

Universidad de Valladolid

FACULTAD de FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA Grado en Estudios Ingleses

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

Advertising and Translation: Cultural Adaptation, Transcreation and Transference in the Global Marketplace

María Isabel Monedero Meléndez

Tutor: Carlos Herrero Quirós

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on advertising as a complex and multimodal communication tool composed by different elements which, linked together, contribute not only to a particular trademark expansion, but also to achieving certain impact on the consumer's behaviour. However, the existence of cultural elements inextricably linked to each country or community makes it necessary, in the case of global brands, to implement in some degree or another a process of cultural adaptation which allows the advertising campaign to achieve the expected effects among different target cultures. In many cases such a process critically involves some form of translation. The aim of this graduation project is first to provide an overview of the main features of advertising copy that pose a challenge for translation, and then to identify and analyse the several strategies used in order to translate and culturally adapt advertising messages in a setting that also involves a strong element of globalization.

Keywords: advertising, translation, cultural adaptation, anglicisms, transcreation, globalization

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo se centra en la publicidad como una herramienta de comunicación compleja y multimodal compuesta por diferentes elementos que, ligados entre sí, contribuyen no sólo a la expansión de una marca, sino también a lograr cierto impacto en los consumidores. Sin embargo la existencia de elementos culturales propios de cada país o comunidad hace necesario la implementación, en el caso de marcas globales, de cierta adaptación cultural que permita que la campaña publicitaria pueda desplegar los efectos deseados en las culturas meta. En muchos casos, este proceso implica de forma crucial y de un modo u otro la actividad traductora. El propósito de este Trabajo de Fin de Grado es, por un lado, ofrecer una visión general de las principales características del lenguaje publicitario que plantean retos de cara a su traducción; y, por otro, identificar y analizar las diversas estrategias utilizadas para implementar dicha adaptación cultural en las distintas campañas, muchas veces marcadas por un fuerte componente de globalización.

Palabras clave: publicidad, traducción, adaptación cultural, anglicismos, transcreación, globalización

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1. INTRODUCTION

Advertising is a complex phenomenon which involves not only sales but also worldwide communication with potential users and trademark expansion through the elaboration of international campaigns whose aim is not only the promotion of a particular product, but also the creation of changes in the consumers' behaviour. On the other hand, globalization has largely contributed to triggering economic and social transformations that are reflected in present-day marketing trends which for the most part aim at enhancing the brands' international reputation. However, advertising companies also have to deal with the existence of diverse cultural settings in the several countries and communities that they target as potential consumers, and these require the implementation of cultural adjustments in their advertising campaigns. The latter demand often involves translation in one form or another. In this context, the aim of this paper is, on the one hand, to provide an overview of the main features —verbal, visual and cultural— of the language and codes of the multimodal communication tool that we call advertising, with a special emphasis on those that pose a challenge for translation; and on the other hand, to identify several strategies used in order to implement the above-mentioned cultural adjustments against the backdrop of the binary opposition globalization/localization.

To achieve this purpose, this paper has been divided into three main sections. The first one introduces the subject of our inquiry by drawing on several authors in order to highlight the main verbal, visual and cultural elements that make up the message in advertising copy. The second section zooms in on advertising and translation with a special focus on the culture-bound component of this activity and the several strategies employed along a range that moves between foreignization and domestication. Finally, the conclusion reflects the most salient findings of our analysis.

2. ADVERTISING AND COMMUNICATION

2.1. What is advertising?

Advertising is defined by Oxford dictionary as "the activity or profession of producing advertisements for commercial products or services". For Eguizábal (121), advertising involves more than sales, it is mainly attached to the creation of brands and to the control of prices. In that sense, advertising works as an instrument which allows manufacturers to fix prices by creating desirable products.

As a form of communication, advertising is a many-sided medium. In his book on the language of copywriting, Leech (1966) defines it in terms of "commercial consumer advertising" (25), thus making reference to the most common types of advertising found in media outlets such as magazines, TV networks or newspapers, among others. By contrast, Vestergard and Schrøder (1-2) propose and explain a triple classification of advertising: non-commercial advertising, commercial advertising and industrial advertising.

Firstly, non-commercial advertising is the one released for either promoting specific ideas or with educational purposes. It is possible to include here, as examples, those advertising campaigns commissioned by government agencies or institutions as well as political propaganda or even charity campaigns. Secondly, commercial advertising is the one used by a firm to promote a trade mark or a brand image. This kind of advertising "aims at creating long-term goodwill with the public rather than at an intermediate increase in sales" (1) by reminding the addressees of the existence of a particular brand, firm or service and making them adopt a particular attitude. In connection with this, it can be asserted that the creation of a trademark turns into the essential objective for any company since it contributes to achieving purposes such as the promotion of the product or the consumer engaging with the product. In that sense, as Luisa Blanco states:

La marca es la señal de identidad de un producto, su nombre y apellidos. [...] la marca es una de las principales armas para dominar el mercado, hasta el punto de convertirse en ocasiones en el nombre del producto, llegando a ser el término utilizado por los consumidores para solicitar

los productos en los puntos de venta, como: nescafé, colacao, clínex, pos-it, walkman, cornflakes [...]¹. (440)

Thirdly, commercial advertising, which is also known as industrial or trade advertising, is the one used by a particular firm in order to advertise "its product or services to other firms" (2). This type of advertising differs from the previous ones in the sense that it can be considered as "a communication between equals" (2) in which both, the advertiser and the target consumer, share a particular interest and knowledge in the product or service offered.

Another definition provided by Harris and Sheldon (1962) considers advertising as "a public notice designed to spread information with a view to promoting the sales of marketable good and services" (40). Following this statement, the main aim of the advertiser will be, in any case, to appeal to the individual private consumer. This implies, as stated by Wight (1972), that the figure of the consumer is going to be transformed into a central element which will define the communicative situation: one where the relationship between the two parties involved is unequal (9).

For Vestergard and Schrøder (4-9) the underlying importance of advertising is the fact that it cannot be considered as a simple promotional activity due the existence of "a (relatively) mass market and media through which it can be reached" (4). The existence of different social groups, which may be identified with distinctive attitudes, manners and habits of consumption, entails that products are no longer seen as objects of use but instead they are "semantized" (Barthes 41). In other words, for both authors these objects are clearly transformed into vehicles of consumer-related information which allow advertisers "to exploit people's needs for group membership, selfidentification and so on" (6). This statement leads directly to what they call the *aestheticization* of a product which is governed by the basic idea of making a product attractive in order to engage more potential clients. Advertising, from that perspective, helps not only to achieve that aesthetic aim but also turns itself into the aesthetic object (9).

