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Cross-cultural Advertising: Tok Pisin And English In Papua New Guinea

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are over 3,000,000 people living in PNG, of whom 44.5 percent of the people over 10 years of age are said to speak *Tok Pisin* (TP) (Laycock 1985:228). Some 20 percent were reported to speak English and probably 98 percent of all the people speak at least one vernacular language as well. The overall estimate by S.A. Wurm (1985:65) is that half of the people of the country speak TP. An ad in Wantok (11 February, 1988) claimed that over 2,000,000 people speak TP 90 percent of their time.[1]¹ The use of TP is obviously still increasing, despite Laycock's prediction (1982:267) that it would decline in the future.

English, however, is the primary channel for formal education. By the end of 1979 some 335,000 students were enrolled in some form of education which demanded the use of English. Most of these were in Community Schools in grades one through six, but a considerable number (over 34,000) were in Provincial High Schools, and a lesser number (1,521) were in National High Schools. At that time there were also over 85 post-secondary schools in the country with over 10,000 students, including those at two Universities and nine teachers colleges. Therefore, at the top end of the educational ladder there are roughly 3,000 graduates per year. If we take into account only the 14 years since self-government, some 42,000 students have graduated from tertiary institutions, all of them fluent in English.²

Not everyone who speaks or knows English also knows TP. Several Provinces do not consider TP the language of wider communication and use English or some other language instead. For example 'old Papuan' Provinces, such as the Western, Central, Gulf and Northern all use *Hiri Motu*, another contact pidgin language. In the Milne Bay Province English is used almost exclusively. The use of TP is also strong in tertiary institutions: at the University of Technology in Lae it is the preferred language by students 28 percent of the time (Swan and Lewis 1987:653).

According to Mühlhäusler (1975:985) there are four main varieties of TP spoken: Tok Masta, a peculiar jargon once used mainly by many expatriates; Bush Pidgin, a survival variety spoken in isolated areas, as well as by some casual speakers; Rural Pidgin, the dominant type outside of the towns; and Urban Pidgin, which is spoken by the city dwellers and is sometimes a creolized form used by families of mixed language backgrounds.

Urban TP is the normal register in TP ads. Consequently, the ads are heavily influenced by the prevailing speaker's knowledge of English. This is the case even though WT has a **Stail Buk** which encourages the editors to aim at the less educated TP reader (Siegal 1985:531). All varieties of TP can be placed on a continuum that ranges from the more pure (less Anglicised) dialect in the rural areas, to the mixture of TP and English which one hears on the radio or in Parliament. This raises the question which Bickerton (1975) asked some years ago, namely, "Can English and Pidgin be kept apart?"

In this article we will examine an assortment of TP ads that appear regularly in WT, restricting ourselves to that publication for TP and to one daily, the **Post Courier**, as well as two magazines (**Paradise** and **Travellers Times**), for examples from English. We will note that there are potential misunderstanding of the messages given in TP.

2. WT Newspaper

The WT newspaper is published once a week in Port Moresby by the Word Publishing Company and is sold for 30 toea (in 1989). It is a common black and white tabloid with the front page headline sometimes shadowed in colour and, inside, some additional overprinting in red and yellow. The comic-type inserts are also in color. Generally it consists of about 48 pages. The 28th January to 4th February issue of 1988 was number 708, indicating that it has been published since 1970. Number 708 consisted roughly of the following materials:

On the front page there was a picture and headline story about a Member of Parliament. At the bottom of the front page was 4 centimeter ad for 'Beefcracker',

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a cracker or biscuit which is said to have the taste cf meat (Bisket Igat Tes bilong Mit). It features a cow saying yu tu bai laikim, that is 'you will also like it.'

Also on the front page was a notice telling the readers that inside they could try WT bingo to win 50 kina and a WT T-Shirt. Similar 'win moni' ads appear regularly in WT. The July 2, 1987 issue, for example, shows a bottle with money in it. The reader is asked to guess the amount of money in the bottle and win a WT T-shirt which says '*Mi laikim yu! WT*[2].

Page two includes a police report, news of a fire, a picture of nine men going to a training program in Australia, and news about a development project for the Fly River area. There are no ads on this page.

Page three contains lesser news reports (called '*Liklik Nius*') about an area with gold, a description of some educational conferences, and a report on talks with the Prime Minister of the Solomon Islands. There is also a regular feature about Toro which takes up about one-sixth of the page. Usually something bizarre takes place in his life, such as the following:

(1) Toro: Toro giamanim Kole olsem em bai wok long sarere moning. {Kole mi go nau!!} Tasol em i go lukim ol wantok na go pilai hos res... Wantok bilong Toro bet long hos namba 7 na ol sanap wet i stap... Taim ol hos i resis wantok bilong Toro bikmaus na kalap... Tasol no gat em kalap antap long lek bilong Toro... I gat sua long en... Turangu Toro painim taim stret.

Toro lies to Kole that he is going to work on Saturday morning. {Kole, I am going now!!} However he goes with his buddies to the horse races... Toro's friend bets on horse number 7 and they are all waiting... When the horse races Toro's friend yells and jumps about... However he hops on Toro's foot... He has a sore on it... Poor Toro gets it again.

Page three also features the Prime Minister's return from Indonesia. There are notices of special fares for Air Niugini tickets that will be in place on Feb. 15th. Pictures are of the Prime Minister, a member of parliament, and an Air Niugini plane.

An editorial regularly occurs in WT: in this issue it is on page four. There is also a comic strip on **Biabia**, a feature, according to Laycock (1985:58) which is written by Biliso Osake[3]. In this particular scene Biabia does not offer a ride to

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his friends. Consequently when he has a flat tire they laugh at him. Other episodes are along similar lines.

More local news is on page five, but the only ad is for Associate Plumbing, occupying about one-sixth of a page.

World news is on pages six and seven. Ads on these pages are for Johnson and Johnson Band-Aid Strips, about one-third of a page. J & J is one of the main advertisers featuring regular ads, not only for Band-Aids, but also soap[4], toothbrushes, sanitary pads[5], and baby products, including nappies[6] (diapers). The following is an example of one of the J & J ads:

(2) [pictures of arm, leg, hand, knee with bandages on them; picture of box of bandaids] Em Bikpela Elastik Plasta bilong Karamapim ol Sua na Yu ken Katim long ol Kain Sais. – Bilong ol bikpela sua. – I Elastik na gutpela bilong sua long ol sukuru bilong han na lek. – Bai i pas hariap long sikin na i no inap long pundaun. Johnson & Johnson.

This is a large elastic bandage to cover all kinds of sores and you can cut them to whatever size you wish. – For big sores – It is elastic and just right for sores that are on the joints of the hands (arms), or fect (legs). – They fasten quickly to the skin and will not come loose. J & J.

