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ARTICLE

Rhetorical figures and the translation of advertising headlines

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Abstract

In advertising texts, the most important linguistic element is the headline. The function of the headline is to persuade readers to continue reading the remaining body text and, ideally, buy the advertised product. Using a corpus of 45 English-language advertisements and their translated Russian pairs, this article investigates what happens to rhetorical figures in the translation process. Three broad translation strategies are identified (transference, source-language-orientated and target-language-orientated) and their implications discussed in detail. The use of transference (untranslated retention of original) highlights the foreignness of the product being advertised, relying on the source culture's attractiveness to the target audience. The most popular strategies are those which are source-language-orientated, maintaining the source meaning in the target headline. These strategies, often resulting from advertisers' insistence on following a model advertisement, have the greatest impact on the use of figures, and examples of compensation, loss and addition can be found. When target-language-orientated strategies are employed, translators have more freedom to create headlines using rhetorical figures. The article ends by suggesting that the analysis of translated Russian advertising headlines offers another concrete example of the globalizing tendencies of large corporations and the power they exercise in shaping contemporary media discourses.

Keywords: *advertisements; headlines in advertisements; rhetorical figures; Russian advertising; stylistic analysis; translation strategies*

I Aims and scope

Russian advertising has a long, albeit interrupted, history and its roots are remarkably similar to Britain's. The first print advertisements appeared in the 17th century and by the early 18th century they could be found in newspapers. The abolition of serfdom in the late 19th century led to an advertising boom which reached its peak in 1913. However, the evolution was halted in 1917 when the Communists seized power and introduced their Soviet doctrine. Although advertising continued to feature in Soviet society, it was of marginal importance, strictly controlled and crude in comparison to British advertisements of the same period. Russian advertising effectively remained stagnant for 70 years while advertising in the capitalist world evolved, experimented with new forms and became a multi-billion-dollar industry. With the collapse of the Soviet system in 1991 and the opening of the former Soviet Union to foreign companies came an influx of this advanced alien advertising, which left the Soviet-style



advertisements looking outdated, dull and unprofessional. The market was ready for the influx of Western goods. Having been denied capitalist commodities for so long, Russians were eager to try Western goods, some of which had achieved mythical status under Communism. Advertising at this time was heavily influenced by Western models, and was full of English words and phrases. In 1998, Russia experienced an economic crisis which led to many multinational corporations pulling out of the country. This was advantageous for domestic producers as the cost of advertising space was reduced; with customers having less disposable income, advertisers began to tailor their campaigns to the domestic market. The result was hybrid advertising texts which, for example, combined Latin script, transcribed foreign words and Russian within a single advertisement. In all advertising media, it is common to see product names given in both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets and Russian neologisms abound. Certain features, however, such as the use of proverbs, popular sayings and allusions to political slogans, are more typically Russian. These advertisements have become more sophisticated, due to the digestion of Western style, and Ryazanova-Clarke sees the changes as a real advance on the 'clumsy official bureaucratic language, typical of the Soviet era' (1996: 112). This article takes as its focus the analysis of one specific part of an advertisement, the headline, and looks only at those advertisements which have been translated for the Russian market. It aims to demonstrate that close analysis of headline translation will highlight not only linguistic but also cultural differences and show the influence that multinational corporations have on shaping not only Russian but global cultural practices.

In advertising texts headlines carry the persuasive content to encourage receivers to read on and, hopefully, buy the product. Advertisers deliberately set out to attract and retain attention, and the use of rhetorical figures is calculated to have specific effects on potential consumers. If rhetorical figures do have such an impact, it is understandable that they are so frequently used in advertising, and empirical analysis has shown that they are an effective means of persuasion (see McQuarrie and Mick, 1999; Tom and Eves, 1999).

Linguists have demonstrated some of the persuasive devices open to advertisers: Leech's (1966) seminal work on English-language advertising in 1960s Britain highlights the huge repertoire of linguistic choices available to copywriters when creating advertising material, while more recently Cook (2001) focuses on parallelism, metaphor, metonymy, homophones, puns, parody and rhyme, and Myers (1994) includes alliteration, assonance, rhyme, homophones, question forms, ellipsis, parallelism and puns. In a general survey of the field, Brierley (1995) lists language games, repetition, similes, parallelism, paradox, omission and ambiguity, while Tanaka (1994: 68) concentrates on the use of puns and metaphors. Fuertas-Olivera et al. (2001) focus on the interactive dimension of advertisements and note that copywriters use person markers, hedges, emphatics, endophoric markers and evidentials when writing slogans and headlines.

The use of rhetorical figures has not gone unnoticed in Russian-language advertising. As early as 1978, Koxtev and Rozental' discussed the use of

rhetorical figures with particular reference to Soviet advertising, and devoted a chapter of their book *Slovo v reklame* ('Words in Advertisements') to the *vyrazitel'nye sredstva jazyka* ('expressive language means') (1978: 28–38). The authors suggest the aim is to carefully select words that will have an effect on readers. They discuss a number of devices, including simile, hyperbole, homophones, parallelism, repetition and antithesis and offer examples of their use in advertisements. In 1997 Koxtev updated the study, adding epithets, metaphor, personification and references to proverbs, poems and mythology, rhetorical questions, gradation and rhetorical appeal.