¹Trademarks are the elements which define the products' identity or denomination. [...] Trademarks are major weapons in order to achieve market dominance. Sometimes they even become the generic name of the product, which is directly used by the consumer when ordering those products at the point of sale. Such is, for instance, the case of household names like *nescafé*, *colacao*, *clínex*, *post*-it, *Walkman*, *cornflakes* [...]. [my translation]

2.2. Elements of advertising.

In advertising, the communicative situation is composed, as in any communication process, by the addresser in the figure of the advertiser, the addressee in the figure of the reader/listener/viewer, the code which is normally verbal and visual, the channel (press, television, radio, etc.) and the context (Vestergard and Schrøder 15).

If we more specifically focus on the code, two elements present themselves as the main subject of study in this section insofar as they are the ones that deal directly with information contained in and transmitted by advertising: The verbal message and the visual message.

2.2.1. The verbal message.

As stated in the previous section, the main aim of advertising is to draw the attention of receivers and provoke a change in their behaviour so that they purchase a specific commodity. Ferraz Martínez claims the following: "El lenguaje publicitario, como lenguaje interesado que es, está regido por las leyes de eficacia de la libertad y de la economía informativa²" (31). In order to achieve its targets, copywriting uses several linguistic resources aimed at harnessing the appellative function.

Following the same author, on the morphosyntactic level, the main aim of advertising messages is to establish a fast and effective communication with the receivers and, at the same time, to persuade them by praising the advertised products. In that sense, a number of verbal resources are used that point in the direction of syntactic economy, like for instance ellipsis, appositions or nominal constructions among others (Martínez 34).

Ellipsis is defined as "the omission from speech or writing of a word or words that are superfluous or able to be understood from contextual clues" (Oxford Dictionary). This can be appreciated, for example, in the advertising slogan for a pain-relieving gel: "(Is) Ibuleve gel as fast & effective as pills? Now there's clinical evidence".

² "The language of advertising, which is interest-driven, is governed by laws of efficiency like freedom and economy of information." [my translation]

Apposition, on the other hand, is the "relationship between two or more words or phrases in which the two units are grammatically parallel and have the same referent" (Oxford Dictionary). Thus in the following phrase: "Burgundy. The home of Pinot Noir".

Finally, nominal constructions are interesting since, as the same author states, prepositions are often omitted due to reasons of expressive economy, but also, in the particular case of Spanish advertising messages, because of the influence of English, as for instance in "Crédito Proyecto"

Moreover, Rodriguez Díaz points out that the verbal phrasing of ads resorts to a wide range of sentence types, including imperative, exclamatory and interrogative clauses (176). Examples of each one of these typologies are not difficult to find: Nestlé's "Have a break, have a Kitkat" or Heineken's "Think in Green" (imperative); McDonalds' "Surprise! Big Mac! (exclamatory) or GSK's slogan for Breathe Right nasal strips: "Having Trouble Sleeping due to Nasal Congestion?" (interrogative).

Additionally, the use of rhetorical figures is also widespread in advertising copy since, empirically, they tend to increase persuasiveness. Following several other authors, Karen Smith reviews a number of taxonomies of such persuasive techniques: Cook (2001) focuses on parallelisms, metaphors, metonymy, homophones, puns, parody and rhyme; Myeers (1994) includes also alliterations, question forms or the use of ellipsis; and Brierley (1995) discusses the use of ambiguity, repetitions, paradox, omission and language games (Smith 160). Due to the abundance and complexity of these devices, we will barely focus in this section on the most recognizable ones as examples:

Anaphora: defined as the lexical repetition of a word or phrase "at the beginning of successive clauses, lines of verse, etc." (Collins Dictionary), as in Philip Morris' "Come to where the flavour is. Come to Malboro Country" or Pizza Hut's "Any pizza, any size, any topping".

Anadiplosis: described as the repetition of the words or phrases at the end of one sentence, line or clause, at the beginning of the next one (Collins Dictionary), like for instance the Mini Tetra Brik's Spanish campaign "Esto es lo mini. Mini es lo máximo".

Metaphor: identified as "a figure of speech containing an implied comparison, in which a word or phrase ordinarily and primarily used of one thing is applied to another"

(Collins Dictionary). This is the case of "The Coke Side of Life" from Coca-Cola, where the underlying analogy rests on equating the carbonated soft drink *par excellence* with all the brightest side of life.

Simile: defined as a figure of speech used to describe "a person or thing as being similar to someone or something else" (Collins Dictionary) through the use of connecting words such as "like" or "as". This is the case of Nike's "heavy as a feather" strapline.

Parallelism: depicted as "the repetition of a syntactic construction in successive sentences for rhetorical effect" (Collins dictionary) in order to create pattern and rhythm. Parallelism often "either juxtaposes contrasting images or ideas so as to show their stark difference, or joins similar concepts to show their connection" (Literary devices). This is the case of BMW's Spanish slogan "El placer de conducir. El placer de viajar", or General Motors' "A different kind of company. A different kind of car" —the



Image 1. McDonalds Campaign.

promotional motto for their model Saturn.

Personification: described as "a figure of speech in which a thing, quality, or idea is represented as a person" (Collins Dictionary). McDonalds' "Stop Staring at Me" campaign (Image 1) for one of their cheeseburgers, for example, heavily rests upon the trope ("Stop staring at me like I'm some piece of meat. You can look but you can't touch. Ok You can touch. But can you handle me? Check out my dimensions. Two allbeef patties and juicy all over. Are you Mac enough?").

Onomatopoeia, as "the use of words which sound like the noise they refer to" (Collins dictionary), is often used in creative copy. This is the case of the Spanish

tagline for one of Cadbury's chewing gum products, which in turn uses an English onomatopoeic word: "Trident Splash, ¡Un Splash de sabor!" or of Seat's "Atchoo! Help your car stay healthy this season. The Seat winter check".

Antithesis —"a contrast or opposition of thoughts, usually in two phrases, clauses, or sentences" (Collins dictionary) — may be found in Budweiser's "Good times. Bad times. Extra times" or in the Spanish campaign for Halls cough drops: "Intentando lo imposible, se crea lo posible".

All in all, since advertising is based on expressive freedom, it promotes linguistic innovations such as the creation of neologisms or the dissemination of technological terminology in order to catch the receivers' attention. At the same time, the language of advertising is characterized by economy and tends to resort to a "condensed" style by avoiding unnecessary elements and producing, in consequence, short messages that engage the interest of target audiences (Rodríguez Díaz 173).