On page eight there are eight letters to the editor. The letters are selected from a variety of Provinces and deal with issues that have been reported recently in WT. The writers are especially concerned with the activities of government agencies, although one is complaining about the morgue at Kieta where the bodies do not hold together well.

A full page ad on page nine is for *Trukai* rice, followed by more letters to the editor on page ten. A quarter page ad on the same page, all in English, exhorts the readers to use Kalang advertising.

Page cleven through fourteen includes primarily Provincial news. Ads on these pages are for Big G Bubble gum[7] (two-thirds of a page), Cambridge cigarettes[8] (one-half page, all in English), J & J Tek tooth-brushes, and WT newspaper (one-half page).

There is an insert of 20 pages on the Mamose Region (= Madang, Morobe, and Sepik) in this particular issue. As would be expected, special sections comprise many ads. The insert on Mamose advertises the following: Tally Electrical ú

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Services (one-quarter page, in English), the PNG Coffee Industry Board (full page, English), Huon Litho Press (one-quarter page, English), Bank of South Pacific savings accounts (full page, English), Ramu Sugar (one-half page, English), Chunky Chicken (one-half page, English), Ford Tractors (full page, English), and so on.

There are two other regular lift-out sections in WT. One is the comics and the other is on sports. The comics feature Spak Maik[9], Rebo[10], and Piniki[11]. Ads are for Boroko Motors (Eng.), Good-year tires (Eng.), and a full page ad in English for Sterling Cigarettes.

Beginning on page fifteen there is church news and a short type of devotional on jealousy or pride. The feature is called a *Wan Minit Tingting*'.

Other features in WT on the remaining pages are: a letter to 'Lifeline' and a reply, more local news of various sorts, two full pages on the television programs (all in English), including such favorites as Chopper Squad, Return to Eden, Arizona Raiders, and The Love Boat II. The paper concludes with a myth from the ancestors, puzzles, birthday and public notice columns, and a final page on sports.

There is sometimes a transportation lift-out section in WT. This features full and half-page ads (mostly) on trucks, tractors, boats, buses, air transport, spare parts, and shipping lines.

WT offers prizes that are especially designed to draw readers or buyers to the paper. Enticements have included the following:

(1) a one-half page offering a 'stail dres na sanglas'[12];

(2) a full page stating that Peter Kerua had won a Double Cab Utility, sponsored by PNG motors (Jul 9, 1987). A second full page listed other winners, the amounts, and the sponsors.

(3) a quarter-page for a WT T-Shirt; (Jul 2, 1987).

(4) one-half page for a lottery on a Mazda four wheel drive vehicle; similar ads appear regularly[13].

(5) a full page picture of a happy family, party, and drinks complete with a Laki sign in background, stating that a policeman had just won K25, ; (Jan 8, 1987).
(6) a WT 'spotim bol' (find the ball) contest, with Bensen and Hedges as sponsor (Nov 13, 1986).

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Near the time of the elections in 1987 there were numerous government notices by the PNG Electoral Commission. There have also been regular announcements by the PNG Coffee Industry Board[14], The Post and Telecommunications Corporation, and the Taxation Dept.

This brief survey is adequate to show the general range of WT readers: fairly affluent Papua New Guinea public servants, as well as employees of small scale businesses and industry. Certain ads, such as NGI steel for bushknives, are rural in their setting[15]. Others, like Fanta[16], are more typically directed to the town-dweller.

Common to any scheme of advertising, the qualities of the product are presented in such a way as to arouse a desire to buy the item or patronize the establishment. The public notices are further meant to impart some specific knowledge to the readers. We can say that the important components of any newspaper ad are that it: (a) be public, (b) be written, and (c) arouse some interest to participate. These matters are not new to publishers. Mihalic (1977:1119) has commented on some of the problems inherent in managing a TP newspaper, including its ads.

3. The Post Courier

The PC is similar in page size to WT: the February 22, 1988 issue contained 36 pages, including a green lift-out TV guide (pp. 15-22) One record issue had 72 pages. According to its own survey, there are 32,2400 regular readers of PC, compared with 14,000 for WT. We will now briefly outline the Feb 22nd issue.

The headline page was on a student strike. Also on page one was a picture of German tourists at a Rabaul market. At the bottom of the page was a three centimeter ad by Paradise Beef Crackers and a smaller one by Toba Motors encouraging people to wear a Rosa button on the Rosa bus and (perhaps) win K25.

Pages two to five were on home news: a report on corruption, another report on the debate over the 'Placer shares' (about officials who used their office for gold investment opportunities), chicken farmers on strike (picture), and that a car was stripped while at the police compound (picture). The ads were: an eight centimeter square by Philips radio, the same size ad for a one percent discount at ÷

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Hitron, centimeter square by Ela Motors and the familiar three centimeter strip at the bottom of the page for Morobeen Cuptea biscuits.

A regular column is the 'Drum', mainly an expatriate and civil servant gossip by-line. Ads in the pages are for Gipo cleaner and Continental Airlines (asking: 'Do we go to Texas? Sho-Nuff Padnar!').

Foreign news is covered on pages six to eight with dispatches and some pictures, usually including something on the U.S. There are three further ads in this section: one-half page on Dunlop tires, a 15 x 18 centimeter ad on Ela Motors, and four by seven on Niugini Table Birds.

Page nine is a full page ad on Winfield 25's cigarettes.

Letters to the editors are on pages ten and eleven, as well as an editorial called 'Dialogue is Best' (on the student strikes). Page eleven is a feature, this issue on Palestinian concerns. There are ads on Lae and Rabaul batteries $(10 \times 3 \text{ cm})$ and Pipe Makers (3cm along the bottom).

Page twelve is a full page ad on DHL Worldwide Express, an on-board courier. Home news is given on pages thirteen and fourteen, as well as on twenty three. Ads are on Steamships warehouse, Lohberger Engineering, Davara Hotel, Milo (to win a (Honda) bike), Continental Air Micronesia, Wards Cinema, and Toba Motors. The news is on the Prime Minister, a new Highway Patrol, pornography charges, and a walkathon.

The TV liftout has ads on TV antennae, Hohola softdrinks, and four firms that sell TV sets.

The final sections of the paper feature comics (Flash Gordon, Rip Kirby, Phantom, and Hagar), a crossword puzzle, an astrology list, radio, weather, shipping, classifieds, and sports (North Sydney Rugby, cricket, golf, horse racing in australia, local rugby, and the British soccer standings). The final page of the paper always has a 'Blondie' column.

Ads over the same pages are for Wards Cinema and Drive-in, Toba motors, Olympia Electronic Typewriters, Homes by Keram Brothers, Ela Motors super raffle, Daisy Netball Association, and of course the assortment of classifieds.

