional sole.

A fact that makes the K CDX Sport practically maintenance free bar a simple wax and polish on a Sunday morning.

And so to the sole, and yet more thoughtful refinements.

For the CDX Sport possesses not one, but two, separate soles.

The first of which is leather and the second, a highly durable 'TPU' rubber insert cut into it.

An insert that not only has the unique 'K 700' anti-slip tread pattern for superior road holding and grip but also features an impact-absorbing sole ride on the roughest of surfaces.

ultimate stress-free environment.

Fully leather lined and perforated with holes to allow air to circulate freely around the foot, the CDX Sport


FOR THE ADDRESS OF YOUR NEAREST K CDX SPORT STOCKIST SIMPLY FREEPHONE US ON 0800 541 541.

COPY 596
'Good Year Welt' adalah istilah pertukangan kasut beratus-ratus tahun dahulu. Sebelum adanya glu, tukang kasut menggunakan cara purba iaitu menjahit sisi kasut bersama-sama dengan kulit lembu. Setelah munculnya glu, cara 'Good Year Welt' yang memakan masa dan tenaga ini sememangnya tidak digunakan lagi. Kini kasut GUZZI memperkenalkan semula kehalusan 'Good Year Welt' melalui seni pertukangan terunggul, agar setiap pengguna berpeluang menikmati keselesaan kasut yang tahan lasak dan tahan haus ini.

GUZZI 'Good Year Welt' dengan sukacitanya mempersembahkan kasut kulit perbagai kegunaan yang mengutamakan keselamatan, dengan rekabentuk yang kukuh lagi tahan lasak, sesuai untuk mendaki, berekreasi dan bekerja. Kami merupakan syarikat Malaysia yang pertama kali memperkenalkan seni pertukangan kasut di mana sisi kasut dan kulit lembu dijahit bersama-sama. Hasil, keluaran GUZZI memberi keyakinan dan jaminan kepada para pengguna. Hati-hati supaya tidak terbeli kasut tiruan.

Kasut bermutu istimewa

Kulit biri-biri bermutu tinggi yang – Lembut

Lubang butang bergigi
– Yang bergaya

Good Year Welt terdapat
2 rekabentuk :

Bahagian jari tanpa besi
– Selesa dipakai

Bahagian jari
diperkukuh dengan besi
– Besi buatan UK boleh
menampung tekanan
sehingga 200 Joule.

Lapisan dalam
dijamin kukuh
– Bahan termo plastik
berkualiti ISO 9002

Fungsi Formika
– Meneguhkan
bahagian tapak kaki

Kulit lembu Itali bermutu tinggi

Alur getah berminyak 1– 2m

Ciri istimewa tapak kasut
– Kalis minyak, kalis asid, tahan haba.

Kombinasi tapak kasut
– Getah asli, Getah buatan

Sisi kasut
– Dijamin setahun
tidak tanggal

Lubang butang bergigi
– Yang bergaya

Kasut bermutu istimewa

Tumit kasut
– digaris arus
keselesaan tumit anda

Kulit biri-biri bermutu
tinggi yang – Lembut

Lubang butang bergigi
– Yang bergaya

Good Year Welt terdapat
2 rekabentuk :

Bahagian jari tanpa besi
– Selesa dipakai

Bahagian jari
diperkukuh dengan besi
– Besi buatan UK boleh
menampung tekanan
sehingga 200 Joule.

Lapisan dalam
dijamin kukuh
– Bahan termo plastik
berkualiti ISO 9002

Fungsi Formika
– Meneguhkan
bahagian tapak kaki

Kulit lembu Itali bermutu tinggi

Alur getah berminyak 1– 2m

Ciri istimewa tapak kasut
– Kalis minyak, kalis asid, tahan haba.

Kombinasi tapak kasut
– Getah asli, Getah buatan

Sisi kasut
– Dijamin setahun
tidak tanggal

'Good Year Welt' adalah istilah pertukangan kasut beratus-ratus tahun dahulu. Sebelum adanya glu, tukang kasut menggunakan cara purba iaitu menjahit sisi kasut bersama-sama dengan kulit lembu. Setelah munculnya glu, cara 'Good Year Welt' yang memakan masa dan tenaga ini sememangnya tidak digunakan lagi. Kini kasut GUZZI memperkenalkan semula kehalusan 'Good Year Welt' melalui seni pertukangan terunggul, agar setiap pengguna berpeluang menikmati keselesaan kasut yang tahan lasak dan tahan haus ini.

GUZZI 'Good Year Welt' dengan sukacitanya mempersembahkan kasut kulit perbagai kegunaan yang mengutamakan keselamatan, dengan rekabentuk yang kukuh lagi tahan lasak, sesuai untuk mendaki, berekreasi dan bekerja. Kami merupakan syarikat Malaysia yang pertama kali memperkenalkan seni pertukangan kasut di mana sisi kasut dan kulit lembu dijahit bersama-sama. Hasil, keluaran GUZZI memberi keyakinan dan jaminan kepada para pengguna. Hati-hati supaya tidak terbeli kasut tiruan.
GIORGIO ARMANI
37/42, Sloane Street, London
"Take a test drive with Scandinavian Seaways."

Jeremy Clarkson on a Scandinavian Seaways motoring holiday.

They say New England in the fall is a spectacular place, and having been there and seen the leaves, I'd say they were right but there's somewhere much closer to home which is even better. Sweden. I've been a huge fan of Scandinavia for many years. I love the endless daylight in Summer months, and in the far North you will find the only European wilderness. And then there's the space; less than a third of Sweden is populated, leaving the rest for forests and lakes.

But the best thing is the weather. Being fair skinned and prone to spectacular impersonations of a tomato every time it gets above 67 degrees, it suits me down to the ground - plus, you can go there by ferry. I spend half my life at airports and I hate them with a passion which is why, whenever I have the chance, I'll take the sea route. It may be slower but at least your holiday begins when you leave, and not when you arrive.