The majority of the above-mentioned devices, as is proven by our mixed selection of examples (some in English, others in Spanish) rely on linguistic categories —basically in the realms of syntax and sound (or a combination of both). In terms of translation, and allowing for the regular shifts or transpositions that underpin the kind of rewriting involved in this activity, this makes many of them relatively easy to translate across English and Spanish, and this is why we will not highlight them further in this graduation project. This is not to say, of course, that rendering an alliterative or an onomatopoeic slogan, for example, cannot put the translator's skill severely to the test or even prove directly impossible. Yet for reasons of space and scope, in the second part of this paper, we will primarily concentrate on the translation of the advertising discourse whenever it contains culture-bound elements (such can be the case of some metaphors). Before that, however, we still need to refer to powerful non-verbal features of advertising that clearly interact with the verbal message and are therefore relevant in the interlinguistic and intercultural setting that frames our inquiry.

2.2.2. The visual message.

Following Roland Barthes, Vestergard and Schrøder (34-35), we may establish the existence of two different functions of a text in relation with an image, the anchorage function and the relay function.

The anchorage function is defined as a spatial and temporal link between the image and the text or situation. The existence of this link determines the lack of neutrality in advertising since, despite the fact that the picture can be considered as neutral, the text itself selects just one of the several interpretations which that picture may present (34). In that sense, it can be stated that the text works as an anchor of the picture meaning.

On the other hand, the relay function is defined by the authors as "a reciprocal relation between text and picture" (35). This relationship is essential in the sense that it contributes to shaping the overall message in advertising. At this point, the authors establish the importance of icons, symbols and indexes in communication, especially in an advertising context. Firstly, *icons* are presented as the elements which determine a natural relationship or similarity between signs and object. Such a similarity may range, as the authors state, "from the object's physical properties (as in the case of a toy gun representing a real gun) to a remote similarity of use (a broomstick can represent a horse [...])" (36). At this point, the figures of metaphor and metonymy are once again relevant but, unlike what we saw in the previous section, they are exclusively connected to the visual message and help drastically reduce the verbal one.

In the case of "visual metaphors", they are normally defined by their reference to the iconic relation. In that sense, following the definition of the term in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, they are considered objects, actions or ideas that are used "as a symbol of something else" (Merriam-Webster). In short, these metaphors constitute a device frequently used in advertising, being in addition, intimately related with *symbols*. From that point of view, metaphors normally act as mediators in the sense that they usually combine verbal phrases with visual images in order to enhance the product or dramatize the effect (Chris Joseph, "Examples of metaphors in Advertising").

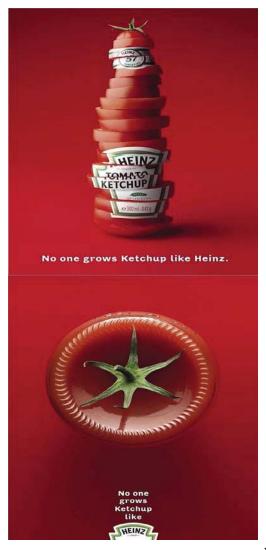


Image 2. Heinz Ketchup Campaign.

A good example of this combination can be observed in the Heinz Ketchup Campaign (Image 2), where an image of the classical Heinz ketchup bottle, entirely made of tomato slices, appears followed by the caption "No one grows ketchup like Heinz". Through the visual metaphor, combining text and image, Heinz tries to offer the audience the idea of a natural and healthy product due to the direct association between a fresh tomato and the brand. In that sense, the metaphor works not only by enhancing the product's quality, but also by putting the focus on the audience's values.

Finally an *index*, which these authors describe as "a sign which can be used to represent its object because it usually occurs in close association with it" (38), mainly involve the use of metonymy, defined by Merriam-Webster as "the use of the name of one thing for that of another of which it is an attribute or with

which it is associated" (Merriam-Webster). In advertising, a "visual metonymy" establishes an indexical relation between the image and the specific product or situation, once again reducing the verbal text to the minimum (39). One interesting example of this can be found in brand logotypes, especially when they are well known by the general public, as for instance the yellow arches of McDonalds which can be easily recognized and automatically identified without any additional, verbal message (Image 3).



Image 3. McDonalds logotype brand. Photography by Benjamin Posch.

2.2.3. Cultural elements and marketing.

Globalization has brought about deep changes in society and the economy, causing a big impact not only on consumers but also on marketing trends. Pathak (4-5), following authors such as Root, Oland et al. or Bennet, agrees that the new global economy has created a particular environment which requires small and medium firms and multinational companies to venture into the new international markets. The reasons for this internationalisation range from the accessibility of foreign markets to the necessity of finding new ones. In that sense, culture plays a key role in the development of marketing and, ultimately, in the success of the business.

In any case, the cultural elements of each country or community will act as a mediator in the reception of advertising due to factors which can be identified as cultural forces, cultural messages and consumer decision processes (Pathak 9). Cultural forces can be related to education, family or even national identity. Cultural messages refer mainly to morality, ethics or behaviour models. Finally, consumer decision

processes are mainly identified by Pathak with trends in society. From that perspective, the socio-cultural environment is essential since "the cultural aspects can seriously affect the company's future if not properly considered in advertising" (10).

In this sense, Cieśla suggests that the process of internationalization of any company will always require considering the norms of behaviour accepted by the members of consumer communities with different cultural values. This means that, as the same author claims, in the specific contexts of individual countries, individuals will be acutely influenced by several layers or levels of culture: the national culture, the business/industry culture, the corporate/organizational culture and the individual behaviour (34-36). National culture, in the first place, deals with the overall framework of cultural concepts and the legislations that govern business activities. Secondly, the business/industry culture refers to the competitive framework of the specific industry or service sector: one which is connected to the company's historical roots and business ethics and behaviour. Thirdly, the company/organizational culture refers basically to the shared values, functions within an organization and behaviours of the members. And finally, the individual behaviour makes reference to how the individual is affected by the other cultural levels. That is, the interaction between the individual and the marketing settings.

Finally, following Hofstede, there are some other key cultural dimensions designed to measure certain characteristics of a particular culture: Power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity vs, femininity, and individualism vs. collectivism. Firstly, power distance is described as the extent to which the members of a particular social group are able to accept the inequality of power distribution. For instance, in those societies marked by a large power distance, hierarchy and inequality of roles are accepted (9). Secondly, uncertainty avoidance is generally used for measuring the tolerance of a certain society. According to the author, it indicates how uncomfortable or comfortable the members of the society are when facing unstructured situations (10). At this respect, Cieśla refers to the possibility of finding flexible societies which seem to be more tolerant of untypical situations and, on the other hand, rigid cultures which tend to introduce strict rules, safety measures or religious and philosophic backgrounds in order to minimize the existence of unexpected situations (37). Thirdly, masculinity vs. femininity which describes the distribution of roles between genders. Men's and women's values tend to be different across societies. Moreover, there are two poles

which, according to Hofstede, have been traditionally identified with one or another gender. On the one hand, the assertive and competitive pole is termed 'masculine' and, on the other hand, the caring pole is 'feminine' (11). Masculinity, for instance, tends to be high in Japan, moderated in Western countries and low in Nordic countries. Finally, mention must be made of the binary opposition individualism vs. collectivism, which determines the degree of group integration in society (Hofstede 11). Once again following Cieśla, it is possible to distinguish between two types of societies: the individual societies and the collective societies. In an individual society, the bonds between its members tend to be weak, while collective societies are generally "integrated into strong groups and protected by them in exchange for their loyalty" (37).