Other typical ads in a PC include the Islander Hotel, Johnston's Pharmacies, BPs Milk Bar, Pepsi, and Gillette.

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The range of products promoted appeal to more affluent or would-be affluent readers, although common food staples are endorsed as well.

4. The Nature Of The Media

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies published a study (Hall et al. 1980) on the uses and results of media, primarily in Britain. Their focus was on the ideological nature of media, recognizing it as a major cultural force in representing such things as gender, class, and ethnicity. It becomes a system of reality to the viewer (or reader) and influences the values and ideological definitions for large segments of the population.

We can be sure that ads, the most important subset of media, have a similar effect in PNG. It is doubtful that the average reader of a TP (or English) newspaper will test or distinguish the truth-value of the so-called genuine news from that of an ad.

Ads do not come cheaply, even in newspapers, so it is important that the seller properly identify the audience. In the USA consumer motivation is carefully studied. Researchers have distinguished four main groups of potential buyers, namely (A) belongers, (B) emulators, (C) emulator-achievers, and (D) societally conscious achievers (Myers 1984:53). Each group is targeted, to use a military metaphor, in different ways: group A is more likely to drink Budweiser beer than Lowenbrau, which is the 'in' drink for group C. Colossal amounts of money are spent each year on research in advertising to recruit loyal product adherents, such as the so-called Pepsi Generation. The TV commercial will show masses of young people enjoying themselves and drinking Pepsi. PNG newspapers follow the same patterns in some of their ads.

Persuaders try to use word and picture 'triggers' to entice the buyer (Packard 1957). These include certain symbols which will condition a knee-jerk buying reaction by the shopper. Often the free prize or sample is an effective technique to promote client reaction. WT and PC have lotteries, bingo, and 'spot the ball' contests to draw in readers. This requires that a person buy a newspaper because there is a form which must be filled out. Once the paper is bought the individual is vulnerable to other ads as well.

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In PNG and elsewhere newspaper and magazine readers do not simply read an ad for information content. They are often drawn to the ad by some symbolic representation. The data which the purveyor wishes to propose is a part of a symbolic metaphor which the reader/viewer must interpret. He is invited to do this by reading his own wishes and fantasies into the symbol. He, in effect, becomes a part of the message.

Expressions involving symbols appear in PNG ads. A very common one is the truck (bus, car) as a root metaphor (Foster and brandes 1980: 376ff), for clan units in particular. The symbol is a dynamic concept for group solidarity: it demonstrates collective buying and carrying power, it places technology within the reach of the common man, mobility throughout the country is seen as possible, and the symbol abstractly represents prestige. The mundane aspects of truck owner-ship, such as registration, insurance, and maintenance, are neglected. Contrast this lack of apparent interest in future product reliability with the U.S. car/ truck industry which now uses warranties as a major enticement for buyers.

In ads in both WT and the PC an added cultural symbol is evident in an ad by Boroko Motors for the Nissan truck. It is loaded down with a ton of free rice for the village feast, once the truck is purchased and driven home. (PC, 14 Oct., 1987)

Other symbols appear in English color magazines of PNG, such as Paradise, put out by Air Niugini and the Travellers Times supplement offered by the weekly Times. The magazines are aimed at expatriates and elite PNG people, so the symbols are not trucks and cars, but hotels, good food, cigarettes of certain brands, and other evidences of the good life. We will return to these two magazines later for examples of blatant propaganda.

Advertising in PNG, as in other countries, raises serious ethical problems. One concerns the use of English, as the dominant language of world media, and how it intrudes into the TP commercials. As Tunstall (1977:128) has said: 'The leading current makers and shapers of the English language are, then, journalists – both print and electronic.... English is the language best suited to comic strips, headlines, riveting first sentences, photo captions, dubbing, sub-titling, pop songs, hoardings, disc-jockey banter, news flashes, sung commercials.'

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Despite this decided ethnocentric linguistic view, it is true that the English language is the one upon which TP ads seem to be based. Apparently this is often true in other languages of the world as well.

If English is used as the underlying language, it is natural that the values of English speaking peoples will be reflected as well. No speaker is neutral in terms of presuppositions, assumptions, and intentions. The speaker has something in mind and the vehicle of expression is the particular language that the indi-vidual knows best. In the case of TP, which is historically a contact language used for specific inter-cultural purposes, some 77 percent of the words are already borrowed from English. The assumption is therefore that by introducing a new word into TP from English that the concept and signification of the term will be understood. This is false (Franklin 1975), but does not delay advertisers from continuing to use transliterations directly from English.

5. Metalanguage And Semantics In Advertising

In the translation process an exact equivalence of the meaning of lexical items between languages is often impossible. The forms may look alike, but we still cannot assume that the meanings are the same. For example, the word 'devil' in English refers to some personal supreme spirit of evil but its cognate in TP, *tewel/dewel* refers to the shadow or soul of a person (Mihalic 1971:306). The forms still have some resemblance but the meanings do not.

Nevertheless, advertisers in TP simply borrow forms from English and assume that the meanings remain the same. In WT, 27 Nov., 1986, p.24 is a full page ad from Ela Motors on Toyota trucks. The first line displays the figure K9595 and invites the reader to '*TEK-OF WANTAIM KA LONG DISPELA PRAIS!*' Here the prepositional phrase, which is idiomatic in this context, copies the *tek-of* (take-off) in English in the sense of 'to go quickly', rather than 'to take away' [the truck]. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1974) gives six senses for the noun and numerous senses for the verb, including remove, release, discontinue or withdraw, deduct, reproduce, portray, detract, and depart. It is the last sense that the Toyota truck ad attempts to employ. One example of the noun sense that refers to the mechanical power take-off of a tractor can be found in the following ad: •

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(3) [Man on tractor] Em Strongpela Liklik T-akta long dispela Kantri. Em nupela model. Massey-Ferguson 1035 4WD. *Strongpela 4-WIL DRAIV 30 HOSPAWA. *12-pela Fowat na 4-pela Rives Spit. *Smatpela karamap long ol gutpela disk brek. *Gutpela pawa bilong Tek-Of. *Igat Ful Sais 3 Poin Hits. *Strongpela 3 Silinda Disil Ensin. *I gat smatpela wok sapot bilong pats na sevis. *I gat bikpela saplai bilong en i stap nau. ELA MOTORS MASSEY FERGUSON.

This is a solid small tractor for this country. It is a new model... *A strong 4-wheel drive and 30 horsepower. *12 forward and 4 reverse gears. *A skillful casing for the excellent disk brakes. *superb power take-off. *sturdy 3 cylinder diesel engine. *quick back-up for parts and service. *there are plenty of them on hand now.