In Translation Studies, studies of advertisement translation have been increasing steadily since the mid-1990s. The authors of these texts have researched a wide range of languages, using a variety of analytical tools and methodologies, and produced different, even conflicting, results. There are studies into the product of translation (Sidiropoulou, 1998; Fuentes Luque and Kelly, 2000), the reception of translated advertisements (Valdés, 2000), diachronic studies into the development of advertisement translation in Eastern Europe (Jettmarová et al., 1997; Jettmarová, 1997, 1998) and investigation of the formulation of translation strategies (De Pedro, 1995; Adab, 1997, 2000; Smith and Klein-Braley, 1997; Guidère, 2000; Al-Shehari, 2001).

Little has, however, been written about the translation of rhetorical figures; these are mainly Quillard's (1998) article on the translation of puns in French-Canadian and Canadian-English printed advertisements, and Abdul-Ghani's thesis (2000) which explores, among other culture-specific content, the translation of puns, idioms and double entendres in British English, Malaysian English and Malay advertisements. There are no studies which focus solely on the translation of rhetorical figures, or concentrate specifically on headlines translated into Russian.

Translation theory suggests that advertisements, as commercial texts written to persuade, should be translated in such a way that the target text functions within the target culture as though it were an original (see Nord, 1991: 73; House, 1997: 69). However, even a cursory look at contemporary translated Russian advertisements shows that many are bound to their originals and the result is a text of obviously foreign origin. Many companies insist on the use of back-translation as a form of verification: Natal'ja Rumjanceva, a translator and copywriter at Leo Burnett and Moradpour in Moscow, commented on Procter & Gamble's desire to maintain their company image across borders: 'P&G [Procter and Gamble] is very strict when you adapt their "successful" model. They want to be as close to the original as possible even if in Russian it doesn't sound the best way' (pers. comm., 19 July 2000). Translators, then, are unable to move away from the exact meaning of the text so as to create texts which they judge to be culturally more appropriate.

The problem at the centre of this research is to investigate whether, by going against the recommendations of translation theorists and insisting on a faithful translation of the original advertisements, advertisers force translators to

impoverish the rhetorical figures in advertising headlines which, while having a detrimental effect on the potential impact of the advertisement, maintains the advertisers' ideal of a 'global brand'.

2 Data and analysis

A total of 2055 advertisements from the British press and 1156 advertisements from the Russian press was collected between 1997 and 2001. Those used in this study are the 45 matching pairs taken from that wider corpus, that is, English-language advertisements and their existing translated Russian counterparts. In order to be considered a translation pair, the English and Russian versions had to advertise the same product, have the same or very similar graphics, and contain some written text (not just the product name). Having reached 45 pairs, I stopped collecting, believing the dataset sufficient to paint a realistic picture of the types of advertisement that get translated into Russian and the range of strategies used for that translation. The advertisements are primarily from the British and Russian versions of glossy women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle* and *Marie Claire*. The corpus covers a wide product range, including cosmetics, perfumes, cars, computers and clothing. All the advertisements publicize products rather than services, and most focus on luxury (non-essential) goods rather than necessities.

Rhetorical figures occur when an 'expression deviates from expectation, [but] the expression is not rejected as nonsensical or faulty' (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996: 425), and in this sense they are 'mock violations of a norm', violating 'the "normal" use of language or the norms of logic, morality, social rules and physical reality' (Dyer, 1988: 160). The notion of deviation in linguistics is, of course, problematic. Deviation refers to the divergence in frequency from a norm, or the statistical average: the breaking of the normal rules of linguistic structure or the over-use of normal usage (Wales, 1989: 117). So, suggesting that figures of rhetoric deviate assumes that there is a language norm from which they can deviate. This is particularly difficult to quantify: however, I agree with Cook when he says: 'despite the absence of any rigorous definition of norm or deviation, or any indisputable method for identifying instances of them, it remains true that there is substantial agreement among speakers of a language about instances of both' (2001: 142–3). This makes the idea of deviation valid, albeit somewhat subjective. Figures of rhetoric are defined as those which deviate from the ordinary pattern or arrangement of words through, for example, excessive regularity (schemes) or which deviate from the ordinary and principal significance of a word, producing semantic or lexical deviation (tropes). Schemes are foregrounded by their patterns of regularity of form (syntactic or phonetic), whereas tropes twist words away from their usual meanings and collocations to produce semantic and lexical deviation (Wales, 1989: 176–7). The taxonomy used for analysis is based in part on the taxonomies produced by Leigh (1994)

and McQuarrie and Mick (1996) in their work focusing specifically on advertising texts. I felt, however, that their taxonomies did not fully encapsulate my experiences of translated Russian advertising texts and have therefore extended the taxonomy by drawing on the works of other rhetoricians, in particular Anderson (2000), Corbett (1990[1965]), Durand (1983), Kvjatkovskij (1966), Nash (1989) and Vickers (1988). I also consulted Burton's excellent Internet resource 'Silva Rhetoricae' (2001) and used Wales (1989) and Saeed (1997) to fill any remaining gaps. The taxonomy was developed during analysis and represents the advertisements in the wider corpus; a more detailed explanation can be found in Smith (2002). All figures cited in this article have been grouped as being schemes of omission (Table 1), insertion (Table 2), balanced word order (Table 3) and ordered word order (Table 4); and tropes of word play (Table 5), association (Table 6), extent (Table 7) and non-extent (Table 8) (see Appendix). The advertisements were analysed using the taxonomy by the researcher and the data were then re-analysed by two other linguists who spoke both Russian and English. Any differences were discussed until agreement was reached on the figures used. Having noted the rhetorical figures, it was possible to pick up on trends which I record in my findings. When discussing the translation of the headlines, I define the strategies used as being those of transference, source-language orientation or target-language orientation according to the following definitions:¹

Transference – the headline remains in the source language in the target-language version;

Broadly source-language orientation – various degrees of change to the source-language headline result in a target-language headline which maintains the meaning of the source text;

Broadly target-language orientation – the headline has been changed to produce a new one in the target language, which does not contain the same matter as the source text.