Verbal language, visuals and culture. Such are the three major components of marketing and advertising messages. Each poses specific problems for the successful e transit from one speech community to another. In the second part of our graduation project, we will zoom in on some of these issues.

3. ADVERTISING AND TRANSLATION

After our general analysis of verbal and visual elements in advertising, we shall next focus on the translation of this multimodal text type. Our main focus will be on the relevance of their cultural component and on the consequences of the binarism globalization/localization. In this context, the general notion of cultural adaptation applied directly to advertising copy becomes particularly relevant in ultimately connecting the verbal and visual elements of advertising to the target cultures where the translated ads are going to be released.

Finally, it is quite likely that a semiotic view of translation can provide a comprehensive understanding of the way translation works in the media of advertising, where verbal and non-verbal signs interact to deliver persuasive messages. For this reason, while acknowledging the limitations in depth and breadth of the present project, we will try not to lose sight of the semiotic context of ads translation.

3.1. The visual elements in translation: intersemiotic and intercultural considerations.

In order to discuss the relevance of the visual element when translating advertising copy, it is necessary to first approach some generic notions about translation from a semiotic perspective itself. Traditionally, authors such as Crowther et al. (1270), Hawkins or Allen (1543) have defined translation by following a "verbocentric" approach, leaving aside a possible expansion to other non-verbal modes of expression. In consequence, translation has been traditionally considered to be focused mainly on the verbal dimension of the text, considering any other non-verbal elements as secondary or incidental. For Torresi (64-65), the reason behind this verbal focus relates to two different perspectives. On the one hand, focusing on the verbal dimensions is a way to facilitate the production of the target text by compartmentalising it, which implies breaking the translation into compartments, "each one defined by its enclosure into a single mode of expression" (65). On the other hand, it may also respond to the perception that visual signs are not considered as an obstacle for interlinguistic and intercultural communication due their universal nature. This perception seems to be confirmed by Roland Barthes in 1977 through what he calls a "paradox". Barthes establishes that, for example, a photographic image conveys a meaning; however, at the same time, the photograph itself does not transform or encode the reality it reproduces. In that sense the message transmitted could be considered "a message without code" (17) which cannot be described by words. That means that even if photographs can be seen as truthful, they are, at the same time, universal and untranslatable.

In the case of advertising, as a multimodal genre, it comprises both visual and verbal elements, being both intimately interrelated. Taking this into consideration, some arguments could be raised in favour of a semiotic approach to advertising translation, where the visual component and its interconnectedness to the verbal one should be paid appropriate attention (Torresi 67). Firstly, any visual element counts on certain cultural values, stereotypes or even symbols which can be recognized. For example, following Scollon (2003), some cultures have what he calls "high modality colours" which may be associated with specific political, social or even commercial values, as in the case of colours associated to bank offices or trademarks (91), as for instance, red to Coca-Cola.

Secondly, the intersemiotic phenomena involved in the translation of ads and advertising campaigns are also shaped by intercultural relations, in turn influenced by whether the cultures concerned are either high-context or low-context. More specifically, for Infante et al. in those cultures which depend highly on context, such as the Japanese or the Spanish ones, a significant part of the information provided will be verbally expressed. On the contrary, in low-context cultures, as for instance the German or Scandinavian ones, the information will mostly include non-verbal communication conventions (432). Thirdly, the visual structures may vary widely depending on cultural factors, as for instance visual compositions involving the reading direction (left to right, right to left or top to bottom) or the existence of traditions connected to the visualization of religious hierarchies (Kress and Van Leeuwen 19 and 203-206). Finally, the visual elements are also used in advertising to transfer the image of one culture into another (Torresi 67).

All in all, the success of any translated advertisement depends on considering the latter as a semiotic whole, which implies the need to keep the visual and non-verbal elements together in order to elicit a response from the addressee. In that sense, as Torresi states, intersemiotic translation reveals itself as notably effective in those cases when the image, the values and the aspirations of a whole brand need to be adapted to the different target cultures (68).

3.2. The cultural component: between adaptation and transference.

In dealing with the cultural component in the translation of advertising copy, it is necessary to refer briefly to domestication and foreignization as the two major translation strategies used to attain effective equivalence (Yang 77; Venuti 20): two poles that are central to our discussion henceforth. According to Shuttleworh and Cowie, while domestication refers to a type of translation in which a transparent and fluent style is used in order to reduce the strangeness of the source language for the target language readers, foreignization refers to a target text that retains the foreignness contained in the original text (Yang 59).

We would like to suggest that the dichotomy applies to both purely linguistic and cultural aspects, and that the choice between one or the other in the translation of international advertising campaigns results from the above-mentioned tension between the global and the local.

Globalization has had a great impact on economic and social changes. At the beginning it was considered mainly an economic process; however, technological developments triggered off globalization as an economic and social phenomenon as well (Valozic 61). The new global economy, as George Ho notes, has created a new type of consumer psychology, more sophisticated and even more sensitive to the individual needs. The consequence is that the current marketing tendencies have developed the so-called 'emotional branding' which consists on focusing their strategies around certain emotional values, inciting consumers to buy products mainly "based on their perception of being in control of the decision-making process" (Ho 225). This new tendency is directly connected to commercial translation in the sense that, instead of focusing on the product itself, the translations should feature the personal needs of the consumer (Ho 226) and the latter's cultural universe. Thereby, we may safely claim that globalization has a direct influence on advertising and, in consequence on translation strategies that tend to promote foreignization. At the opposite extreme we have a range of approaches that resort to some form of cultural adaptation.

3.2.1. Cultural adaptation.

Cultural factors have a strong impact on business and, consequently, on copywriting. Thus, Pathak suggests that in marketing translation it is necessary to take into account that each society has its own cultural elements, reflected mainly on language, verbal and non-verbal elements, religion, values and attitudes, manners and customs, material elements, aesthetics, education and social institutions (8). Moreover, the culture of each country will be influenced not only by factors such as cultural forces or cultural messages that in turn shape consumer decision processes, but also by aspects such as family, education, national identity, ethics, morality, behaviour roles and universal needs or trends, among others (12). In support of this claim, it is worth quoting Agar's words (1992):

Culture is not something people have; it is something that fills the spaces between them. And culture is not an exhaustive description of anything; it focuses on differences, differences that can vary from task to task and group to group (11).