The Scandinavian Seaways ship is something else. Once you've watched England slip into the haze, you can go for a swim in the outdoor pool, lounge around in the sun or watch the endless oil rigs slide by. I never knew there were so many. Keep it coming guys. Then after the sun goes down, it's time to eat. Oh sure, you can check out a live band or even go to one of the two cinemas - Outbreak was tempting but dinner won. Having had lunch in the Smorgåsbord, we tried the A La Carte restaurant which was superb, so superb in fact that we were the last to leave. The cabin beckoned with its crisp white sheets, its brass porthole and the ensuite bathroom but I have never been able to walk past a casino. Over a game of blackjack, there was some redistribution of wealth as I handed all my money to the dealer who promptly gave it to my wife. Then to bed. Now, I have never once slept on a plane and I even have a job getting off at home, but with the gentle rocking and the rhythmic swishing of the sea I went into a virtual coma.

In the next eight hours, my heart would beat just three times. Perhaps it's because we're from an island nation, but I just love sea travel. The next day, we had a look around the shops, enjoyed breakfast in the cafe and went back on deck to see the outer reaches of Sweden's Western archipelago come into view. This is something everyone should see - a million or more tiny islands which stretch for miles up the coast north of Göteborg. I'd been there before many times, and eaten fish like you would not believe, which is why we pointed the nose of our Volvo - what else? - in the direction of Hestra, a lakeside town in the woods. All Swedish towns are by a lake, in the woods, but this was just beautiful.

So was the hotel and the food was to die for. Reindeer that melted in the mouth and vegetables so crisp, they were bouncy. Hand on heart, this is one of the two finest restaurants I've ever found. Civilised too. The next morning, they were still serving breakfast at eleven. By midday we were off to Stockholm. It takes a while because Swedes are the slowest drivers in the world which was just fine by me. I was on holiday, and happy to tootle along at 50, watching the woods and lakes and the elk bounce by.

After another night, doing nothing except being fed, we came home feeling like we'd been away a month. Next time, it will be a month.

Sweden. As peaceful and as pretty as New England. Only nearer.
The Secret To Trim Your Bulging Flabby Tummy Away.

You don’t have to resort to baggy clothes to hide a bulging, flabby tummy. With Tummitrim, you have got what it takes to flatten that tummy.

Tummitrim is made of all essential amino acids, vitamins and minerals in the correct balance. It is nutritious and delicious too.

Being specially formulated, Tummitrim will trim your bulging, flabby tummy to a flatter and trimmer tummy for a better looking figure.

Take Tummitrim today. And pretty soon, you can take off the baggy clothes because you will have absolutely nothing to hide.
Take A Good Look
It can change your looks.

Mahukan bentuk badan yang anggun dan menawan? Kaedah terbaru bagi membentuk tubuh idaman anda menjadi lebih anggun.
Sentuhan lembut VENUSA memberi keeselesaan sepanjang hari. Terdapat 280 saiz dalam 6 warna menarik yang direkacipta untuk mengikuti potongan badan anda.

COLL
Menek ke atas tisu-tisu lemak dari bahagian bawah dan belakang badan untuk menjadikan lebih menarik.

SELIUR DALAM
Direkacipta dalam 3 dimensi diapada kain renda, melilit panggang dan menakikannya dari tepi.

BODYSUIT
Melilit dan membentuk badan kepad bentuk yang lebih anggun. Direkacipta khusus untuk menurunkan pinggang dan meluskan badan.

PENDING
Melilit keseluhan panggang, pinggang dan paha, menghalangi daripada melendur. Direka dan dibentuk dengan menggunakan tekanan suhu tinggi, bagi membentuk ketiga-tiga bahagian berkenaan menjadi lebih cantik.

Visit us in the Internet at:
http://www.msianet.com/venusa/
Imported from Japan for exclusive distribution in Malaysia and Singapore by VENUSA CORPORATION SDN BHD.
Flying should be a time to think. To unwind. To day-dream. That's why every single passenger on any one of our 500 daily flights into our home town of Atlanta, the venue of the 1996 Olympics, will get as much or as little service as they need. Because sometimes leaving everything behind can be as important to a businessman as to an Olympic sprinter. Delta Air Lines
You'll love the way we fly
Just as our bus didn't drive like a bus, our MPV doesn't drive like an MPV. It drives like a car. And not any old car. A Volkswagen.

Its steering (power-assisted) is just as precise, its suspension (fully independent) just as composed, its braking (ABS) just as positive. Even the way in is way out, the doors swinging open car-fashion instead of sliding back like a van's. And see those front seats? They swivel 180° while...
Remember those mind-expanding trips of the Sixties? They're back.

the remaining five fold into tables or lift out for a space marginally smaller than Shea Stadium. Electric windows? Multi-function computer? Sony radio/cassette? Whatever turns you on. Of course, being a Volkswagen, our MPV is nothing if not solid and rigid. Yet, by the same token, it can be soft and yielding, courtesy of twin airbags. Take it from us. MPVs have reached a new high. Sharan. From £16,565.
Walau apa pun impian rumah idaman yang lebih indah, anda boleh memaklumkan panduan dan
perkhidmatan kewangan yang diberikan oleh MBSB yang lebih disesuaikan dan sesuai dengan keperluan anda.

Reputasi MBSB sebagai penerbit kewangan yang baik telah membawa keberkemenan Malaysia
menyokong impian membangun rumah idaman yang lebih baik melalui perjanjian penuh
MBSB yang berkoperasi.

Jika impian anda masih semakin menjadi rumah impian,
hubungi kami di talian "Debit Hotline" 600-3880.
Recommended reading when you fly to Australia with us.

Fly to Australia and you can stop off for a holiday in a whole range of destinations including Los Angeles, Auckland, Bali, Hong Kong and Bangkok (due to the alliance between Qantas and British Airways). Book before 31st May 1996 for travel between November '96 and March '97 and you also get two internal flights in Australia, all for just £799. Comprendre? Call 0345 747 767 or see your travel agent for more information.

QANTAS  BRITISH AIRWAYS

Fares are restricted to limited availability and travel periods. Passenger taxes apply.
IT’S OKAY,
THEY’RE
WITH ME.

Keep your cool this summer, in the comfort of the White Satin Wonderbra. Maximum uplift with minimum show, even under the closest fitting clothing. (The only thing they’ll notice is the boost in your self-confidence...) Wonderbra, however, is more than just a bra. It’s an entire range of styles, colours and fabrics: from lace through cotton to satin. It even gives a choice of different shaped cleavages. Select your own style of flattery. At Debenhams, Top Shop, House of Fraser, Contessa and other leading lingerie stockists and mail order catalogues.

THE ONE AND ONLY
WONDERBRA

THE WHITE SATIN WONDERBRA
"I'm arriving tonight and I have no time to pack. How much do I have to bring?"

