

# Advertising Culture and Translation



# Advertising Culture and Translation:

*From Colonial to Global*

Edited by  
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## PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Greenwich, Shashamane and Perugia  
September 2016  
Renato Tomei.



## CHAPTER ONE

# CULTURE IN TRANSLATION: BRITISH AND AMERICAN BRANDS IN LITERATURE

ROSANNA MASIOLA

### **Abstract**

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

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

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

## Introduction

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

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

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

### **Brands, national identity, and icons: Gentlemen and Cowboys**

#### **Britishness vs. “Born in the USA”: Patriotism and Pride**

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Chocolate in London: Can't Beat that Feeling!**

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

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

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

### **Made in the UK: Still Delicious in Translation?**

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Made in the USA: Hometown America and the Wild Frontiers**

### **Going West: The Promised Land and the Great Depression**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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