In consequence, it is possible to assert that translation and cultural factors are also intimately associated in the world of marketing and advertising, and that the cultural dimension cannot be eschewed since it may affect directly the success of campaigns, whether original or in translation. During translation, texts normally project some communicative functions in order to attain significance for their addressees. Christiane Nord, following authors such as Bühler or Jakobson, describes the four basic functions, which can be considered universal, or at least transcultural, and which intervene when the verbal and non-verbal indicators are established by culture-specific norms, traditions, preferences, etc. (48). Firstly, the referential function, which refers to the objects and phenomena of the world. Secondly, the expressive function, which expresses the attitude or feelings towards the objects or phenomena of the world. Thirdly, the appellative function, which appeals directly to the receiver's sensitivity, experience or disposition. And finally, the phatic function, which establishes maintains or ends the contact between the sender and the receiver.

However, the problem appears when the translation hosts the markers of a specific target culture in order to be meaningful for the target addressees. This may well be the case of many translations in an advertising setting. In that sense, Nord distinguishes between two types of translation which encloses the tendencies approached in this paper: the documentary translation as an instance of foreignization and the instrumental translation as example of domestication. The first type is considered as a metatext which is defined by the author as "a target-culture text informing about a source-culture text or any of its aspects or dimensions" (49). They are texts which have been transferred from another culture and whose communicative function appears indirectly, for instance disclosing in the benefit of audiences in a specific target culture a number of details about someone or something from the source culture. On the contrary, the instrumental translation type is considered an object text. These are translations that "do not betray their origin in another language and culture and will thus be interpreted as target-culture texts by the receivers" (49). In consequence, they may aim at either achieving the same function as the source text or a different one.

But in any case, whichever of the basic, universal functions and sub-functions they perform, they will do so as non-translated texts.

In extrapolating both types of translation into advertising, Martín et al. argues on the one hand that a documentary translation will include advertisements which reproduce the situation and content of the original version and, in some cases, even a direct translation will be performed (285). An extreme case of this type of translation would be those advertising campaigns which choose to keep the commercial in the source language, thus foregrounding its foreigness. This is the case of Nespresso's campaigns (Image 4), where original characters, voices, sets, locations and slogans are maintained, opting for a minimum of intervention and the use of subtitles that allow target audiences to hear the original voices.



Image 4. Nespresso TV Spot, 2016. Documentary translation by subtitling.

For instance, in one of the Nespresso commercials Jack Black refers to Nespresso availability and services:

ORIGINAL VOICES IN ENGLISH

-Do you know you can order Nespresso via phone, or via applop.

-Applop?

-Tlap..., lap..., laptop.

-I just went to the Nespresso Boutique.

SUBTITLES IN SPANISH

-¿Sabes que puedes pedir tu café Nespresso por teléfono, mediante aplicación o tátil?

-¿Tátil?

-Port..., portátil.

-Gracias, pero acabo de venir de una Boutique Nespresso.

SUBTITLES IN GERMAN

-Wussten Sie, dass Sie Ihren Nespresso via telefon, App oder Applop bestellen können?

-Applop?

-Appl..., tapl..., lap..., lap..., laptop.

-Danke, aber ich war gerade in der Nespresso Boutique.

Half-way between one strategy and the other, it is possible to find examples such as *A shop with a difference from Ariel* from the British Ariel detergent campaign, renamed in Spain as *Una experiencia única de Ariel*. The commercial broadcasted in Spain is exactly the same as the original English one (Image 5) —that is, it reproduces the same characters, set, situation and even the exact dialogues, but this time through dubbing. In that sense, the Spanish version does not hide completely its foreign origin.



Image 5. Ariel TV Spot, 2017 (UK and Spain). Documentary translation by dubbing.

ORIGINAL ENGLISH DIALOGUES:

-Hey there!

-So there is a little story about this t-shirt. I'll show you a little video.

-Oh my God! That is the t-shirt?

-Yes. Every single item was stained and then all of them were washed with Ariel.

-I can't see anything.

-It looks like it was bright new!

-It looks pretty good!

-Ariel, clean like new with 3in1 Pods. Keep away from children.

SPANISH DUBBED DIALOGUES:

-¡Hola!

-¡Hola! Esta camiseta tiene una historia que contar. Te voy a poner un video.

-¡Madre mía! ¿Es la misma camiseta?

-Sí. Todas las prendas se mancharon y después todas se lavaron con Ariel.

-¡No veo nada!

-¡Parece nueva!

-¡Está limpísima!

-Ariel, Limpio y como nuevo. Mantener siempre fuera del alcance de los niños



Image 6. Example of instrumental translation.

On the other hand, instrumental translation, as a domestication-driven technique, will include those advertisements that have been culturally adapted to the target culture to some degree or another, even if the original external structure is kept (Martín et al.

286). The changes will be mostly observed in the internal structure,

including the wording, in order to achieve similar effects in the target audience. Furthermore, this kind of intercultural transference can be observed in advertising targeted at marketing cleaning products as for instance the use of lexical adaptations such as *Mr. Clean*, translated as *Don Limpio* (Image 6), or *Duck*, adapted as *Pato*, which in any case does not involve altering the external structure.

The instrumental translation can be appreciated in commercials as well, as in the case of, for example, of the British Dish & Tips campaign for the Finish dishwasher detergent, renamed in Spain as Experto del Lavavajillas. The original external structure was preserved, that is, the Spanish commercial is exactly the same as the English one it reproduces the same characters, set, situation and even dialogues by dubbing (Image 7). At first sight, it could share aspects of a documentary translation since there is no major intervention, the original external structure remains unaltered and the Spanish audiences, although this is admittedly subjective, may still be struck by something of a 'foreign' air (lip-sync inevitably conveys the feeling of inauthenticity). Yet at the same time we realize that the Spanish version has been "domesticated" insofar as changes in the internal structure (dialogues) have been performed. From this perspective, it is possible to appreciate localization in the case of proper nouns: Allan Mansfield becomes in the Spanish version a much closer Luis López. Furthermore, while in the English version, technical and professional language is steadily used, the Spanish one opts for an ordinary plain register that avoids technical terms as much as possible. This is for example the case of "It's mainly a buildup of excess food, fatty deposits, limescale and it can get trapped in the hidden parts of the dishwasher", which has been translated as "La gente no se da cuenta porque no se ven, pero los malos olores vienen de restos de comida que se quedan escondidos en el lavavajillas." Additionally, in order to avoid the

presence of technical information, some parts of the original English dialogue have been removed in the Spanish version and other parts have been translated loosely in order to present the message in a more succinct and accessible way for Spanish viewers. In this sense, we may argue that while the Spanish version emphasizes familiarity, the English commercial highlights functionality.