I discuss what happens to the figures of rhetoric when the headlines are translated into Russian. Translation theory suggests that advertising texts should be translated to create a target-language advertisement which will have a positive impact on the target audience. It is thus not of primary importance whether a particular rhetorical figure is translated by the exact same figure in Russian; what is important is that the target-text headline should have the same attention-grabbing function as the original.

3 Findings

3.1 *Transferred headlines*

Four advertisements in the Russian corpus have an English headline; three of them show rhetorical figures in the English version. The non-translation of these

headlines means that the impact of the rhetorical figures is lost. The following headline is from Kenzo's perfume *Peace*:

TIME FOR PEACE (*Cosmopolitan*, December 1999)

In this headline *Peace* is polysemous. It has the same spoken and written form, but a number of related, yet different, meanings: for example, 'a time with no war' or 'a time of quietness'. *Peace* also refers to the product name, suggesting that now is the time to use Kenzo's perfume *Peace*. By not translating the headline into Russian, these meanings have been lost for the target audience. This headline may however cause problems specific to Russian. The translation of the word 'peace', *mir*, carries Communist connotations, as in the phrase *miru mir*, 'peace to the world'. (If *Peace* were transcribed, the common practice for many foreign names, it would be rendered *Pis*, 'piss' in Russian, perhaps not the most flattering name for a luxury fragrance.)

If advertisers go to the lengths of creating advertisements incorporating rhetorical figures intended to have an impact on the reader, why are they not translated when the campaign is exported? It could be that the advertiser hopes that the target-text receivers will know enough English to understand the play on words, or is relying on the chic effect of English to compensate for incomplete comprehension. However, if the headline is not translated it cannot be expected to have the same effect on the reader and even risks being totally incomprehensible to most of the target audience.

3.2 Broadly source-language-orientated strategies

A broadly source-language-orientated translated headline is where the English-language headline has been changed to produce a grammatical and idiomatic Russian one, while maintaining the overall meaning of the original.

The parallel corpus contains 32 advertisements which I classify as having been translated using broadly source-language-orientated strategies, making it the most popular means, in this corpus, of rendering English headlines into Russian. I have noted 6 types of such strategies:

- Figure(s) not translated – figureless headline;
- Figure(s) not translated – fewer figures in headline;
- Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from the same category;
- Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from a different category;
- Same figure(s) in source and target headline;
- Figure(s) added to target headline.

3.2.1 *Figure(s) not translated – figureless headline* Five advertisements display figures of rhetoric in the original which are not maintained in the translation, resulting in a figureless Russian headline. Three are schemes of

repetition (two of alliteration and one internal rhyme). Here the alliteration is not maintained:

- 3-Step Skin Care System (*Hello*, July 2000)
- 3-x Stupenčataja programma uxoda za kožej
- '3 Stepped programme for maintenance of skin' (*Elle*, September 2000)

Maintaining the repetition of single letters while keeping the same meaning is a particularly difficult task for translators, and by not introducing another compensatory figure into the headline the translated headline is perhaps not as effective as the original. The Russian example, with its many *a*'s looks as though it might be a candidate for assonance. However, only one *a* is stressed (programma) and pronounced [a], the others are unstressed and rendered by weaker [ə] and [ʌ], meaning the example shows no assonance.

The other examples of non-translated figures are hyperbole and arise from the use of English articles. In this Tommy Hilfiger example, *the* is being used to suggest that this is a unique fragrance, rather than one of a larger, less exclusive, class.

- the real american fragrance (*Cosmopolitan*, November 2000)
- nastojaščij amerikanskij aromat
- 'genuine American fragrance' (*Cosmopolitan*, December 1998 – January 1999)

Russian does not have articles, so the translation of this headline will be interpreted as one of many American fragrances. In order to achieve the original's emphasis, a word such as *samyj*, 'the most', would need to be added, changing the meaning to suggest that Tommy is 'the most genuine American fragrance'; this is, however, disallowed according to Russian advertising law.² Translators may sometimes be unable to make the most effective translation due to legal restrictions.

3.2.2 Figure(s) not translated – fewer figures in headline This category refers to headlines which display more than one figure in the original. In the target headline, one or more of these figures will be maintained, although certain figures will be sacrificed. As in the above category, the overwhelming majority of figures sacrificed are schemes.

In Estée Lauder's Pure Color lipstick advertisement, the scheme of climax is maintained as the attributes of the product are presented in ascending order of importance, saving the best until last. The English and Russian versions place different emphasis on the elements: in the English version the fact that the lipstick is long-lasting is most important, whereas in the Russian version it is its shininess. The scheme of isocolon, however, is not maintained.

Intense colour, ultra shine, long wear (*Marie Claire*, February 2001)
 Ustojčivaja pomada, nasyščennyj cvet i ul'trablesk
 'Steadfast lipstick, rich colour and ultra-shine' (*Elle*, September 2000)

Isocolon calls for the exact balance of syntax within or across clauses. This is achieved in the English original through the use of an adjective followed by a noun. In Russian this effect is not present as there is an adjective followed by a noun, a perfective passive participle followed by a noun, a conjunction and finally a compound noun. The use of *ul'trablesk*, 'ultra-shine', breaks the pattern.