How much would you like to bring? Our valets can press your suit—or a week's worth of them—in an hour. Our spacious rooms offer you hairdryers and thick bathrobes; our health clubs, gear from running shorts to aerobics shoes. And our 24-hour concierges are poised to provide anything you intended to bring, but didn't—from a sales presentation on a disk, to a best-seller. Hard cover or audiotape. In this value-conscious era, the demands of business demand nothing less. For reservations, please telephone your travel counsellor or call Four Seasons Hotels toll free.

Four Seasons - Regent. Defining the art of service at 40 hotels in 19 countries.
Tiers of joy.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BALANCE</th>
<th>RATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£500 – £9,999</td>
<td>5.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£10,000 – £28,999</td>
<td>6.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£29,000 – £49,999</td>
<td>6.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£50,000 – £79,999</td>
<td>6.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£80,000+</td>
<td>6.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read it and reap. Woolwich Guernsey has consistently offered excellent rates of interest in all these tiers.

Last year, in particular, our £500-£9,999 tier offered 5.75% interest, the highest rate of any offshore building society subsidiary.

Which, incidentally, made it the industry best buy for 1994!

And, had you invested £10,000 over the past 3 years in our £10,000-£29,999 tier, you’d now be crying with laughter, because it was also rated as industry best buy in ’94.

In fact, you can now earn an impressive 6.50% in this bracket.

Quite obviously then, you could do yourself a wealth of good by investing with Woolwich Guernsey.

And you can rest assured your investment is secure. All deposits are 100% guaranteed by Woolwich Building Society.

Not only that, the beauty of this Woolwich Guernsey account is that it gives you instant access to your money. You’re free to withdraw all or part of your investment at any time you like with no penalties at all.

To find out more, call us on 01481 715735 during weekly business hours. Alternatively fax us on 01481 715722 or clip the coupon.

Woolwich Guernsey. We wipe away the competition’s tiers.

Please send me details of the Woolwich Guernsey Sterling International Gross Account.

Mr/Mrs/Mist/Miss

Address

Country

Tel/Fax No.

Return to: Woolwich Guernsey Limited, PO Box 341, La Tonnelle House, Les Banques, St Peter Port, Guernsey GY1 3NU

*Past International Rates. Check It Out. "Woolwich海外 Building Society (Bermuda) Investment Account. Deposits made with the offices of Woolwich Guernsey Limited are not covered by the Deposit Protection Scheme under the Banking Act 1991. Accounts under Section 51 of the Building Societies Act 1986 all Savings of the company are guaranteed by the Woolwich Building Society, Woolwich Building Society (Guernsey) Deposits placed in the hands of buildings and investment offices, Guernsey, Guernsey, Guernsey, Guernsey, Guernsey. Registered office, Woolwich Building Society, St Peter Port, Guernsey, Guernsey. Registered under the Banking Regulator (Bermuda) Act 1994. Registered under the Banking Regulator Act 1992, Guernsey, Guernsey, Guernsey, Guernsey. Copies of the company’s most recent audited accounts available on request. A wholly owned subsidiary of the Woolwich Building Society. The brands or trademarks may be used through Woolwich Building Society Branches. Some charges are current or at £1.99 but are variable. Gross payment of interest at current rates of income tax.
You can understand computers now. Or wait for your children to explain them to you later.

Understanding comes with TIME.
UDA DAN DARA SALING BERCINTA,
INGIN BAHAGIA SELAMA-LAMANYA,
BILA MENDAPAT TILAM ISTIMEWA,
PENGANTIN BARU TIDUR, SELESA.

Dan keselesaan yang anda alami ini jugalah menjamin sebahagiaan anda hingga ke anak cucu.

Ini disebabkan tilam Simespring Comfortrest dapat memberikan keselesaan terbaik dan sokongan yang mantap untuk sekurang-kurangnya 12 tahun. Sesungguhnya, Simespring Comfortrest mempunyai "Perm-A-Lator®" upaya tilam lebih menganal dan gergelingnya tidak dirasai. Dan, lapisan kapas tebal yang lembut membuatkannya lebih empuk dan selesa.

Setiap tilam Simespring Comfortrest mempunyai senstabil yang terdapat pada bahagian depi dan sudutnya upaya ia tidak melendut sebaliknya memberikan sokongan yang sempurna. Ia juga disanitaskan untuk sentiasa segar dan bersih.

Jadi, pilihlah rangkaian Simespring Comfortrest, sama ada Regency, Duchess atau Windsor kerana perhubungan yang erat memastikan kemanisan hidup yang kekal abadi.

*Hanya terdapat pada Regency dan Windsor.
"Surprising? Hardly! With MUM, I can always be myself! And I'm always confident! MUM works hard for me, keeping me fresh all the time. What more could I ask for? MUM really puts me in control so I can do what I want. Thanks, MUM!"


MY MUM LETS ME DO WHAT I WANT

Imagine That!

A quality product from Bristol-Myers Squibb.
Malah aku sentiasa berasa yakin. MUM memastikan aku sentiasa
segar sepanjang hari. Tiada lagi yang aku perlukan!
Aku boleh melakukan apa sahaja dengan MUM. Terima kasih, MUM! *

Barangan Anti-peluh MUM:
Deodoran Anti-peluh MUM Roll on (MUM Clear & MUM Sensitive) &
MUM Stick Anti-peluh.

AKU BEBAS APABILA BERSAMA MUM!

Siapa Sangka!

Produk berkualiti keluaran Bristol-Myers Squibb.
The world’s most influential source of ideas, explanations and solutions for decision makers.

FORTUNE
put it to work
Have you ever had difficulty telling reality from fantasy?

No! Well, here's your chance to find out what you've been missing. Surrender yourself to the wonders of Disneyland® Paris.

At every turn a new adventure will unfold, another fairy-tale spring to life. What holiday is complete without a ride on a runaway train, a journey back in time or a battle with a band of cut-throat pirates? Not forgetting the incredible Space Mountain (above). A whole universe of fact and fiction in a rolicking, rocketing space adventure.

For those who still have the energy, the entertainment continues into the night at Festival Disney.

Here you can enter into the American dream as bars, restaurants and live music transport you to the heart of the good old US of A.

At the end of a day in Disneyland® Paris, with your mind boggled and your buckle thoroughly swashed, you'll be more than ready for the land of nod.