Image 7. Finish TV Spot, 2014 (UK and Spain). Instrumental translation by dubbing.

ENGLISH DIALOGUES:

-Welcome to dish and tips with Finish. Today I'm joined by Allan Mansfield, a dishwasher service engineer. Alan, what do you find most people complain about?

-Most people complain about smell

-What is that?

-It's mainly a buildup of excess food, fatty deposits, limescale and it can get trapped in the hidden parts of the dishwasher. In fact, this is the amount that can go through your machine in just six months.

-And can you avoid it?

-I always recommend you ran a cleaner through it every month

-Every single month?

-People don't realize things that clean for you need to be cleaned.

-Now I know you recommend Finish dishwasher cleaner

-I always recommend it to my customers, all the time. I even carry in my van.

-Why particularly Finish?

-Because I know it works. It's the only one with two layers: one layer gets rid of grease, the other limescale. It helps stop that buildup in the vital parts of the

dishwasher. The viewers can't smell this obviously but we've put these two dishwashers to the test. One without Finish dishwasher cleaner

-Oh!

-And one with it.

-That one smells so much fresher and cleaner. Thanks for your tip, Alan. Join us again next time for more dishwashing tips and visit finish.com.uk.

SPANISH DIALOGUES:

-Bienvenido a Experto del lavavajillas con Finish. Hoy nos visita el ingeniero Luis López, que nos explicará por qué el lavavajillas huele mal aunque parezca limpio.

-La gente no se da cuenta porque no se ven, pero los malos olores vienen de restos de comida que se quedan escondidos en el lavavajillas.

-¿Y qué recomiendas?

-Yo uso limpiamáquinas Finish una vez al mes. Es el único con fórmula de doble acción que elimina la suciedad y la cal. La diferencia se nota. Aquí no hemos utilizado limpiamáquinas Finish.

-¡Uf!

-Y en este sí.

-Este huele mucho más fresco y limpio, para conseguir unos platos más limpios. Muchas gracias Luis. Más información en finish.es

At this point, and by way of a conclusion, it becomes necessary to emphasize the role of the translator as a key element in the whole adaptation process. Advertising translators (or copywriters performing that function) act as mediators since they allow communication between the members of different cultures from both verbal and non-verbal perspectives. Their role, as Nord states, does not always imply a literal translation since they can sometimes use another kind of communication medium to achieve the purpose that is being sought. In that sense, it is possible to distinguish between a simple translation defined as "what they do when rendering texts" and the actual 'translational action' defined as "the range of what translators actually do" (43).

3.2.2. Transcreation and cultural blunders.

Once the several cultural aspects which affect marketing from an international perspective have been tracked down, the next step is to examine how culture directly affects marketing translation. For Innes, the adaptation of marketing to different cultures is challenging since it requires a good knowledge of the local culture and language in order for the brand to be able to achieve the same effect in the new target audience ("4 things about marketing translation"). Marketing, for this author, cannot be limited to advertising a particular product. In other words, it must be used in order to establish an international reputation which implies the need for a valuable and also well written content. In that sense, marketing translation should be focused on global meaning equivalence, which implies leaving aside word-for-word approaches and aiming at a more comprehensive and powerful strategies, as for instance those of localization and transcreation.

Nowadays, the most prestigious copywriting agencies are located mainly in Britain and the United States, which means that most of the advertising campaigns that are currently launched have an international scope. This means that such agencies may opt either for producing global campaigns in English for all markets or for the creation of campaigns adapted to the communicative competences of the speakers from different target cultures (Valozic 63). Accordingly, when dealing with international campaigns agencies count on two ways for launching their campaigns. On the one hand they can choose not to translate their messages, preserving the original English wording regardless of whether English is the official mother tongue or not, as for instance, Nestlé's "Nespresso, What else?" or Nike's "Just do it". On the other hand, their messages or slogans can be translated and adapted to the culture of the target countries. This is the case, for instance, of L'Oreal's which strapline "Because you're worth it" has been adapted and launched in different languages such as Spanish "Porque tú lo vales" or French "Parce que vous le valez bien" among others.

The kind of cultural adaptation underpinning the translation of advertising copy is sometimes subtle and riddled with challenges. If unsuccessful or poorly and insensitively performed, it may lead to communication blunders and, in turn, to marketing failures that can be very costly. The underlying issue of both linguistic and cultural equivalence possesses an intrinsic interest for the purposes of our inquiry. In many marketing campaigns, for example, the use of linguistic and rhetorical devices such as puns, alliterations, repetitions, etc., is a frequently employed resource in order to construct a message which, while working successfully in the source culture, may induce misunderstandings in a process of translation where the original wordplay or the sound effects may be lost or misinterpreted. In these cases, transcreation, defined as "the process of taking a message in one language and conveying it in another, without the loss of style, tone or context" (Translate Media), is usually preferred in marketing campaigns over localization since transcreation final goal is to elicit the same feelings and connotations in the target culture as in the source culture, while localization is more focused in adjusting the functional properties of a product to the target language in order to make it cultural, political and legally suitable for a particular country (Business Dictionary).

In short, and specifically as far as marketing translation is concerned, transcreation's ultimate purpose is to recast or reinvent the message in order to preserve the global branding and make it appealing for the audience in the new target culture/s. At this point, Brown-Hoesktra (38) argues that, for some authors, the line between localization and transcreation may blur primarily because both processes tend to create culturally adapted versions that do not necessarily have to match the source. However, transcreation goes beyond localization and not only in the sense that, unlike localization, it is applied mainly to marketing and advertising materials:

Transcreation goes beyond localization to actually recreating the content for a specific market. In transcreation, the concepts, feelings and calls to action that are expressed in the source material are maintained in the target material, but the emphasis, design and the text are oriented specifically to the target culture. While there are some gray areas (for example, regulatory information), transcreation goes much deeper than localization typically does, and consequently, incurs significantly higher costs. (38)

Transcreation, all in all, reveals itself as a solution when localization fails. At this point, the author following Beninato's "Transcreation: How to get it Right", proposes several cases in which this procedure, correctly performed, should be expected (Brown-Hoesktra 39). Firstly it becomes necessary in highly creative marketing campaigns that rely on wordplay and in which localization cannot be applied since it can be tricky or which could make localization tricky or even obstruct it. Secondly, transcreation must be likewise performed when products are used or even perceived in a different way in the target culture. Thirdly, it must be resorted to when a direct translation may prove problematic or even have rude connotations in the target language/culture or, from a stylistic perspective, when rhyme, meter or word selection may result in an awkward rendering. It is mandatory in the case of a campaign using humour. Finally, it must be deployed when culturally specific information needs to be re-conceptualized.