Most of the figures not translated are schemes: one of balanced word order, two of repetition and two of omission. There are, however, a few examples of untranslated tropes. Calvin Klein's perfume, *Truth*, shows the use of personification, giving senses the ability to lie in both the English and Russian versions. In English, the phrase repeats a popular saying; the saying is not unheard of in Russian but does not have the same currency as in English.

the senses don't lie (*Glamour*, April 2001)
 Čuvstva ne obmanyvajut
 'Senses do not deceive' (*Elle*, April 2001)

The failure to translate some of the figures of rhetoric means that headlines lose some of their memorability. However, the fact that they still use one or more other figures means they are likely to have an impact on Russian readers.

3.2.3 Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from the same category
 This category includes headlines where original figures are not maintained in the translation, but compensated for with a figure from the same rhetorical category. Once again the figures which are not translated tend to be schemes. L'Oréal's advertisement for Color Riche lipstick is a good example of the quite subtle changes that mean one rhetorical figure is used over another.

Rich in colour, rich in moisture, rich in shine (*She*, March 2000)

The English original displays anaphora with the repetition of *rich* at the beginning of each clause. The second rhetorical figure present is isocolon, or the exact repetition of the structural pattern (here, adjective + preposition + noun).

Roskoš' cveta. Roskoš' bleska. Roskošnyj uxod.
 'Luxury of colour. Luxury of shine. Luxurious care.' (*Elle*, July 2000)

In the Russian, the anaphora is not maintained in the three clauses, the last showing instead an example of polyptoton through the repetition of the root *roskoš* in both the noun and the adjective. The isocolon is not maintained either, yet this is an example of parison as the parallelism, although not exact, is marked within the three clauses.

The second example refers to headlines which use polysemy. Waltham's advertisements for its cat and dog foods, *Advance*, both contain a variation of the same headline:

Add life to the life of your cat. (Supplied by advertiser)
 Add life to the life of your dog. (*Prima*, August 1999)
 Dajte vašej koške bol'še žizni!
 'Give your cat more life!' (*Burda*, November 1999)
 Dajte vašej sobake bol'še žizni!
 'Give your dog more life!' (*Burda*, November 1999)

The English version plays on two of the meanings of *life*: 'continuance or prolongation of animate existence; opposed to death' (*OED*, 1989: 00132964, n. 1c), and 'energy in action, thought or expression; liveliness in feeling, manner or aspect; animation, vivacity, spirit' (1989: 00132964, n. 4a). This polysemy is marked by the repetition of the keyword *life*, thus exhibiting an example of ploche (the repetition of words intermittently within a clause). The Russian headline maintains the use of polysemy as the word *žizn'*, 'life', can be understood as '*vremja takogo suščestvovanija ot ego voznikovanija do konca*', 'the time of an existence from its beginning until its end', and '*oživlenie, projavlenie, dejatel'nosti, ènergii*', 'animation, manifestation of activity, energy' (TS, 1995: 190). In the Russian version, however, ploche is not kept as the word *žizn'*, 'life', is not repeated. Another scheme of insertion is employed which more than compensates for the lack of ploche, alliteration. The cat food advertisement repeats the <š> consonant on three occasions and the dog food advertisement twice. In addition, both employ another similar sounding husher consonant <ž> which adds to the alliterative effect. The original rhetorical device has been compensated for in this slogan by the introduction of another rhetorical device.

If it seems impossible to maintain a certain device when translating a headline, one means of compensating is to introduce a figure which comes from the same rhetorical category, thus aiming at an equivalent effect.

3.2.4 Figure(s) not translated – compensated by figure from a different category

This category is similar to that above, but here the lost rhetorical figure is replaced by a figure from a different rhetorical category. The pattern continues where schemes tend not to be maintained, while tropes are more frequently translated. Again, we see the problems of translating schemes of insertion, particularly those which use repetition. This is demonstrated in the Hugo Boss advertisement for its fragrance for men.

Boss, Bottled (*Marie Claire*, September 1999)

The English version demonstrates alliteration, with the repetition of and assonance with the repetition of <o>; arguably it is a male sound which is in

keeping with an advertisement for a male fragrance. It alludes to phrases such as 'got a lot of bottle', implying that it is a fragrance for more adventurous men. It carries an example of metonymy, where the referent (the fragrance) is replaced by the maker of the fragrance (Boss). The headline is also a humorous link to the image, which shows a male model shrunk to fit inside the fragrance bottle.

Stil' {BOSS} . . .
teper' vo flakone.
'BOSS style
now in a bottle' (*Cosmopolitan*, December 1998 – January 1999)

The Russian does not maintain either the scheme or trope present in the original, but employs a trope in the form of a paradox. The headline is paradoxical as it is not possible to buy style in a bottle, although it is possible to understand what is being sold. The headline maintains the humorous reference, as the same image of a man in a bottle is used. Even though the figure is compensated for, I would argue that the Russian headline, without the alliterative element, is less memorable.

In the second example, for Shiseido's The Skincare, the scheme of alliteration has been lost, whilst the trope personification is maintained since the product addresses the reader:

I am your
skin's strength
Rely on me (*Marie Claire*, April 2000)
Ja – sila tvoej koži
Smotri v buduščee
s optimizmom
'I am the strength of your skin.
Look into the future
with optimism' (*Vogue*, April 2000)

The loss of the alliterative element is compensated for by a parody of Soviet rhetoric through the clause 'Smotri v buduščee s optimizmom', 'Look into the future with optimism', reminiscent of the slogans used in the former Soviet Union, many of which used the informal imperative to incite, as in this example:

Idi, tovarišč, k nam v kolhoz!
'Come, comrade, and join us in the collective farm!'