Fortunately there are six themed hotels to choose from. All with accommodation to suit your budget.

Whether you're taking a short break in Paris or spending your summer holiday in France, be sure you pay a visit.

And feel free to leave reality behind at the gates.

For reservations and information on Disneyland® Paris including a P&O European Ferries Ferry Guide, please call Disneyland® Paris UK Reservations on 0990 030303 or send this coupon to Disneyland® Paris, PO Box 200, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Warwickshire CV37 9BR.

Name
Address

P&O European Ferries

COPY 80
The Japanese set lunch.
Try a bit of everything, then come back a Gen and a Gen.

It is time to discover that Japanese food is more than just udon and sushi. And to help you to try as many new tastes as you can, we have a variety of unbelievably special offers. Each set lunch includes a variety of Japanese delicacies. So you will quickly expand your experience of Japanese food. And because this offer is so unbelievably special, you can come back again and again and try more and more new tastes. Our Gen Set Lunches are priced from RM28.00+ onwards. That’s right we told you it was unbelievable. Available daily from Monday to Saturday.

Call The Legend Hotel, (03) 442 9888, and ask for the Gen.
At the Timberland workshop in Hanover, New Hampshire the only knots that are used are pearl knots.

Because every Timberland boot shop is individually hand sewn by our craftsmen and after every single stitch a double knot, known as the pearl knot is tied, this means that in the unlikely event of the double strength thread snapping, the stitching will never run.

With this much care and attention going into the construction of our shoes, it's hardly surprising that we are so pernickety about the materials we use. We select the leather from the very best quality natural, full grain hides to ensure it is both water resistant and strong enough to last through to ensure the colour won't wear off.

The true mocassin construction means that a single piece of leather wraps around the foot to help make them not only more comfortable but tougher too.

And our 100% rawhide lacing system runs behind the back of the heel to help keep the foot from slipping out of the shoe.

At Timberland we like to think we've thought of everything before casting off.

To find out where your nearest Timberland stockist is call 0345 669988.

Even before our boat shoes make it on board they've got up to 50 knots.
You've got a real mixed bag of requirements when it comes to choosing the right printer, all of which add up to a compelling case for the Canon BJC-4100. Unique Bubble Jet technology and separate cartridges let you switch between super fast black and white and rich, vivid colour printing on any medium from plain paper to OHP slides. Desktop publishing is also at your disposal thanks to a free copy of Pressworks 2™ software. Add the security of a three year warranty and you've got a package that's sure to be your favourite selection. If you'd like more information about the Canon BJC-4100, please Freephone 0500 246246.
Anda mungkin mempunyai impian sejuta kombinasi warna-warni indah. Impian ini boleh menjadi kenyataan dengan pencetak warna Bubble Jet Canon. Sememangnya tiada pencetak lain yang mampu memberi warna-warni yang lebih indah daripada kami. Dari kemeja-tinggi hingga ke helai fabrik dan transperansi, dunia warna indah menjadi dunia anda dengan pencetak warna Bubble Jet Canon.

Dalam apa-apa juga keperluan dalam pencetakan, pencetak warna Bubble Jet Canon mampu memberikan anda warna yang lebih hidup, mutu fotografi yang tiada bandingan serta kepantasan yang menakjubkan walaupun hanya atas kertas biasa sahaja.

Kesimpulannya, rangkaian penuh pencetak warna Bubble Jet Canon menawarkan segala-gala yang anda impikan dalam warna-warni yang tidak seperti yang pernah ditemui.

Di Canon, itu yang sentiasa menjadi impian kami.
The new Canon Colour Bubble Jets are very photographic.

The PhotoRealism printers from Canon.

Canon announces a new standard for ink jet printing:
photographic quality prints good enough to frame.

The revolutionary new Photo Ink system developed by Canon is the result of a number of engineering breakthroughs.

For the first time ink density is controlled which allows for the printing of subtle graduations of tone (3 levels for each colour compared to 1 for conventional inks). In turn creating true shades of colours. Which make your colour prints, more realistic, more photographic.

What's more, you have the option of fluorescent colours as well.

Of course, Canon Bubble Jets already give you the most choices of media (everything from plain paper to T-shirt transfers).

So whether you need a printer for the home, office, or professional use, the new PhotoRealism Bubble Jets from Canon let you do more with colour than any other printer.

Anything you can dream up, in fact.
Le Phoenix Collection
THE
ULTIMATE LIFT
When you're choosing a partner for your vehicle management solutions, go for a long term relationship not a one night stand!

Call Samantha Egan on 01926 450100
Imperial House, Holly Walk
Leamington Spa
Warwickshire, CV32 4YB
or visit our home page
www.BRS.co.uk/carlease

BRS Car Lease
The Real Alternative
Imedeen is different. It works from the inside at the skin's very foundation. Available in tablet form, it contains natural biomarine extracts, and amino acids found in collagen. Imedeen can help repair some of the damage caused by the sun to skin so that it becomes smoother and firmer. After 3 months many women notice a real difference. To obtain a free leaflet or to talk to an advisor about how Imedeen can help mature skin, please call 01892 552155.

RELEASE YOUR BEAUTY FROM WITHIN—TAKE Imedeen.
Sekarang anda boleh memiliki kulit yang cantik dengan pil Imedeen.

Imedeen, pemaparan tambahan penjagaan kulit yang asli dari Denmark, kini boleh didapati dalam bentuk pil. Dilulus dan didaftarkan untuk jualan di Malaysia. Imedeen memberikan protein, vitamin dan zat galian yang amat diperlukan oleh kulit anda.

Kajian klinikal bebas telah membuktikan keberkesanan Imedeen di seluruh dunia. Hanya dengan 2 biji pil Imedeen sehari, anda dapat melihat keasian penarabannya dalam masa sekitar 90 hari. Kulit anda menjadi lebih berseri apabila kandungan kelembapan bertambah dan garis-garis halus hilang. Rasailah kelembutan dan kehalusaninya dan pada masa yang sama melihat kejelitc an sebenar anda menjelma.

Pil Imedeen dibungkus khas dengan kad aluminium bersesuaian dengan keadaan ilmu kita. Anda akan mendapat bahawa setiap bungkusan adalah 100% kalis udara untuk mencegah dari kelembapan yang tinggi dan pengoksidaan.