In any case, the lack of careful attention to brand names together with the absence of cultural research on the target language and culture where the product is going to be launched can seriously damage a brand's reputation. However, it is also more common than we may think and have sometimes led to provoking the so-called problem of blunders (also known as "goofs") which may be defined as "a gross error or mistake resulting usually from stupidity, ignorance, or carelessness" (Merriam-Webster). Two well-known examples from a long repertoire that is otherwise widely circulated on the web will suffice to illustrate the idea and perhaps provide some comic relief.

The first example is one of most famous advertising bloopers, taking place in one of Mitsubishi's campaigns. The automotive firm launched their four-wheel-drive "Pajero 4WD" in Spain causing a great stir and a large number of jocular comments. While the car originally was called after *Leopardus Pajerus*. which literally means *Pampas cat* (a native animal from the Patagonia Plateau region of southern Argentina), "Pajero" in Spanish has a very different meaning according to Real Academia Española:

pajero², ra

1. adj. malson. Arg., El Salv., Perú, R. Dom. y Ur. Dicho de una persona: Que masturba o se masturba. U. t. c. s.

2. adj. El Salv., Nic. y Ur. Dicho de una persona: Que dice tonterías. U. t. c. s.

3. adj. El Salv. mentiroso (| que miente). U. t. c. s.

That is, "pajero" does not share the same connotations in English and Spanish, since in the latter language it is a slang term equivalent to English "wanker" or "tosser". The cultural and linguistic clash was eventually solved by changing the model's name to Mitsubishi Montero, which literally means "mountain hunter". The second example happened when IKEA United States named one of its new work bench desks "FARTFULL" (Image 8). The name was originally based on the German word "fährt" which means "fast". However, the meaning of the English word "fart" is basically "an expulsion of intestinal gas" (Merriam-Webster). In this case, its vulgar register clearly interfered with the campaign's original intent.

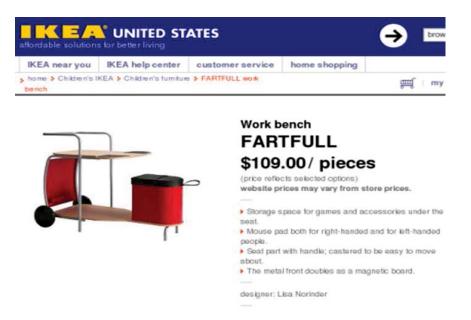


Image 8. Ikea United States. Work bench FARTFULL.

3.2.3. The "foreignizing" strategy: loans and anglicisms.

In a globalized world, intercultural and interlinguistic contacts and exchanges across countries are ubiquitous and marketing translation provides a fertile territory for such flows.

Language is intrinsically permeable due to its structural flexibility at phonological, syntactic and morphological levels. Moreover, this permeability is also directly associated with the fact that language acts as an interpreter of the external world and therefore to culture (Sala 142). Indeed, according to Sáez:

La identidad cultural de un pueblo se confunde en gran parte con su acervo léxico, que es el depósito de la memoria colectiva. Allí se encuentran los productos de su proceso de interpretación del mundo, que han sido aceptados por los hablantes³. (489).

In general terms, Sala (17-18) refers to the existence of two types of contact between languages, indirect and direct. The indirect contact is produced between different territories which maintain cultural, economic or political relations. This contact occurs superficially between two languages and it only has any impact at lexical and syntactic levels (17). On the contrary, a direct contact is produced when different communities are living in the same territory. This contact, even if it does not have a proper repercussion in the linguistic system, it has phonological, phonetical and morphological repercussions, even affecting literary styles such as scientific or journalistic (18). According to this explanation, Castillo Fadic suggests that, for instance, the relationship between Spanish and English could be considered as mostly indirect since the contact between both languages is produced primarily through mass media, such as television, advertising or internet among others (471).

Focusing in anglicisms and loans taken from English as familiar examples of this "foreigning" tendency, several authors highlight the importance of advertising in the propagation of lexical anglicisms in languages other than English. Once again, the phenomenon can be directly connected with globalization insofar as English has *de facto* become a global language for specialized fields such as science, politics, business and, of course, marketing and branding (the latter two words, for example, are Spanish anglicisms in their own right).

In the case of Spain, the historical influence of English in commercial and political spheres began to be particularly prominent in the second half of nineteenth century, while in the 1950s this process of "linguistic contamination" increased considerably due the influence of the Anglo-Saxon lifestyle in general and, more particularly, of the mass media. In this respect, the following words by Félix Rodríguez González are worth quoting:

En un principio, desde el siglo XIX y hasta la primera mitad del siglo XX, el principal aporte anglosajón vino de Inglaterra, y fue notable en campos como la navegación, el deporte, la

³ 'The cultural identity of a particular community is largely blended with its lexicon, which thus becomes the repository of collective memory. Stored there are the results of the process of interpretation of the world that is widely accepted by the speech community.' [my translation]

moda, y la técnica industrial. Tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial, especialmente a partir de 1950, la importación de voces se acrecienta sobremanera debido a la hegemonía que Estados Unidos ostenta en los órdenes más diversos, como el político-militar, económico, científico y cultural⁴. (180).

Nowadays advertising is considered one of the most prolific sources of lexical loans and calques in any civilized country (Valozic 47). In advertising settings, Rodríguez (689-692) considers, for instance, lexical anglicisms as psycholinguistic resources whose main purpose is to increase the attractiveness of the saleable product (otherwise the main aim of copywriting as explained at the beginning of this paper). Not only that: if we may take the liberty to paraphrase and also twist Debra Westall's comments on the importance of "local colour" as the one which sells the product better and makes it more attractive for the target consumers (317), we would argue that "global colour" is likewise sought for in advertising and advertising-related translation. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the research paper by Medina López (119-198) where he analyses advertising signage in Tenerife and observes some curious trends in the use of anglicisms in this type of communication that relate to a foreignizing, anglicising drive. The first one consists in the modification of spelling or *orthographic hipercharacterization* in order to bring the text closer to what is (perhaps wrongly) perceived as typical of English spelling, as for instance in Deko Albert Canarias or Impakto88. The second one is provided by the use of lexical anglicisms, specifically in the automotive or car rental sectors (Insular sport or Classic cars). Finally, the occurrence of a morphological anglicism that is clearly alien to Spanish grammar, as in Pepe's Cerámica or Multicines Oscar's, where the Saxon genitive 's' is used to enhance the brand with international overtones.