This is a potentially more effective headline for Russians as the familiarity of form makes it easier to remember and its resemblance to the Communist style makes it amusing.

In Paco Rabane's advertisement for its fragrance XS, one trope is translated while another is not:

XS

there is no life without excess (*Marie Claire*, October 1999)

The headline carries examples of hyperbole (the headline is an exaggeration as life continues without excess) and a homophone (as *excess* and *XS* share pronunciation, giving the headline the double meaning that it is impossible to live without excess or the *XS* fragrance). This headline is transferred into the Russian advertisement, but for non-English speakers the hyperbole is maintained in the Russian version, while the homophone is not:

{XS}

{there is no life without excess}

* net žizni bez . . .

{XS}

{there is no life without excess}

* no life without . . . (*Elle*, September 1998)

The target advertisement invites readers to complete the ellipsis with whatever they need to complete their lives. The cynical may suggest oxygen, though a suitably persuaded reader may offer the product name *XS*. The scheme of word play is compensated by one of omission.³

Here the lost figures have been compensated for by figures from a different rhetorical category, thus changing the effect of the original figure yet promoting its overall persuasive function.

3.2.5 Same figure(s) in source and target headline There are a number of advertisements in the corpus which use the same figures in both the English and Russian versions. Many of these are tropes, such as allusions, personification and hypotyposis. Ensuring the same rhetorical figures are employed demonstrates a desire to stay close to the advertiser's model advertisement. The following example for Hewlett-Packard's Vectra computer shows how the tropes of metaphor, hypotyposis, personification and the scheme of synonymy are present in both versions (see also Forceville, 1996 for pictorial metaphor in advertising).

Protector. Defender. Sentinel. (*Economist*, October 1999)

Zaščitnik. Straž. Teloxranitel'.

'Defender. Custodian. Bodyguard' (*Itogi*, April 1999)

The metaphor is best demonstrated through the advertising image, combined with the headline. The image shows a samurai warrior, so a metaphorical comparison is implied between the defensive capabilities (highlighted by the headline) of the warrior and the computer. Personification is represented as the computer is given the ability to defend data in the same way as the people mentioned in the headline. The headline paints a picture with words, hypotyposis, of the kind of person to which the computer is being compared (irrespective of the advertising

image) and finally there is an example of synonymy through the repetition of the three words with similar meanings.

There are few examples of shared schemes, but one exception is L'Oréal's *Color Riche*. In both the English and Russian versions there is a scheme of ellipsis and tropes of personification and re-direction.

RICH, CARING AND NEVER LETS ME DOWN.
 MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE! (*Marie Claire*, February 2001)
 DARIT MNE ROSKOŠ' . . . EŠČE I BLESK . . .
 MOI GUBY VLJUBILIS' S PЕРVOGO VZGLJADA!
 'GIVES ME LUXURY. . . AND MOREOVER SHINE
 MY LIPS HAVE FALLEN IN LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT.' (*Marie Claire*,
 October 2000)

Ellipsis of a referent in both the headlines means that it is not immediately evident who is 'rich, caring and never lets me down' or '*darit mne roskoš'*', 'gives me luxury'. The headlines suggest some kind of animate entity (most likely a man), however the image shows the object of the celebrity endorser Milla Jovovich's affection to be a lipstick and thus demonstrates re-direction. The English version maintains the ambiguity into the second clause, whereas the illusion is somewhat shattered in Russian when readers are told that whatever provides the luxury, also gives *blesk*, 'shine'.⁴ The Russian readers are less likely to believe this is a reference to a man, although it is still unclear what is providing the shine. In the second clause, however, both versions employ the same figure of personification by suggesting that lips have the human capacity to fall in love.

It is possible to translate headlines so that they contain the same types of figure in the target advertisement as they do in the source. It appears that the task is made simpler if the headline is based on the use of tropes. If schemes are involved, ones that require a balancing of words within a clause or use synonyms can also be rendered particularly successfully.

3.2.6 Figure(s) added to target headline The final category contains one advertisement which includes a greater number of figures of rhetoric in the target headline than are present in the original. What is interesting is that, in contrast with the other categories, the figures which have been added are all schemes. The example is for Calvin Klein's fragrance *Contradiction*.

she is always
 and never the same (*Good Housekeeping*, February 2000)
 vseгда raznaja
 neizmenno prežnjaja
 'always different.
 invariably as before' (*Elle*, October 1999)

The English and Russian versions both display paradox, as the clause is contradictory (hence the name). The Russian version, however, also exhibits schemes of isocolon, internal rhyme and ellipsis. Isocolon is present as we see repetition of an adverb followed by an adjective and internal rhyme, due to the repetition of the adjectival ending <aja>. The referent is left ambiguous as the pronoun has been elided. Although Russian can omit pronouns, in this instance it is ambiguous to whom or what the feminine adjectival endings are referring. They could be a reference to the model pictured in the advertising image, a female reader or an object of feminine gender. It is up to the reader to fill in this gap. If translators can introduce figures of rhetoric into a headline, either consciously or inadvertently, their introduction can only help to increase the effect of the headline.