Pastikan anda membeli kotak yang hanya mempunyai Peletak Jaminan Imedeen di tempat pembuka tersebut. Ini adalah jaminan mutu Imedeen yang tuleh. Dapatkan pil Imedeen di kedai-kedai farmasi yang berhampiran dan mulailah langkah untuk kulit yang muda ceria.

Penjagaan Dalam untuk Kulit Anda
Boleh didapati di kedai farmasi yang berdekatan anda. Talian Imedeen 03-703 8805

UTM 11/9/97

COPY 89
DESIGN YOUR

All you need for your own style. Mousse, gel, lacquer and cream.
Creative styling for creative heads. All you need to design your curls
and waves. All you need for maximum volume and strong hold.

For your hair care tips, write to Kelvin Ong, Wella Consumer Advisory Centre, Lot 4, Jalan Ragum 15/17, 40000 Shah Alam, Selangor.
aan kreatif Wella untuk gaya kreatif rambut anda. 'Mousse', lakuw dan krim Wella Design. Segala yang diperlukan 

ik menggayakan rambut keriting atau berombak. Segala 

5 diperlukan agar rambut sungguh kemas dan bermaya.

mendapatkan penu penjagaan rambut anda, silah memlis kepada: Gk Anne Shun, Pusat Nasihat Pelanggan Wella, Lot 4, Jalan Ragum 15/17, 40000 Shah Alam, Selangor.

GAYAKAN SENDIRI.

WELLA DESIGN
Need a Helping Hand?

Lotus 1-2-3. This is the only spreadsheet that works for both you and your team. Lotus 1-2-3 makes it easier for individuals or groups to create, review and edit spreadsheet models.

Lotus Organizer, the personal information manager that offers both you and your team the ability to track calls, manage tasks, share calendars, see other people's availability, and even book your conference rooms over a network.

Lotus Approach 96 is the award winning database that lets you and your team track, manage, and analyse information. And you're guaranteed to be productive within 2 hours of opening the box.

Lotus Freelance Graphics 96 gives both you and your team a faster, easier way to create and collaborate on business plans, reports and proposals that can double as presentations.

Lotus Word Pro 96 makes it easier to create, review, and edit collaborative documents. It's the only word processor that bridges the gap between individual and team productivity.

New Lotus SmartSuite 96 adds up to five, big helping hands. Or five award winning applications, to be exact. With more new features than you could count on the fingers of hundred hands. The whole suite is focused on making you and your team more productive. Creating better ways to help people work together. Helping you create, design and structure everything from a simple report to a major group presentation. Lotus SmartSuite is also available on a variety of operating systems including Windows 95, Windows 3.1 and OS/2. Try Lotus SmartSuite risk free under our 60 day money back guarantee. Call +33 418 516345 for an information pack.
Our new Choccies completely take the biscuit.

Introducing Thorntons Choccies. They take the mouthwatering indulgence of cookies to new heights. Available in four flavours: Oat 'n' Raisin, Choc 'n' Toffee, Choc Chip, Apricot 'n' Almond. You'd be kookie not to try them.
Look the bee's knees without being stung.

Ignore the fact it's a Volkswagen. You know, durability, solidity, reliability, incidentals like that. With our new 1.4 Golf SE, you have full permission to be seduced by looks. Those GTi wheel arch extensions, for example, smartly rounding off the Sport Räder alloy wheels. Those front white indicator covers complementing the white instrument dials within. Other stylish touches range from twin headlamps and roof aerial to colour coded bumpers and tinted glass. All this over and above standard fare like power steering, driver's airbag, immobiliser and Sony radio/cassette. Here's the real beauty of it, though.

The SE's price. As little as £10,301 on the road. Can't you just see yourself buzzing around in one? The Golf SE.

PRICE INCLUDES 6 MONTHS' ROAD FUND LICENCE, NUMBER PLATES AND DELIVERY. FOR A BROCHURE AND DETAILS OF YOUR NEAREST DEALER, RING 0800 333 666.
When a massive earthquake struck Kobe Japan, this year, we were the first international broadcaster to break the story within two minutes of the first shock.

And when the continuing aftershocks crumbled the foundations of Barings Bank soon afterwards, we were right there on the scene with that story too.

When Russian troops motored into Chechnya, our cameras were on the spot, penetrating deep into the country way ahead of Mr. Yeltsin's infantry and obtaining greater access to both sides than any other network.

In the long, bitter Bosnian war, CNN International's front line coverage has won numerous awards.

Wherever news is in the world, there we are. Our style is to go in at the beginning and stay with the story all the way to the end, no matter what it takes, no matter what it costs. This means live-breaking news as it actually happens and gathering the views of experts. We don't offer a viewpoint of our own. It's your job, not ours, to make your mind up.

Our World News coverage is global, 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, broadcast jointly from Hong Kong, London and 27 other centres around the world. Tune in right now and find out what's happening this minute.
Practically free speech?

(4p a minute local daytime calls.)

With BT's local daytime calls now only 4p a minute, doing business by phone has never made better sense.

Along with the introduction of per second pricing, we've cut the price of local daytime calls* by an average of 8%.

These are the latest in a series of price and service initiatives to offer you improved value for money so, now more than ever, you're better off with BT.

And with our Business Choices discount scheme you could make additional savings of up to 18% on local calls. For further information call Freefone 0800 800 890. It won't cost you a penny.

You're better off with BT.

---

*NO REDUCTION ON CALLS UP TO 60 SECONDS. SP MINIMUM CHARGE FOR ALL CALLS. DIFFERENT PRICES APPLY TO BT PUBLIC PAYPHONES AND BT CHARGECARD CALLS.
With Christmas over, your Volkswagen dealer is ready to talk turkey.

He's fresh back from his holiday, keen, chipper, rarin' to go. In other words, he's in the mood to deal, to bargain, to bend, to accommodate. The model in question? Our 2.4 litre, 6-cylinder LT HiTorq. Be it panel van, high roof van, chassis cab or double cab. There are three engines to choose from (petrol, diesel, turbo diesel) and wheelbases to suit every conceivable need.

And, of course, among the many standard features are those three common to every Volkswagen: durability, solidity, reliability. Which is why you can be confident of one thing above all. You won't come away with a turkey. LT HiTorq. Built to work.

FOR DETAILS OF YOUR NEAREST VOLKSWAGEN VAN CENTRE, RING 0800 71 71 31.