Even when common TP words or phrases are used they often occur with English loans which obscure the meaning. The same ad states: $Em \ i \ rejista \ pinis \ na$ krungutim rot. Dispela mak bilong rejista em prais bilong en! = 'It is already registered and it will flatten the road. The writing of the registration is the price for it!'

The expression krungutim rot is an idiomatic phrase for something like 'flooring it' or 'giving it the gas', but the sentence about the registration is unclear. We also read that the Toyota Hilux 2-wil draiv is the top trak tru in the country and that it is redi tasol long go long han bilong kastoma, i.e. 'it is ready to be handed over to the customer.' This kind of TP is pure 'susok' (shoes-socks, i.e. urban) dialect and can only be understood by TP speakers who also know some English.

The use of metalanguage in advertising, such as '2-wil draiv' is common. Such forms utilize the extensional function of a definition from English into TP. In this case the extension of supposedly familiar concepts is cross-cultural between English and TP. The whole metalanguage is influenced by the advertiser's explanation and cultural bias. The use of terms like spesel prais and dispela trak bai i sot, or tred-in are a part of the sellers metalinguistic jargon.

However, it is seldom adequate to simply translate word for word between two languages. The concepts and principles of understanding between languages, as well as the organization of the meanings are all a part of the translation process.

Sometimes matters that are taboo in traditional society are openly advertised in the urban setting. Stayfree sanitary pads are a case in point[12]. Here young

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women are protected (from what?), told they can walk around (without fear?), or can even 'play around' (a distortion at best).

R.T. Lakoff (1982) has shown that persuasive discourse has certain unique features, and that these include, in particular, novelty, and a means of persuasion. Ordinary conversation includes the elements of reciprocity, spontaneity, with an addressee as well. However, in advertising neologisms, category shifts, syntactic innovations, semantic anomalies, and pragmatic novelties are often the rule. Advertising is blatantly persuasive, where 'the attempt or intention of one participant to change the behavior, feelings, intentions or viewpoint of another by communicative means' takes place (Lakoff 1982:28).

There are numerous linguistic devices that advertisers use, including those that are phonological, orthographic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic (Nilsen 1979). Phonological ones include alliteration, the repetition of vowel sounds, rhymes, clipping, blending and onamatopoetic words. Semantic gambits are the use of foreign or fake borrowings, meaning shifts, metaphors, and the use of puns.

The most complete study of language and advertising, from a linguistic point of view, has been by O'Barr (1979), who examined thousands of commercials on TV and in the printed medium. He found that successful commercials use some attention-getting device, they associate some personality with the product, the message is kept simple and well organized, non-verbal elements reinforce the message, emotional words and jingles are used, and once success is found the product becomes the hero. It is therefore important to the advertiser to frame the message. In a direct message the reader/viewer is exhorted or asked to act in a particular manner. The message is further structured so that the condition or problem is linked to the product or service in order to produce a particular quality or benefit. Other aspects of the message, as we have already mentioned, are the use of particular adjectives, verb tenses, performative verbs, and other language features. When an ad from English is translated into TP many of the strategies which worked in English are obscure or even misleading in TP.

6. Some English Ads

PNG, despite recent bad press from tourists who were robbed, has ads regularly to entice overseas people with money to visit the country. One of the

businesses with the most at stake is Air Niugini, which frequently advertises in all of the papers and magazines. A recent ad (Travellers Times, Feb./Mar., 1988) shows a Highland man holding a mirror while decorating his face for a singsing (festival or dance). The caption is 'Land of the Unexpected' and the prose used is highly emotive, with the following adjectives: wilderness (resort), remote, tribal (rituals), scenic (beauty), primitive (art), dugout (canoe), spectacular (view), nature (walk), fish laden (reef), WW2 (wrecks), hide away, tropical (paradise), white water (rafting); descriptive phrases include: holiday of a lifetime, diversity of cultures, thousands of deer, and so on. The descriptive nouns are: excitement, adventure, mecca, mystery, jungle, cruise, and so on.

In another ad ANG shows an atoll, an airstrip, a luxury cruiser, dancers, diving in the reef, all with complete service and the traditional round house in the background. (Paradise, Nov./Dec., 1987)

Other ads which have little to sell except their services also take advantage of the tourist stereotype. DNL, which says that is a worldwide express courier, pictures a tourist with his huge artifact. He needs to 'take his baby home', and stands complete with a camera, shorts, sandals, a flowered shirt, and he is plump and bald.

ICI is a firm which says it 'cares about PNG's future', so it is pictured covering (with an umbrella) such diverse products as chemicals, animal health products, plastics, explosives, and paint products.

The Resources and Investment Finance Ltd. claim that 'Merchant Banking is our game'. A Highlander is shown complete with his net bag, plumes, cowrie shells, painted face, and armbands. He is pictured next to a suave tuxedo cloaked gentleman who is watching the 'native' play snookers. Both look like they could beat you. The balls are graphically bouncing out of the table to become the symbols for the money market, off-shore finance, kina loans, corporation finance, and underwriting share issues. (**Paradise**, ibid, p.15)

Another investment firm, Coopers and Lybrand, advertise themselves as business advisers with 25 years of experience in PNG. Pictured are the tropical beach, coconut palms, and clear water and sandy white beaches. (**Paradise**, ibid, p.16) Pacific Forum Line also wants to carry cargo (**Paradise**, ibid, p.36). It pictures bananas, meat cuts, cattle, coconuts, and an earth mover. Their 'normal' service includes delivering 165 containers of cargo, foodstuffs, horses, and explosives.

Cathay Pacific, although advertising in a PNG magazine, shows Asian hostesses (**Travellers Times**, ibid, p.2). It advertises for the heart of Asia, i.e., HongKong. Obviously this ad is to entice the people leaving PNG.

Most tourists want it easy so the Islander Hotel promises them, by means of pictures, cars, bright lights, spendour, dining rooms, people dining in elegance, rooms with TV, the swimming pool with beautiful women and the 'lakotoi' bark-sail boat in the harbor as a backdrop (**Paradise**, ibid, p.39).

POM Travelodge combines business with pleasure in the heart of the city. The hotel is in the background but the main feature is a PNG dancer, resplendent with his drum, plumes, g-string, and daughter in grass skirt (**Paradise**, ibid, p.20).

A firm like Shell can say little about its petroleum products that would distinguish them from others, so it advertises its safety record: for 1100 days there has been no accident while refueling an airplane. For borrowed interest Air Niugini is said to have matched the same record (**Paradise**, ibid, p.38). Other advertisers include Ela Motors with its logging trucks, including the rugged terrain; Rebma Granosite Coatings, with apartments on the luxurious Paga Hill in Port Moresby.