From this perspective, it is possible to suggest that there are two main reasons underlying this robust tendency for English to invade advertising messages in other languages, which are, on the one hand, the association of the English language with prestige (modernity, efficiency, elegance, technology, etc.) and, on the other hand, the search for originality and constant renovation by advertising agencies, as well as the multinational dimension of many advertising campaigns. Furthermore, as Valozic states,

⁴ Originally, from the nineteenth century to the first half of twentieth century, the Anglo-Saxon input came mainly from England, and was particularly remarkable in fields such as sailing, sports, fashion and industrial technology. After the Second World War, especially from 1950 onwards, the amount of borrowings increased extensively due the hegemony of the Unites States in the politico-military, economic, scientific and cultural spheres.

the perfect understanding of English lexical loans by the receivers of the marketing message is not always strictly required since, as pointed out before, enhancing the product's attractiveness is the paramount goal of advertising techniques, whether verbal or non-verbal (48). However, it must be likewise recognized, that advertising, at the end of the day, serves as a powerful vector for the introduction of language changes into the ordinary communicative environment of people, including the ever growing presence of anglicisms.

Regarding the latter aspect, it is interesting to mention an article written by marketing consultant Manuel Antonio Fernández ("Los 101 anglicismos más utilizados en marketing"). According to him, this phenomenon has increased significantly in Spain, particularly in marketing practice, as a result of the growing introduction of new English terms, sometimes for reasons of convenience and others due to the lack of a specific native term (some of the examples he provides are easily recognizable for current Spanish speakers of nearly average educational backgrounds, such as *marketing, mailing, merchandising, phishing, Pop-up, SEO (Search Engine Optimizer), community manager, social media, influencer, social media manager, spam or vending,* or even calques such as *hipervínculo* from *hyperlink*. In contrast to this position, Debra Westall points at the mass media and the expansion of American cultural influence as the main factors which contribute presently to the massive incorporation of anglicisms in all spheres of daily life as well as in specialized fields (319). This would be the case, for instance, of *shorts, gloss, jeans, lifting or push-up,* among others (cf. Gambier and Gottlieb 257).



Image 9. Vichy TV Spot, 2014 (Spain). Example of anglicisms incorporation through advertising.

Finally, as claimed by Valozic, the mass media themselves promote the restriction of the number of operational languages in their field of activity in order attain a faster distribution of their contents. In this sense, economic and sociocultural globalization has used English as a tool for developing a single international arena, all the more so as a result of the current development of new technologies of communication and information (126-127). However, and notwithstanding socioeconomic aspects, there are, according to Rodríguez Díaz (159), others that contribute to the prevalence of English in the media. On the one hand the vast receptivity it arouses among Spanish speakers. On the other hand, its capacity to assimilate words from different languages, which makes it something of a *lingua franca*. Along these lines, it is interesting to make a final reference to *The Economist*, whose feature "The new European Esperanto" argues that English has de facto displaced French as the common language of European MPs. Be it as it may, there is no doubt that advertising (and the translation/recreation/adaptation tasks it entails) is a powerful contributor to this phenomenon.

4. CONCLUSION

Advertising nowadays works not only as an instrument through which manufacturers are able to promote their products, but more powerfully as a true mode of communication (one which, incidentally, is not simply used for commercial purposes, but also for educational or institutional ones). The figure of the consumer/addressee turns out to be essential in this communicative context, since the main aim of advertising is basically to provoke changes in his/her behaviour, which means that, in order to achieve a fast and effective communication, the use of verbal resources such as ellipsis, appositions or nominal constructions; or, additionally, the recourse to rhetorical figures such as anaphora, metaphors or parallelisms among others is widespread in advertising copy in order to increase persuasiveness.

However, aside of the importance of the verbal message, there are other powerful non-verbal features which are crucial when interpreting the advertising piece in a comprehensive way: one which also takes account of the reciprocal relationship between text and picture. This is the case of the so-called "visual metaphors" and "visual metonymies" which appear normally connected to icons, symbols and indexes. Moreover, both verbal and visual components cannot be understood independently of the cultural context of audiences targeted by advertising campaigns. These cultural factors are usually related to aspects such as education, behaviour, family or even national identity, acting in any case as filters in the reception of advertising. Finally, globalization has a major impact on both the world's economy and the shaping of social trends. In short, global marketing trends need to take into account both the particular cultural forces and the consumer decision processes in the several communities of consumers who become the recipients of advertising messages.

All of the above —the communicative and pragmatic aspects of advertising copy (including the non-verbal context), its stylistic and rhetorical (ultimately linguistic) features and its culture-bound nature— are absolutely central to any form of translation and from this point of view what we may generally call marketing translation partakes of the same core issues as other translation typologies, including expressive or literary translation. And yet there are specific constraints —and challenges— involved in the transposition of advertising texts from one language and culture into another.

In this graduation project we have attempted to foreground some of these specificities with a special emphasis on the cultural component of advertising campaigns. And we have done so against the canvas of the dichotomy globalization/localization. This dyad, in turn, informs the main strategies that we have outlined —cultural adaptation, transcreation, transference—, and these strategies can be arranged along a spectrum that ranges between foreignization and domestication. The choice of one or another strategy is critical, since the success of any marketing campaign largely depends on cultural factors, so that the role of translation as cultural mediation is paramount in the case of advertising.

In the central part of this paper we explored these choices and dwelled at some length in the opposition between the documentary (foreignizing) style of translation and the more instrumental (domesticating) approach. Moreover, we discussed and illustrated, in connection with advertising and translation, the concept of transcreation: one that lies at the opposite end of word-for-word renderings and is aimed at success in the global market by dissolving cultural clashes. Transcreation may be said to have a strong domesticating drive insofar as its goal is to recast the marketing message to make it as attractive as possible to target consumers at the expense of eliminating linguistic and cultural substance in the source text.

At the other end of the line, foreign language loans (anglicisms in the case of advertising copy originally phrased in English) and, in extreme cases, like French-scripted perfume ads, non-translation, provide an example of hightened interlinguistic contact across cultures and languages marked once again by a globalizing, foreignizing drive. Indeed, marketing and advertising are the most prolific sources of loans and calques mainly due to the influence of American culture in daily life domains and the consideration of English as a kind of new *lingua franca* endowed with a ring of sophistication and modernity. In sum, this phenomenon does not arise so much from the sheer need for new vocabulary resulting from the absence of equivalence in the target language as from the selling potential of English in a global marketplace.

Ultimately, the role of translation (whether explicit or implicit) in the advertising business cannot be denied. Translation is a strategic part of that business, particularly in the context of multinational marketing operations, and therefore entails economic impacts in an extremely competitive context that could be the subject of additional research. But that is another story.

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