COPY 97
Hanya Proton Wira Aeroback Yang Memenuhi Impian Anda!


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Harga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.5GL (A)</td>
<td>RM57,875.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.6XLI (M)</td>
<td>RM61,636.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.6XLI (A)</td>
<td>RM66,483.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.8EXi (A)</td>
<td>RM73,033.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Harga ini jalan dengan keadaan pelihara (Pencampuran pelihara)
With Winning Features
Plus Fast Delivery,

the Proton Wira Aeroback is the only one you’ll want!

Note: USPD reserves the right to make changes to the colours, features and/or the specifications of the model shown in this advertisement without prior notice. Price correct at time of going to press.

The Proton Wira Aeroback boasts a beautiful balance of first class features. Bold styling. Nimble handling. And excellent ride refinement. Features that improve safety, enhance driving pleasure and maximise comfort and control. Designed to deliver outstanding performance, our range includes the Proton Wira Aeroback 1.5GL (A), 1.6XLi (M), 1.6XLi (A) and the 1.8EXi (A). What’s more, fast delivery is assured. For a cruising good time, take command of a Proton Wira Aeroback today. At all USPD outlets nationwide!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.5GL (A)</td>
<td>RM57,875.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.6XLi (M)</td>
<td>RM61,636.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.6XLi (A)</td>
<td>RM66,483.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proton Wira Aeroback 1.8EXi (A)</td>
<td>RM73,033.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*On the road price with optional accessories (Peninsular Malaysia)
Apabila tujuh VIP ingin membuat perjalanan, segala-galanya tertumpu pada Mazda MPV.

Apabila anda membuat penelitian yang sewajarnya; anda akan dapat Mazda MPV menepati segala keperluan anda. Ruang dalam yang lapang dihiasi dengan kemasan kult mewah boleh membawa tujuh penumpang sekaligus, dengan gaya tersendiri dan kecepatan yang diinginkan. Malah dengan ciri-ciri seperti ABS dan 'cruise control', pemanduan lebih selamat dan mudah. Anda boleh membawa enam VIP dan menandu uji sebuah Mazda MPV hari ini.

CIRI-CIRI:
- V6 memberikan prestasi lebih cemerlang
- Tujuh tempat duduk yang lapang dan mewah memberikan keselesaan sepenuhnya
- ABS memastikan daya melepaskan tepat pada setiap masa
- 2.0 liter SOHC, 18 Inip, V6 memberikan prestasi lebih memuaskan
- Auto Cruise menjamin perombakan di lebih raya lebih lancar
- Tempat duduk belakang boleh lipat memberikan ruang bagasi ekstra
- Tujuh tempat duduk yang lapang dan mewah memberikan keselesaan sepenuhnya

Apabila anda membuat penelitian yang sewajarnya; anda akan dapat Mazda MPV menepati segala keperluan anda. Ruang dalam yang lapang dihiasi dengan kemasan kult mewah boleh membawa tujuh penumpang sekaligus, dengan gaya tersendiri dan kecepatan yang diinginkan. Malah dengan ciri-ciri seperti ABS dan 'cruise control', pemanduan lebih selamat dan mudah. Anda boleh membawa enam VIP dan menandu uji sebuah Mazda MPV hari ini.
Tiba masanya untuk satu perjalanan yang berbeza
Memperkenalkan Volvo 960 yang serba baru. Mempunyai kelebihan kuasa enjin 3 liter dan keupayaan 6 silinder untuk prestasi yang tinggi serta suspensi belakang Multi-link untuk keselesaan perjalanan. Dengan brek ABS serta beg udara Sistem Hantaman Sisi dan beg udara di bahagian pemandu, keselamatan anda terjamin. Dengan ruang dalam yang lebih selesa diperbuat daripada kulit lembut serta hiasan dalam jenis kayu yang halus serta unik buatannya, menjadikannya sebuah kereta serba mewah yang tiada batasannya.

Tibalah masa anda untuk perjalanan yang lebih lancar.

* Model terdapat dalam dua pilihan : Volvo 960 dan Volvo 960 Royal

Federal Auto Cars Sdn Bhd

VOLVO

KUALITI TANPA BATASAN
The time has come to travel a different road.
Presenting the all new Volvo 960. An elegant statement of power with a 3-litre engine, 6-cylinder charisma and the sophisticated Multi-Link rear suspension. A testimony of safety with standard ABS brakes, Side Impact Protection System airbags and driver’s airbag. An uncompromisingly luxurious car that features soft leather upholstery and an interior trimmed with hardwood.

Isn’t it time you travelled a much smoother road?

* Model available in 2 variants: Volvo 960 & Volvo 960 Royal

Federal Auto Cars Sdn Bhd

Kuala Lumpur 03-2749300 • Shah Alam 03-5507300 • Alor Star 04-7339300
Penang 04-2817300 • Ipoh 05-5061300 • Seremban 06-7616966
Malacca 06-3353900 • Johor Bahru 07-2375300 • Kuantan 09-5664300
Kota Bharu 09-7466300 • Kuching 082-3353900 • Kota Kinabalu 088-427300

VOLVO
QUALITY UNCOMPROMISED
Let's get fresh every month!

SeeQuence® MONTHLY DISPOSABLE CONTACT LENS
Care for your eyes. Monthly. Affordably. SeeQuence® Monthly Disposable Contact Lens is your solution to fresh, clear, clean eyesight! It is also the ultimate solution to contact lens convenience. Just put them on in the morning. Clean them with Bausch & Lomb's Sensitive Eyes™ Multi-Purpose Solution at the end of the day. And throw them away after using them for one month. Then you start over with a fresh pair of lenses. Experience the feeling of sharp and clear vision at a cost that's less than you think! Consult your eyecare practitioner for more information.

FREE TRIAL LENS OFFER. (Not inclusive of consultation fees.)
IF YOU'RE UNDER PRESSURE, IT HELPS TO BE IN A ROVER 800.

The Rover 'monsun' test is wetter than the most imaginable tropical downpour.

Thirty pounds per square inch of water, blasted from thirty-five nozzles in a seven-ring system.

Twice the standard working pressure used by the fire service, actually.

Just to be sure, however, Rover cars go sideways and upwards as well as downwards.

It allows us to test not just driver stress, but also the protection of doors, bonnet, boot and light clusters.