3.2.7 Discussion This section has demonstrated the range of strategies employed in translating figures of rhetoric in headlines (from non-translation, through two levels of compensation to the maintenance of the same figures in the source and target texts). In general it seems that schemes are more difficult to translate than tropes. The maintenance of the regularity of form, necessary in the communicative translation of a scheme, is a challenge for translators. I suggest that the difficulty also varies depending on the part of the phrase where the regularity is present. Regularity across clauses should be less difficult to maintain than regularity of individual words, which in turn is easier than maintaining phonetic regularity. This is shown through the data; there are similar frequencies of regularity at phrase level (such as parison and isocolon) in the English and Russian parallel corpus; at word level there are examples where the figures have not been maintained; and at the phonetic level the number of instances of non-translation is higher. Within schemes, the most difficult category of rhetorical features to translate is repetition. This is more marked due to its frequency in the English corpus, which houses the source headlines to be translated into Russian. Alliteration is the most frequently used figure within the category of repetitive insertion in the English parallel corpus, yet it barely figures in the Russian parallel corpus at all. It could be argued that translators see alliteration as a figure to avoid. Alliteration is less important in Russian than in English, where stress on the initial syllable is more common and gives it prominence (Scherr, 1986: 267). Alliteration does not feature in Koxtev and Rozentel's taxonomy (1978), which suggests that while English speakers are attuned to alliteration, it does not mean as much to Russians.⁵ Translators may discard alliteration in favour of another figure. However, as shown above this does not seem to be the case and alliteration is often not compensated for, merely ignored. Alliteration is particularly difficult to translate, as translators are expected to find words that both carry the same meaning in Russian as they do in English and begin with a particular letter. This is a near impossible task and is reminiscent of Nabokov's (2000) comments about the impossibility of translating poetry. Advertising which

incorporates phonetic repetition is close to poetry and all the problems that are attached to its translation.

It does not seem surprising, then, that the figures present in both the Russian and English versions are tropes. If the aim of the figures is to deviate from the ordinary and principal meaning of the word, translators have more leeway to translate the trope communicatively. It is understandably easier to translate a phrase so that it becomes a question which is subsequently answered (anthypophora), or to ensure that a product is capable of speaking (personification). This does not, however, mean that all of the tropes are translated – indeed this is not the case – but they are more likely to be translated than schemes. The result is that, whereas in the English parallel corpus the use of tropes and figures is almost equal, the Russian parallel corpus uses more tropes than schemes. It remains to be seen whether schemes are used over tropes when translators decide to move away from the original meaning of the advertisement and use broadly target-language orientated-translation strategies.

3.3 *Broadly target-language-orientated strategies*

In the Russian parallel corpus there are six examples of advertisements which have been translated according to broadly target-language-orientated strategies: thus the source-language headline has been changed in the Russian version, which consequently does not have the same meaning as the original. Three of the headlines are based on popular sayings in English that are linked to the image, creating an example of re-direction. If these headlines had been translated with a more faithful or semantic strategy, there would not have been the required picture-headline link-up.

The English-language Ford KA advertisement carries the headline:

hi ho silver (*Elle*, July 2000)

The headline is an example of a popular saying (an implicit allusion to encyclopaedic knowledge) which originates from the radio and television series *The Lone Ranger*. The Lone Ranger was an honest cowboy with a trusty steed named Silver who would spur on his horse with the cry ‘Hi-ho Silver awaaaay!’ (Room, 2000: 408). The headline encourages the reader to think of this horse, while the image shows a silver Ford KA. The advertisement uses a metaphor to compare the horse Silver with this silver KA; the advertisers want readers to equate the positive attributes of Silver the horse – fast, trustworthy and handsome – with those of the KA. The car should be seen as a modern Lone Ranger horse. It is debatable, however, whether this headline will be particularly effective since the typical buyer of a Ford KA is a young female who is unlikely to remember the *Lone Ranger* series.

The Russian-language version approaches the headline differently. Here no popular phrase is used, but a parody of the language often found in children’s fairy tales (see Filippov, 1992: 13–21).

blesni-ka
 jarče vsex
 'How about shining
 brightest of all' (*Elle*, April 2001)

Viewing the headline without the image suggests that you, the reader, should shine brighter than all other people. *Blesni-ka*, 'shine', also carries a modifying particle *ka* which makes commands more forceful or adds a nuance of familiarity (Wade, 1994: 303). This particle is also written in exactly the same way as the name of the car, KA. This headline suggests that if you buy a Ford KA, you will stand out from the crowd. However, when it is placed with the advertising image, you realize that the headline refers not only to the person reading the copy, but also to the car itself. The car has the capacity to shine brighter than all other cars on the road. In addressing the car by means of an informal command, the advertisers are also personifying it. Figuratively, BLESNUT' coupled with the instrumental case means 'to make a brilliant display of' (Yandex); this car is something to be flashed around or boasted about. Although the copy in the Russian and English versions of the KA advertisement is very different and the figures used are not equivalent, the adapted headline may be regarded as successful, as a more literal translation of the original would have resulted in a rather meaningless and culturally irrelevant headline.

The final three advertisements are free translations of headlines using figures which feature both an element of sound repetition and a tie in with the product name. Since product names are not usually translated (Moody, 2001), maintaining this kind of device is difficult. The advertisers have used other rhetorical devices to ensure that the headline remains memorable. This can be seen in Maybelline's advertisement for *Moisture Whip* lipstick:

Whip up your lips! (*Company*, October 2000)

The headline uses the corresponding <ip> in both *whip* and *lips*, thus exhibiting internal rhyme. *Whip* is being used as an example of homonymy; *whip up* carries connotations of rejuvenation and stimulation, but more significantly *whip* is part of the product name. It would have been impossible to translate the English headline literally and maintain the reference to the product name. The Russian transcription of the product name *vip* bears no relation to the Russian for 'to whip up' – VZBIVAT' / VZBIT'. Instead the Russian translator used a popular Russian phrase:

Vdoxni žizn' v guby!
 'Breathe life into your lips!' (*Elle*, September 2000)

The phrase 'VDYXAT' / VDOXNUT' ŽIZN' V + KOGO-L' means 'to breathe new life into somebody or to animate somebody' (Yandex). The process of breathing

makes you think of your lips and the phrase implies that lips will be improved or made better in some way by using this lipstick. The headline displays personification, as the second meaning of the phrase is to animate lips. The translator's adaptation seems to be particularly successful, offering a provocative headline which emphasizes the benefits of the product.