Cigarettes figure prominently in all of the printed media. Benson and Hedges use gold as their symbol, with coins and old leather bound books depicting luxury (**Paradise**, ibid, p.4). Kool cigarettes, on the other hand, are aimed at the young swinger (**Travellers Times**, ibid, p.4). Pictured is a man with electric guitar, disguised with jeans, sunglasses, a flowered shirt which is open to demonstrate his necklace and skin. He has a slight growth in his beard and is performing in a hotel room. Incidentally, English speakers who looked at the ad with me could not associate 'cool' with anything except 'cold'.

Even the coffee industry uses the following well-chosen adjectives in its ads: few places in the world, tastes that much better, carefully hand-picked, meticulous attention, unique flavour and aroma, blend in your coffee pot, and that much more enjoyable (**Paradise**, ibid, p.8). The English ads are carefully selected to sell products and services to the businessman and tourist. We turn now to the TP materials to examine some of the linguistic materials used, particularly English loans and their spelling, English transliterations, the use of certain English verbs in TP, noun phrases, compounding, and idioms.

7. Linguistic Devices In Tp Ads

Certain ads appear in both the PC and WT, so it is fairly simple to compare the TP and the English upon which the text is based.

Barnes advertises corned beef products in both newspapers. The English shows a caricature of a man (Sita Sam) who is leaning on a Sita Corned Meat Loaf tin and saying 'I'm a Sita eater'[17]. The header reads 'Be a Sita Eater'. The WT ad is almost identical including the phrase, 'be a Sita Eater'. Other attempted translations from English are:(a) 'an old favourite with all the taste you love' = *planti pipel i laikim*; (b) 'all the meaty goodness you'd expect for your family' = *planti mit insait*; (c) 'at a budget price' = yu no inap tromoi bikpela mani tumas; (d) 'Sam's favourite' = Sam i save laikim tru; (e) 'Make it yours today too' = Yu tu bai laikim; (f) 'Available at all good stores' = Painim long olgeta gutpela stua:

In other ads for corned beef products, Barnes uses Grass Roots as the symbol for the common man, equivalent to Sita Sam. The audience level is the average worker, who is concerned about his budget. It is implied that he is interested in the nutritional needs of his family and is discerning about taste. The important connotation is that by eating the Barnes product one is a meat eater, clearly an important value. The reader needs to see that bully beef is on a par with pork back in the village.

The ad for Fanta orange flavoured soft drink[16] also appears in both the PC and WT. The symbol of Mickey Mouse is one of happiness and the audience is mainly children, or rather their parents. The implications are that it is new, in fact new new, where the reduplication emphasizes the newness of the taste. Also the product is made in PNG and it would be in the best interests of the country to buy a drink which uses local products.

Many of the ads use English loans and spelling. These include: 'T' Shirt, (Pos Opis) Box, Word Publishing, taxi, Stayfree adhesive pads, Johnson's baby powder

(shampoo, oil, soap, etc.), Super absorbent, Daytime stay-dry nappies; Panty Nappy, hotel, disk (brek); model, address, project; community], Coffee Industry Act; ...Board, as well as numerous others.

English transliterations occur as edita; adres (M = attested in Mihalic, 1971); telepon (M, telipon); kampani (M); famili (M), fri raid (M, fri), elastik plasta (M, plasta); sais, sef; proteksen; peds, marasin (M), nepi, babol gam (M); stoa kipa (M, stua), motabaik (M), TV kamera man; Inglan; Frans;, kantri (M); trakta (M); 4-wil draiv (M, draiv); hospawa; fowat; rives spit (M, spit = to speed); 3 point Hits; 3 silinda disil ensin (M, ensin); pat; saplai, kubik mita kontena; diskaun; kolwin (M, bushwind); dosa, sanglas; kompetisen; paket; pika (M, piksa)]; gem; tausen; provins, faktori; baunti; produsa.

When a verb is needed, generally in a transitive sense, the root is borrowed from English and *-im* is added as a suffix. Some examples are: *prin-im* (M), *nid-im*; *hol-im pas-im*, *arest-im* (M), *rap-im*.

A few examples of compounds are: fultaim nes; fes klas, rifa kolrum, fri tiket; prais moni, kopi produsa; kopi Bot; bounti pe; Kopi Indastri Fan; Stabilaisesen Fan. Others noted elsewhere are spesel prais, autbot moto, Mystery prais, hevi duti, tip trak, fowat stia konsol, publik notis, paul toktok, publik tok save, and Eksekyutive Opisa.

Prepositional phrases which use bilong are of course common: pawa bilong Tek-Of and piksa bilong flawa are two examples. Bilong can be translated into English with any of these prepositions: about, concerning, for, purpose of, on, off, or with , having, as well as others. The conjunction na commonly is used with two or more nouns in an NP: pats na sevis, kolrum na frisa, arabika na robasta, and sef na trupela proteksen are some examples.

Idioms occur regularly in WT, such as no inap workim mirakel; ol kampani i gat nem; no ken tromoi bikpela mani tumas (Steamships Machinery, 22 Jan 87); meat... i nais na fres (Barnes Corned Beef, 8 Oct, 87); nupela ananit prais (Mortein, 19 Nov, 87); prais... i go antap; yusim telepon long sevim petrol; ring long olgeta hap ... insait long wan seken tasol; I no osem bipo em isi (Post and Telecommunication Corporation, 22 Jan, 87); no ken wari; siksti i go; pull-up (Spak Maik); mai saut; ooh lewa; bik het; mi sempion pilaia (Rebo); i sekim nogat; yu laki tru; telepom [sic] i no ansa (Piniki); sens long winim. LLM

The fact that language is highly creative (Friedrich 1979) allows the continued lexical expansion that is necessary cross-culturally. However, given the goals of advertising, we should question those who say 'mipela no ken subim yu long baim' (=We don't want to force you into buying anything), as Steamships Machinery reported (WT, 22 Oct.'87).

8. Conclusion

Ogilvy (1983:2 8) says that on Sundays the New York Times often carries 35 pages of ads. PNG has much fewer, but many of the techniques to persuade the buyer are the same. Again, Ogilvy (1983:146) claims that a prospective buyer can be lured out of lethargic buying by insisting that (a) the product or supply is limited; (b) this is the last time that the buyer can get the product at the stated price; and (c) that there is a special price for promptness. The latter gambit is especially used in direct-order mail.

We can add a number of observations that are meant to also entice prospective buyers in PNG: (d) offer a product by associating it with free prizes or the lottery; (e) introduce English words and phrases to provide mystical qualities which are associated with the product; (f) spell English words phonetically so there is some possibility that the buyer has prestige when they are pronounced; (g) repeat trigger words or phrases as often as possible, e.g. spesal prais, ananit prais, nupela liklik tin, and so on.