After twelve minutes of steady spaying, if there's a hint of dampness, the car will not receive our water test certificate.

Perhaps unsurprisingly for Britain's principal car maker, water is something of an obsession.

Technophobes should skip the next paragraph.


At Rover we believe a luxury car should help soothe away the stresses and strains of daily life.

And in Britain those begin with the weather.

The Rover 800 Series starts at £21,525. For further information call 0943 185 169.
Milan was full of hits and misses, says COLIN McDOWELL, with some of the old fashion houses beginning to betray their age.
Carlo Rino's
cool and sexy.

Now, why can't men be like that?

Carlo Rino, bersahaja ramun mendebarkan.
Kenapalah tiada ijara sedemikian.

Carlo Rino
MAK E IT HAPPEN

BOLEH DIDAPATI DI SEMUA PASARAYA UTAMA.
Just married: Marion and Hoechst.

To your very good health!

It's a match that certainly deserves a toast. After all, it isn't every day you find the ideal partner. Or witness the happy union of two perfectly complementary parties, both from good backgrounds, bringing shared interests and a wealth of experience to the relationship.

Hoechst Marion Roussel.
The new family name.

Hoechst is one of the world's leading chemical companies with its main focus on pharmaceuticals.

Backed up by Roussel Uclaf, its important French affiliate, Hoechst is well up among the top suppliers of drugs, offering a broad range of highly successful products.

Marion is also a big name in pharmaceuticals, with heavy emphasis on development. The company's core activities round out Hoechst and Roussel's

ranges in many key areas.

It's a good match too in geographical terms. While Hoechst and Roussel have a powerful presence in Europe, Marion has made a name for itself particularly as a partner to the large health care organizations in the United States. Together they form one of the world's greatest forces in health care and they are well positioned to move to the top in the next few years.

What brings the partners together is a commitment to meet patients' needs more quickly and effectively, and to develop innovative drugs to treat diseases that are currently incurable.

To their health — and to yours!

Hoechst
D-65926 Frankfurt am Main
Internet http://www.hoechst.com

Hoechst is an international group of companies spearheading innovation in health care, agriculture and chemicals. With a staff of 160,000 people worldwide, annual sales total DM 52 billion.
In the fight against disease, this could be the most powerful weapon yet.

It's not magic. But it may yet work miracles.

This is the trademark of a completely different kind of pharmaceutical venture.

The recently-merged Pharmacia & Upjohn.

It's a partnership that has created a company of quite remarkable depth and scope: over 30,000 people working in 50 countries and serving 200 million people around the world.

And it's for those 200 million people that this announcement should come as very good news.

Because the merger will give two pools of specialised medical talent the opportunity to work together for the first time ever.

Resulting in real, tangible benefits in the fight against cancer, AIDS, infectious diseases and many other medical conditions.

This merger is not simply a matter of shared resources, however.

It is also about shared ideals.

Our trademark stands as a symbol for humanity, hope and inspiration.

Values that we intend to apply to every single aspect of the way we do business.

You are surprised to hear such sentiments coming from a global pharmaceutical company?

This is not the last time we'll be surprising you.

You can be sure of that.
Heaven can wait.

LUX
Kini muncullah sabun baru para bintang

Classic Italian features

Benelli leather goods. Made in Italy and available at leading department stores and selected retailers. For enquiries, please call 03-2014408.
G K e J ia f u s a n e s i n y a  s e u n g g u f  o i n J a j  G l a f i .

Kehalusan seninya seunggus vintaj Itali.

BENELLI GROUP

ingan kulit Benelli. Dibuat daripada Itali dan boleh didapati di gedung-gedung terkemuka dan peruncit diiktiraf. Untuk keterangan lanjut, sila hubungi 03-201 4408.
Beg kulit buatan tangan dengan gaya tradisi Itali

Barangan kulit Benelli. Diperbuat di Itali dan boleh didapati di gedung-gedung terkemuka dan peruncit yang diiktiraf. Untuk keterangan lanjut, sila hubungi 03-2014408.
Fresh from the factory.

Pure Intel technology. Great value.

Start your computing day right. Whether you’re buying a PC for the first time or want an additional PC, the new Intel® Celeron™ processor is perfect for today’s applications. And you’ll get all the compatibility and reliability you expect from Intel.

So see your local PC retailer for more information or visit us on the Web.
PROTECTIVE SHELLS

- Walnut
- Horse-chestnut
- Coconut
- Tortoise
- Oyster
Rigid safety cell, side impact protection and twin airbags as standard.
The new Vectis 300. The Advanced Photo System sophisticate. Encased in silky smooth, sensual, yet strong, stainless steel.

With 3x power zoom, the Vectis 300 sets the scene. A steal at around £260.
It took you a long time before you could walk. Air France will save you some when you want to fly.

BJRMININGHAM - JOHANNESBURG IN 12 hr. 50 min.
OSLO - MONTREAL IN 10 hr. 40 min.* daily

Your father must have told you often enough that the best way of walking is to put one foot in front of the other. And then backing up his words with action, he helped you save time during the slow learning process. The person you can best rely on today for getting around is Air France. Going one better than Air Papa, our new “Paris - Charles-de-Gaulle 2” hub transfer system gives you access to a worldwide network of 600 long-distance and 2,600 medium-haul flights every week. Save time and earn Miles too while you travel, with our new “Fréquence Plus” frequent flyer program. Today, it seems the best way to travel faster and better is to put one foot after the other and enter an Air France airliner.

*Theoretical flight and connection times based on flight schedules published by Air France / Air France Europe.

YOU WILL ALWAYS HAVE A REASON TO FLY AIR FRANCE.
THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNEXPECTED.

Bagaimanakah cara untuk mengekalkan supaya kulit anda kelihatan segar dan muda?

Cecair Oil of Ulam Moisture Protection Cream bertindak seperti cecair semula jadi di dalam kulit muda untuk menggantikan cecair lembap penting yang hilang, sistem pengikut kelembapan yang unik menggunakan lembap selinga 12 jam. Ini bermakna kulit akan sentiasa segar, lembut dan muda jelita.

KERANA KULIT MUDA MEMERLUKAN OIL OF ULAN
Introducing the unique new cradle seat. It doesn't simply recline but tilts as a whole raising your knees and relieving your body of stress and pressure. Pity you may not be awake to enjoy all the other changes on new Club World.
A warning to bachelors!