The rather free translation of the headlines seems to have been necessary for advertisements based on either popular English phrases linked to the advertising image or a sound-figure incorporating the name of the advertised product. The free translation ensures that they still function as a persuasive device in the target market, although it means a change of rhetorical device is necessary.

4 Conclusion

The headline is an extremely important component of print advertisements as it is the linguistic element that encourages the potential consumer to read on, absorb the advertising message and, hopefully, buy the product. The number of advertisements in the corpus which have headlines is evidence of their importance.

The use of figures of rhetoric in advertising headlines is a significant means of attracting attention. A wide range of rhetorical types are used in the corpus, with the English advertisements showing a preference for schemes, and the Russian ones for tropes. The categories of figures used is varied, with repetitive devices being particularly important.

A number of different translation strategies, ranging from transference to free translation, are used to render the headlines in Russian. Transferred headlines assume that Russians are capable of understanding English and the subtle use of language found in headlines, or that they will be so attracted to the foreignness that the use of foreign words and characters becomes the persuasive aspect of the headline irrespective of what the headline actually communicates.

What is instantly noticeable is that the majority of the headlines are translated by broadly source-text-orientated strategies and that this seems to have a negative impact on the figures. One third of the headlines in the corpus have fewer figures than the originals or no figures at all in the Russian headlines. Whenever a figure is neither translated nor compensated for, the headline loses some potential effectiveness. The range of rhetorical figures is extremely wide, so it is possible that translators are not aware of the types of figure that could be present in headlines, do not realize their power, or simply cannot recognize them. More likely, however, is that the translators do recognize the rhetorical figures, but the pressure companies put on them to use back-translation as a form of verification means that they are unable to move away from the exact meaning of the text to maintain the figures of rhetoric or find more culturally acceptable figures.

Another strategy of source-text-orientated translation resulted in headlines which employed different figures from those in the original text. Some of these

were figures which involved a similar effect, for example both source and target texts using a scheme of balanced word order: the original using isocolon and the target parison. It seems that if the original figure was difficult to translate, then using a figure from a similar rhetorical category would be the closest equivalent. Other headlines employed figures from a different rhetorical category. This form of compensation ensured that the target headline kept the persuasive impact of the rhetorical figures, although its effect was changed.

Target-language-orientated strategies were employed primarily when the use of popular sayings and product name word-play rendered the headline virtually untranslatable with source-language strategies. It could be argued that removing the ties to the original text leads to a more culturally relevant and effective advertising headline; however, this is not necessarily the case. The data have shown a wide range of strategies open to translators of advertisements and that each of these strategies can result in fully functional advertising headlines; to claim that one strategy is more effective than another is to impose a structure on the advertising genre which is untenable. Advertising is a constantly changing genre, and the targets of advertisements are not a homogenous, static group. It is the job of the producers and the translators of advertising to ensure that consumers are sufficiently attracted to the product through the advertising campaign to make a purchase. The translation strategy chosen should reflect this overall aim. Translators, the experts in both source and target languages and cultures, should be given the freedom to select the most appropriate translation strategy for the translation of advertising headlines, a choice which reflects the preferences of the target market at that given time. Unfortunately, as has been noted, the overriding desire of many global and transnational corporations to use a single advertising campaign worldwide, combined with the media's policy of global branding (Machin and Thornborrow, 2003), often places a great deal of pressure on translators, meaning they cannot produce texts which they believe will be effective in the target culture. These large and powerful organizations are in effect shaping the discourse of new Russian advertising. This phenomenon is not, however, specific to translated Russian advertising, but rather part of a world where corporations are trying to create their own universally recognized symbols to replace existing cultural symbols:

Instead of being Americans, Norwegians, Egyptians, Filipinos, or Mexicans, we become simply members of the 'Pepsi generation', detached from place and any meaning other than those a corporation finds it profitable to confer on us. (Korten, 1999 [1995]: 158)

This 'global village' has no fixed borders, or even political orientation, but is marked by the increasing homogenization of culture, where one culture is installed worldwide (Tomlinson, 1999: 23), and the analysis of translated Russian advertising headlines serves as one more concrete example of this globalization.

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Notes

- 1 These definitions are based on those offered by Newmark (1988: 45–7, 81), where source-language-orientated strategies include word-for-word, literal, faithful and semantic translation, and target-language-orientated strategies are communicative, idiomatic, free translation and adaptation. As Newmark's flattened V diagram shows, the cross-over between source- and target-orientated strategies occurs between semantic and communicative translation. For the purposes of this article, I have classified communicative translation as being broadly source-language-orientated, reserving target-language-orientated strategies as those which depart further from the source text, such as idiomatic and free translation or adaptation. Unlike Newmark, I do not view these strategies negatively, but see them as necessary and often desirable ways to ensure that the resulting headline has its intended impact.
- 2 Article Seven of the Russian Advertising Law stipulates that superlative forms, such as *samij*, 'most', *tol'ko*, 'only', *lučšij*, 'best', *absoljutnyj*, 'absolute', *edinstvennyj*, 'unique' and similar words should not be used. (Chapter II – *Obščie i special'nye trebovanija k reklame*, Article Seven – *Nedostovernaja reklama* of the Russian Federation Advertising Law, State Duma, 1995, *Rossijskaja federacija federal'nyj zakon o reklame*). Available online at: http://www.tl.ru/%7Eepsp/rekl_law/reklama.htm#g2 (Accessed 7 May 2002).
- 3 If Russian receivers understand Latin script, there is a further figure in this headline. Internal rhyme occurs between *XS* and *bez*, pronounced /b'es/. For the purposes of this article, however, it is not assumed that receivers read English.
- 4 This is the second example which draws attention to *blesk*, 'shine', as an important attribute for make-up and suggests that there is a cultural difference between English and Russian women and their make-up preferences.
- 5 Unbegaun (1977: 118) notes that 'the great [Russian] poets of the nineteenth century scarcely used it [alliteration] at all. With good modern poets, alliteration remains an unusual poetic device employed with restraint'.