The advertisers of products in WT are helping to pay for the publication of the newspaper. In so doing they are also influencing the values of the people that read their materials. There should therefore be some ethical constraints on what is advertised and how the message is framed. It seems inconsistent, for example, to have lead articles on how smoking causes cancer while running full-page ads of cigarettes at the same time. The papers report violent crimes side-by-side with cinema ads which encourage people to come and share in violence vicariously. Some positive values, such as fair play, working honestly, sharing with others, helping people who are in need, and so on, are found more in the comics than in the tourist brochures.

There are a number of issues and questions which this study raises as well: Can we learn how cultural values are internalized? What does the study of

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language, in this case TP, tell us about values? What is the relationship of advertising techniques to the principles of translation? Can one learn TP without inheriting a system of urban values, especially if learning the variety of TP found in WT? and finally, is it possible to learn cultural values apart from language?³

The present system of advertising in TP, drawn as it is from strong Western values, will promote competition, gambling, urban life, a destruction of the environment, and the use of unnecessary products. It is a high price to pay for moving into the so-called realism of the modern world. As we are reminded in Traber (1986), there are both social and ethical implications in the communication process, and advertising in TP is no exception.

NOTES

 See Appendix A, item [1]. Numbers in square brackets throughout refer to material in the Appendix. The materials in this paper have been presented to the Churches Media Council and to the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea. I am endebted to participants of the conferences, as well as Tom Dutton, for helpful comments.

The translations of the ads are fairly free and are my own, based sometimes on what I believe the advertiser means. I have checked them with fluent bilingual TP-English speakers and have found their translations less certain. I would like to thank Usu Raluame and Rundupu Amarea from the Aiyura National High School for their assistance.

- 2. The most recent figures in The Times (Week 7-13 April, 1988, p.15) are for the year 1984. They list 2,297 community schools with 340,000 students, meaning that 65 per cent of the school age children in PNG attend a community school. There were 47,000 students in 113 Provincial High Schools in 1984.
- 3. I have pursued the issue further in a following article entitled "Advertisements and values: observations from a PNG national newspaper (Wantok)".

APPENDIX A: THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SELECTED TP ADS IN WT NEWSPAPER

[1] WT 11 Feb, 1988: He likes to eat RICE and TINFISH.. Oh! and he... SHOPS at major department stores, buys different FOODS, likes SOFT DRINKS, enjoys smoking CIGARETTES, has a family to feed and CLOTHE, sends his kids to SCHOOL, he owns a CAR, has his own HOME, has money invested in a BANK and in his spare time he likes to play SPORT and listen to MUSIC. OH!..... and one other thing that advertisers tend to forget – he speaks Pidgin, 90% of the time as his natural language – unlike English! There are 2,000,000 others like him in Papua New Guinea. WT. The only Pidgin newspaper in PNG.

[2] Yu inap tru orait traim Yu inap winim wanpela nambawan 'WT 'T' Shirt'. [Picture of T-Shirt with writing on it of:] Mi laikim yu! WT. [Below shirt:] Kisim wanpela 'T' Shirt. [Section below with a picture of bottle with money in it and coupon] Glasim dispela botol na traim tok hamas mani stap insait long en. Hamas mani? Nem bilong yu... Adres na Pos Opis Box namba... (Sapos yu gat telepon)... Edita bilong WT bai opim olgeta resis pas 7-pela de bihain long ol i prinim WT. Ol wokman na meri na famili tru bilong ol dispela wokman na meri bilong Word Publishing Kampani i no inap long traim dispela resis. WT. WT Resis No 6. P O Box 1982, BOROKO. Port Moresby.

You can do it. Just try. You can win a nice WT T Shirt. [Picture:] I like you! WT. [Below picture:] Get a T Shirt. [Coupon below:] Examine this bottle and try to guess how much money is in it. How much money? Your name.... Address and Post Office Box number... (If you have a telephone).... The editor of WT will open this contest just 7 days after [this issue of] WT is printed. All employees and thier wives and close family members of the employees and their wives of Word Publishing Company are not eligible to participate in this contest. WT. WT contest No 6.

[3] Biabia: Biabia stopim taxi long nait na em laik go haus... Em lusim tingting long rausim ai glas bilong em... Ples i tudak na aiglas bilong Biabia i dak na Biabia ino luk save long haus bilong em {yumi go yet!}... haus bilong em i stap long Gordons na taxi karim em i go long Morata. Taxi drava belhat {Gerraut!! Yu laik fri raid a?} na rausim em na tarangu Biabia wokabaut go bek long Gordons. Biabia hails a taxi at night and wants to go home... He forgets to take off his sunglasses... It is dark and Biabia's sunglasses are dark so he doesn't see his house {lets keep going}... His house is at Gordons and the taxi takes him along to Morata. The taxi driver is mad {Get out! What do you want? A free ride.} and puts him out and poor Biabia has to walk back to Gordons.

[4] [Picture of girl smiling, looking into mirror; bar of soap which says Gamophen Medicated Soap] BILONG KILINIM SKIN. Gamophen Medicated Sop i gat spesol kain marasin i stap long en we bai i stopim [sic] ol gem na helpim skin i noken sua nating. Olgeta taim yu yusim Gamophen Sop bai i lukautim gut sikin bilong yu na i stap luk klin oltaim. Johnson & Johnson.

FOR CLEANSING THE SKIN. Gamophen Medicated Soap has special ingredients in it to kill the germs and keep the skin from having sores appear. Whenever you use Gamophen Soap it will care for your skin so that it will always appear unblemished. J&J.

[5] Stayfree adhesive Pads. EM SEF NA TRUPELA PROTEKSEN. Long taim yu nidim proteksen yusim STAYFREE Adhesive Peds. STAYFREE Adhesive Peds bai holim pasim, na bai i stap gut, na givim yu sef na trupela proteksen taim yu wokabaut o pilai raun. Stayfree, J & J. [Picture of woman with hands on shoulder of younger girl.]

Stayfree Adhesive Pads. They are safe and give real protection. When you need potection use Stayfree Adhesive Pads. Stayfree Adhesive Pads will stay fast and remain that way and give you safe and real protection when you travel or play. Stayfree, J & J.

[6] [Picture of smiling baby in nappy; two packages of nappies] Bebi i amamas long taim nepi i drai. Ol super absorbent nepi bilong Johnson's i save drai i stap longpela taim moa long ol laplap nepi. Na i gat gumi long lek em inap pasim gut nepi. J&J.

The baby is happy when its nappy is dry. The super absorbent nappy of Johnson's remains dry longer than any cloth nappy. It has elastic on the leg to hold the nappy tightly.