When she comes to dinner at your place... be sure to hide the ROBERTS!

You see, the ROBERTS doesn't mean the same thing to her as it does to you. A man buys a unique ROBERTS 778X Stereo Tape Recorder because he can tape his own "Stereo 8" cartridges for his car stereo. The 778X is the 2-in-1 unit that records and plays both reel-to-reel and 8-track cartridges. It has the exclusive Cross Field Head and other fine professional features. It costs $429.95, and it's worth it.

But to her... a ROBERTS means that you are a man of quality... and taste... and discernment... who can afford to buy the very best! And... that's the kind of man a girl likes to marry! So... take it from an ex-bachelor. The next time she comes to dinner... be sure to hide the ROBERTS... or the next dinner you attend may be your last bachelor dinner!
HANG YOUR OIL MORE OFTEN

You can with a NISSAN 100NX

Catch some rays on the highways. Bronze on the by-ways. Tan in the jams. And then, if the weather should turn a little nippy, so is the car. It has a 16-valve twin cam engine with multi point fuel injection which gives a smooth, even surge of power all the way round the rev counter. And it has the kind of positive handling you only get with a sports tuned suspension. There's every creature comfort you could wish for. From power steering and contoured, body-hugging seats to electric windows and a security coded stereo. Even the price is comfortable. After all, there aren't many genuine two plus two coupés you can buy for £13,335. So slip into something summery, put on your shades and call up your nearest Nissan dealer for a test drive (try 0348 829 609 if you don't know his number) and take a 100NX out for a tan today.

A 1
Our photograph gives a glimpse under the skin of a Mercedes C-class.

What you are looking at is part of its safety structure. It is constructed with high-strength steel and welded with high-strength joints.

And it not only protects you and your family in an accident. It makes the body of the Mercedes C-class unusually firm and rigid.

That helps prevent the effects of ageing and contributes to its unusually long life.

Look a little deeper and you will find silver and gold. We use them for the contacts in the electrical systems.

They are more efficient and far more reliable than cheaper metals.

MERCEDES C-CLASS FROM £19,000. CAR SHOWN C280 SPORT FROM £30,050. EXCLUDES DELIVERY TO UK MAINLAND AND NUMBER PLATES. PRICES CORRECT AT
ly is good bone structure.

Even the paintwork (in a choice of fifteen
colours) is more than cosmetic. For the metallic
finishes, we apply six protective layers.

And before we apply the foundation we
lean the base metal with ostrich feathers.

They remove any traces of grease more
thoroughly than anything else we have found.

Put all these things together and you will
see why a Mercedes lasts so long and keeps
its looks so long. Though we think in terms of
decades, we work to an accuracy of 0.01 mm.
That is less than the thickness of your skin.

Mercedes Benz
Engineered like no other car.
This is not a pad

It looks like a sleeping pad, but you don’t use it for your periods. As you can see, it’s a little too small for that.

This is actually a panty shield!

It absorbs and protects your panties from the wet feeling you normally get in-between your periods. You can change them as often as you like throughout the day, and each time you do, you get that fresh-panties feeling.

Carefree®
All Day Freshness. Everyday

Yes, I’d like to get that fresh-panties feeling too. Please send me a Carefree® panty shield sample pack FREE.

NAME: ___________________________________________
ADDRESS: _______________________________________
POSTCODE: _________________________________
AGE: __________________ TEL: __________________
PROFESSION: __________________________________
BRANDS NOW USING: ___________________________

Send to:
the Pers-ino Care Advisor (CPS)
JOHNSON & JOHNSON SDN. BHD. (Company No. 3718-D)
alan Tar J.V. P.O. Box 8017 Pejabat Pos Kelana Jaya
16780 Piala Jaya

Johnson & Johnson

COPY 124
Take it easy in the tightest contraflow, because the Rover 200's H-frame suspension system has been specially enhanced to provide precise handling as well as a supremely smooth ride.

Rest assured, when you finally do get a chance to put your foot down, the 200 won't disappoint.

You will immediately notice that both petrol and diesel engines offer class leading performance.

ROVER 200 RANGE STARTS AT £10,086 FOR THE ROVER 214i 3DR, AND £11,486 FOR THE ROVER 214i SDR. ON THE ROAD PRICES ARE CORRECT AT TIME
You will also notice that this is achieved without sacrificing smoothness or refinement.

Be calm even when a gridlock looms again, because in a Rover 200 a driver's airbag comes as standard, along with side impact bars and the added safety of a high-level brake light.

Relax in the inner city, find yourself inner peace, get in a Rover 200. Call 0345 186 186.

OF GOING TO PRESS. CAR SHOWN IS A ROVER 216S Li SDR. £14,786. PEARLESCENT PAINT IS AN EXTRA COST OPTION OF £295. SUBJECT TO AVAILABILITY.
Sentiasa sesegar dan seharum bunga.

penyembur badan
bedak wangi
pewangi cologne

Amami
COMPLETE PROTECTION

BY LAURIER

On the days and nights when you need special protection, turn to Laurier's range of super soft, super absorbent sanitary napkins. Laurier gives you the protection as well as the assurance of comfort, even during your heaviest hours. Day and night. Its non-woven Soft-Tex facilitates instant absorption while its super absorbent WONDER GEL keeps fluid trapped and prevents backflow. With Laurier, you know you are fully protected.

LAURIER REGULAR
For normal flow days.

LAURIER MAXI
For longer hours and heavy flow days.

LAURIER NIGHT SAFE
For longer hours and normal flow nights.

LAURIER EXTRA PROTECTION
For heavy flow nights.

THE COMFORT OF LAURIER SOFTNESS

COPY 127
When I was just a kid, my bike was the freedom to explore.

When I was a teenager, my motorcycle gave me the open road.

And in my 20's, a beat-up convertible was a ticket to heaven.

Now it's my son who is free to dream.

So here I am.

We're all different — different dreams, and different hopes.
That's why Mitsubishi offers such a wide and varied range of cars. All share certain values.
Like vivid performance. Solid comfort. Genuine utility. And space to stretch out and be yourself.
But like all of us, each one is unique. Find the car for the real you.

In Mitsubishi's matchless line of leisure and sports vehicles. Cars as different as you.
JULIE NETTERLEY ZOOMS AROUND IN HERS.

ESCORT. WHAT DO YOU DO IN YOURS?
For more information phone 0345 553 222.