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Appendix

Rhetorical figure classification by category (see also Smith, 2002: 138–46.340–8)

Table 1 Schemes of omission

Name of trope/ scheme	Definition	Explanation	Example
Ellipsis	Recoverable omitted element	Deliberate omission of a word or words which the reader is invited to supply, often by referring to the context	When Perfect Petunia isn't (Network Q)

Table 2 Schemes of insertion

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Alliteration	Consonant repetition	Repetition of initial or medial consonant sounds in (two or more) adjacent words	Boss, bottled (Hugo Boss: Boss)
Anaphora	Identical clause beginnings	Repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses	Surprisingly good for you. Surprisingly good value. (Deep Pan Pizza: McCain)
Assonance	Stressed vowel repetition	Repetition of stressed (similar) vowel sounds (preceded or followed by different consonants)	Skincare you wear (Comfort)
Internal rhyme	Sound repetition within clause	Rhyme of words in the same clause	Wickedly delicious colours to use and abuse (L'Oréal: Shock Resist)
Ploche	Intermittent repetition	Repetition of words intermittently within a clause	Will he be full of life for years and years? (Waltham: Advance)
Polyptoton	Root repetition	Repetition of a word in different cases (in inflected languages) or the repetition a root in different words (e.g. moisture, moisturizer, moisturizing)	Only reality looks more real (Hewlett-Packard)
Synonymia	Synonym repetition	The repetition of words that share a similar meaning	Protector, Defender, Sentinel (Hewlett-Packard)

Table 3 Schemes of balanced word order

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Isocolon	Exactly balanced word order across clauses	Phrases or clauses in a sentence are of equal length and parallel in syntax and hence rhythm	Rich in colour, rich in moisture, rich in shine (L'Oréal: Color Riche)
Parison	Nearly balanced word order across clauses	Marked parallelism between successive phrases; often involving the use of one or more embedded words	Beautiful hair is a matter of opinion, how you get it is a matter of fact (Pantene)

Table 4 Schemes of ordered word order

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Climax	Increasing importance	Presents argument in an ascending order of importance, reserving the best point until last	Mouthwatering spices, creamy yoghurt, child's play to prepare (Patak: Tikka Masala Sauce)

Table 5 Tropes of word play

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Homonymy	Identical sounds, unrelated meanings	Words with two or more unrelated meanings	Be like Dad, keep Mum (Security slogan, Rees, 1997: 265)
Polysemy	Related meanings	Words with two or more related meanings	Beans with sauce (The Full Monty: HP)

Table 6 Tropes of association

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Allusion	Implied reference to encyclopaedic knowledge	A reference to persons, places, myths, etc. the audience will recognize	May the G-Force be with you (Proton)
Hypotyposis	Word picture	Lively description of an action, event, person, condition, passion etc. used in creating an illusion of reality	Sticky toffee and date pudding served with feather soft snow flakes, frost-jewelled leaves, silver-iced lakes, topped with a bright bobble hat (Ambrosia: custard)
Metaphor	Two fields of reference are compared	One field of reference is carried over or transferred to another An implied comparison between two things of unlike nature which have something in common	The Samurai warrior as an image for the Hewlett-Packard Vectra printer (Hewlett-Packard: Vectra)
Paradox	Where one part of a statement seems true, while the other could not be	A real or apparent contradiction	Now you can pick herbs from your freezer (Birds Eye)
Parody	Implied deprecating reference to another style	An imitation which borrows the language, style or ideas of another for humorous or satirical effect	WAN 2 GO CLUBIN 2NITE (Vodafone)
Personification	Making human	Ascribing human qualities or abilities to inanimate objects, animate non-humans or abstract qualities	Smoothtalking lipstick (Olay)
Re-direction	Re-interpretation encouraged by image	Giving an unexpected meaning by its juxtaposition with a picture	At this moment 1 million women are in bed with a Swiss [where the image is of a woman sitting in bed, eating chocolate and wearing a watch] (Swatch)

Table 7 Tropes of extent

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Hyperbole	Exaggeration	Use of exaggerated terms for emphasis or heightened effect.	In Springers, you can reach for the sky and catch it
		There are three kinds: 1. Comparison 2. Superiority 3. Impossibility	(Springers)

Table 8 Tropes of non-extent

<i>Name of trope/ scheme</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Example</i>
Anthyphora	Answering question posed	Asking a question and then immediately answering it	The most beautiful age? Yours (Lancaster)
Metonymy	Change of referent	The referent is replaced by the name of an attribute, or of an entity related in some semantic way (e.g. cause and effect, instrument, source)	Boss, bottled (Hugo Boss: Boss)