[7] New from Wrigley's. 5t Per Piece. [Boy blowing bubble which says] Big Chew. 4.9 gm piece. [Picture of bag which says] 50 pieces BIG G BUBBLE GUM. [Below]: BIG G BUBBLE GUM. Another Wrigley quality product. 50 pieces per bag. Softer chew, blows big bubbles. 60 bags per carton. *Mr. Stoa Kipa hariap nau na askim ol Wholesale stoa man bilong nupela BIG G babol gam.* ...Mista store keeper hurry and ask the wholesaler about the new Big G bubble gum.

[8] [Picture of open pack of cigarettes, with three extended] Make yours a Cambridge today. The choice is yours. CAMBRIDGE king size filter cigarettes come in 10's and 20's. Both packs bring you the full satisfaction of fine Virginia tobaccos. QUALITY KING SIZE CAMBRIDGE.

[9] SPAK MAIK. Minista tokim mail long lukim em tomora... {No ken wari!! Kam lukim mi long opis tumora oke?! } Neks de Maik i siksti i go long opis bilong kandere minista. Tupela toktok... {Yu bai kamap draiva bilong mi... Oke long wan mun taim bai mi givim yu haus oke? } Tarangu olpela draiva sanap arere long dua na ol i toktok long em i stap. {Bai mi rausim olpela draiva! } {Em nau! Bai mi kisim ples!! } {Minista laik rausim mi ya!! Bai mi go lukim bro bilong mi... } Em belhot na go tokim WT plisman bilong em long trafik... {Eh bro,.. Sapos yu lukim MP ka 007 yu mas arestim ol.. Draiva i nogat laisens. } {No waris bro! } Maik i no save na em wok long draivim minista raun i stap... I no long taim na motobaik plis i stopim em wantaim minista. {Pul-up! Stopim ka!! Hariap!! } I go moa long neks wik!

The minister is telling Mike to see him tomorrow. {Don't worry!! Come to the office and see me tomorrow, OK?!} The next day Mike goes as fast as he can to the office of his relative the minister. The two talk and talk...{Later you will become my driver... Ok, then in a month I will give you a house, Ok?} The poor former driver is standing outside the door and hears the discussion about him. {Later I will get rid of the driver.} {That's good. I will take his place!!} {The minister wants to get rid of me!! I will go and see my brother...} He is angry and goes to tell a close buddy who is a traffic policeman. {Hey brother... If you see a ministerial car with the license plate MP 007 you must arrest them. The driver does not have a license.} {No worries brother..} Mike does not know about this and he is driving the minister around. Not too much later the motorbike policeman stops him and the minister. {Pull up! Stop the car!! Hurry up!!}

[10] REBO. Rebo i paitim TV kamera man na ronawe i go long narapela get... Em bungim wanpela poro bilong em na tupela go spak long Getwe Hotel... {Brata..! Dring up! Mai Saut!! } Em spak nogut tru na kamap long ples... {Ooh lewa! Pikinini mi kam bek pinis! (Hic). } {Mama! Papa kam bek pinis!! } Long neks de tim bilong Rebo kamapim wanpela miting... {Rebo! Bikhet tumas taim ol i stap long Inglan na Frans!. Em mas pinis long tim!! } Rebo i no save olsem ol rausim em pinis long tim bilong em... {Pikinini!! Karim ragbi su na klos i kam...Mipela bai pilai tude! } {Oke papa. } Long ples bilong pilai Rebo laik ron i go insait long fil na ol tokim... {Sori tru Rebo! Yu pinis long tim bilong mipela! } {Tasol mi sempion pilaia... } I go moa neks wik!

Rebo hit a TV cameraman then ran away to another gate... He got together with a friend and the the two of them go and get drunk at the Gateway Hotel. {Brother..! Drink up! My beer!!} He gets roaring drunk and goes home. {Ooh love! Son, I have come back (hic).} {Mom, dad has come back!!} The next day Rebo's team calls a meeting. {Rebo was arrogant when we were in England and France. He is finished with the team.} Rebo does not know that he has been dismissed from his team...{Son!! Bring my rugby shoes and uniform here...We play today.} {Ok, dad.} At the stadium Rebo wants to run on to the field but he is told...{Very sorry Rebo! You are no longer on our team.} {But I am a champion player...}

[11] PINIKI. Sista go insait long rum... {Oke, klia!! Mi go insait na sekim rum. } {O! Yo! Bai em painim piniki ya! } Maria i pret nogut tru... {Sapos sista painim Piniki bai mi gat trabel. } Sista i sekim nogat na em go aut... {Yu laki tru! Tasol bai mi was long yu. } {Yes sista... } Hariap tru na Piniki i kam aut long bet... {Hey, kamaut hariap...Tumora yu mas painim haus! } Long neks de...Long opis em ringim ol lain famili em bin stap wantaim bipo... ...Ring! ...Ring! ...Ring! ... Tasol telepon i no ansa. Nau wanpela wokman i kam na asimi Piniki... {Hey susa!! Yu laik stap wantaim mi? Mi gat haus. } I go moa neks wik!

The Sister goes into the room. {Ok, clear out!! I want to go inside and check the room.} {O! Yo! She will find Piniki.} Maria is really afraid...{If the Sister finds Piniki I will have real trouble.} The Sister checks but does not find anything and comes out. {You are lucky! But I will be watching you...} {Yes Sister...} She hurries and has Piniki come out from under the bed. {Hey, hurry and come out. Tomorrow you must find another house.} The next day at the office she rings all the clan families where she has stayed before. The telephone

rings and rings but there is no answer. Just then one of the workers comes in and propositions Piniki...{Hey sister, Do you want to stay with me? I have a house.} Continued next week.

[12] [Woman in flowered dress, holding sunglasses; small cosmetic kit in foreground; coupon] Yu inap WINIM DISPELA STAIL DRES NA SANGLAS LONG Stayfree KOMPETISEN. NA I GAT SANS LONG WINIM 200 KOSMETIK KIT. [Coupon] RESIS I GO OLSEM. Baim wanpela paket Stayfree na katim piksa bilong flawa long paket na salim i go long dispela address: STAYFREE COMPETISEN. P.O. Box 1735, Port Moresby, PNG. Pinisim dispela ha toktok ya: I prefer Adhesive Pads for sure, safe protection. Yu ken stap insait long kompetisen planti taim. Taso tingim long katim piksa bilong flawa long Stayfree paket. Plis, printim gut nem na adres bilong yu. NEM........ADRES.........Conditions of Entry [all in English].

You can win this classy dress and sunglasses in the Stayfree competition. And a chance to win 200 cosmetic kits. The contest is like this: Buy a pack of Stayfree and cut out the picture of the flower that is on the packet and send it to this address... Finish the talk which begins like this: I prefer...... You can enter the competition several times, but remember to cut out the picture of the flower on the Stayfree packet. Please print your name and address carefully: Name......Address.....

[13] [Two pictures of lottery cards to the right of text. Lottery button at bottom] NUPELA PILAI STRONGPELA LAKI 4x4. Long dispela nupela gem igat tupela pilai. Nambawan em i stap antap em bai yu ken winim wanpela MAZDA FO WIL DRAIV. Sapos yu rapim dispela antap na tripela taxi (car) ikamap yu winim dispela car bilong yu yet. Seken pilai em bilong winim mani nau tasol. Sapos tripela wankain namba olsem K50.00 or narapela ikamap orait yu winim dispela mani. GO LAKI. Dispela nupela gem Laki em bilong winim mani nau tasol. Rapim na yu inap winim K10,000.00 nau tasol or K1,000.00, K100.00 na K50.00. Yu tu ken winim ol liklik prais moni olsem K10.00, K5.00 na K2.00. Na tu igat K25,000.00 em yu ken win long fri tiket. Em dro bilong olgeta fri tiket. Na tingim, ino pilai bilong winim kar, K10,000.00 na K25,000.00 tasol igat planti tausen liklik prais istap long winim. Olgeta tiket long K1.00 tasol na yu inap winim ol dispela prais. Dispela mani yu baim tiket bai igo long helpim ol project insait long wanwan provins na community. LAKI, Lotteries bilong Papua Niugini. LAKI. GO KISIM LAKI! A new lottery for the 4x4. In this new game their are two drawings. In the first one, at the top, you can win a Mazda four wheel drive. If you rub the top of this and three taxi cars appear you win the car for yourself. The second drawing is to win money right now. If three numbers are alike, such as K50, or some other figure you win that amount of money. Get lucky. This new lottery game is only for winning money. Rub off the cards and you can win K10,000 now, or K1,000, K100, or K50. You can also win small prizes, such as K10, K5, or K2. There is also a cash prize of K25,000 which you can win with a free ticket. It is the drawing for all free tickets. Think of this: you are not playing just to win a car, K10,000 or K25,000, but there are many thousands of smaller prizes to win. Each ticket only costs K1 and you are able to win all of these prizes. The money you use to buy your tickets goes to help various projects in different provinces and communities. Lucky lotteries of Papua New Guinea. Lucky. Go purchase a lottery ticket.

[14] PAPUA NEW GUINEA COFFEE INDUSTRY BOARD. Tok save i go long ol kopi produsa insait long PNG. Bot i laik tok save long ol kopi produsa olsem pe bilong kopi i daunbilo liklik olsem na Kopi Bot i stat long givim baunti pe antap long pe bilong arabika na robasta kopi insait long PNG. Ol i mekim dispela aninit long ol lo em Kopi Indastri Fan i mas bihainim (narapela nem bilong em Stabilaisesen Fan) em Coffee Industry Act (Chapter 208) i karamapim. Daunbilo em mak bilong ol baunti pe i kam inap nau: RATE 80t per kilogram. 60t per kilogram. COFFEE TYPE Green Bean. Parchment. TAIM From July 1 until further notice. Taim bilong kopi i kamap klostu nau na Kopi Bot i laik olgeta kopi produsa i mas kisim kopi bilong ol i go olgeta long ol faktori we ol i ken kisim gut baunti pe bilong ol....

...Notice for all coffee producers in PNG. The Board wishes to inform all coffee producers that since the price of coffee is down somewhat that the Coffee Board will begin to give a subsidy for arabika and robusta coffee in PNG. They will do this according to the law of the Coffee Industry Fund (which is also called the Stabilization Fund) as recorded in the Coffee Industry Act (Chapter 208).

Here below is the price of the subsidy which will begin [on July 1 until further notice]. The rates and coffee types are 80t per kilogram for Green Bean and 60t per kilogram for Parchment. The time for coffee harvest is nearly here so the Coffee Board would like all producers to take their coffee to factories where they can receive the subsidy.

[15] (Picture of man holding bushknife and coconut] Yu gat inap strong long kisim wanpela Kokoda? Kokoda, longpela bilong em 50 cm na Bulldog, longpela bilong em 72 cm, tupela is [sic] nambawan bus naip ol i wokim long Niugini. Ol man i save work bilong bus naip ...katim bus, diwai, sigarapim samting, katim, katim kopra, painim abus o ol arapela arapela samting i disainim na wokim dispela bus naip. Dispela naip em ol i wokim long stil aen olsem na tupela i strongpela tru, inap stap longtaim. Tu ol i [sic] isi long sapim. Kokoda na Bulldog bus naip i stap long olgeta hadwea stoa. Bipo yu baim wanpela, askim yu yet... Yu gat inap strong long kisim wanpela! NGI Steel.

Are you strong enough to have a Kokoda? Kokoda, it is 50 cm long, and the Bulldog, it is 72 cm long, the two of them are the best bushknives made in New Guinea. Everyone who uses a bushkife – for cutting brush, trees, scraping things, slicing meat, husking kopra, hunting or regardless of what job, this bushknife is designed for the purpose. This knife is made of steel and both of them are very durable, built to last for a long time. They are also easy to sharpen. Kokoda and Bulldog bushknives are available now at all hardware stores. Before you buy one however, ask yourself ... Do you have the strength to handle one!

[16] [Picture of Mickey Mouse with arms extended; Fanta orange flavoured bottles below one exteded arm] YU BAI LAIKIM TRU TEST BILONG MULI BILONG NIU NIU Fanta. Niu Niu 'Fanta'. Niu Niu test bilong Muli bilong Papua Niugini. Traim Niu Niu 'Fanta' tude bai yu laikim em. Enjoy Fanta.

You will like the taste of the orange in new new Fanta. New new Fanta. The new new taste from the oranges of Papua New Guinea. Try new new Fanta today and you will like it...

[17] [Picture of Grass Roots, well-known comic figure in PNG, eating and saying 'Emmmm Nnnau!!'; two cans of corned beef are in front of him and his spoon] MMMMIGHTY GOOD BEEF. James Barnes i bringim yu wanpela nambawan corned beef. Barnes meat i kam long Madang i nais na fres em i bilong ol pipol bilong Papua New Guinea stret. Na nau! GRASS ROOTS i laikim tru bully beef.

MMMMMIGHTY GOOD BEEF. James Barnes has brought you the best corned beef. Barnes meat comes from Madang and is pleasant and fresh; it truly belongs to the people of Papua New Guinea. Now then! GRASS ROOTS really likes bully beef.

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