Language Register and Innovation in Arabic Consumer Advertising: Case studies of Jordan’s Al-Ra’i and Egypt’s Al-Ahram newspapers.

Submitted by Dima Mohammed Al-Qutob to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arab and Islamic Studies

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Signature: .................................................................
Abstract

Arabic is a diglossic language with two forms modern standard Arabic (MSA) and colloquial Arabic with each having its own social function and linguistic features. With MSA dominating the writing domain and the colloquial is confined to informal speech. However, recently a new register has been deployed by copywriters in print advertisements in broadsheets in composing some consumer advertisements and public announcements. This new register is deployed by copywriters commissioned by producers and service providers to achieve the primary objective of their business plan to entice prospective customers into reading the advertisement and eventually buy the product. The employment of this register in composing print advertisements is based on various advertisement models. This register like any other register has its own vocabulary that has been created either from Arabic or from foreign languages such as English and a few from Turkish. Nevertheless, the novelty of this register is that, it does not abide to Arabic written norms, neither syntactically, nor morphologically. It introduces new techniques to Arabic writing that can to some language purists and conservatives be considered as depreciation to the language. This includes the use of colloquial language in writing, combining and shifting between MSA and colloquial Arabic, a process known as diglossic switching, combining two codes or two languages in a process known as code switching and code mixing. This novel register has manifested as a result of language evolution that can be attributed to many factors including political, social, economic, cultural, technological advances and globalization.
This new register which I would like to coine as advertising Arabic, has developed its own morpho-syntactic and phonological features. These include a combination of syntax, morphology, phonology and lexical elements from not only MSA and colloquial Arabic, but also include English elements in it. The influence of English is obvious in the employment of English words either written in the Latin alphabets or transliterated into Arabic through borrowing. The result of this study shows that this new register should be considered as one of main types of Arabic.
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Pronunciation of the letters of Arabic alphabets in Modern standard Arabic

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background and research problem

Advertisements play an essential role in a capitalist economy. They are the link between producers and consumers, and without them neither would the producer be able to introduce his product nor the consumer realize the existence of it. There are many manufacturing and service companies on the market that seek to introduce their products and services to consumers. Consequently, we are surrounded with advertisements from every angle, and the competition to produce an interesting and eye-catching advertisement among these companies is immense. Therefore, advertisers employ various methods, both verbal and non-verbal, to make the advertisement more appealing to readers, and entice them to read it. Just as in any consumer-oriented society, advertisements in the Arab world have the same objective of being interesting and appealing. As a result, copywriters embrace various innovative methods in order to achieve this objective in their print copy, including the unconventional employment of colloquial Arabic in a domain that has been previously dominated by the use of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Arabic uses a different variety in writing from the spoken one. The variety used in writing is the standard one which is also used in formal speech, whereas spoken Arabic is colloquial Arabic which is acquired from the mother, as will be discussed in section 5.1.2. Another method that copywriters employ in composing advertisements includes the use of English in different forms in their copy. The embracing of these methods in a medium that has previously been recognized by people as a source of proper language has alarmed decision makers in some Arab countries, not least in
Jordan, and has motivated them to take measures to preserve the language by issuing a law for preserving Arabic language.

Some may argue how can this style of writing form a novel register while a similar style of writing is used in social media? It is true that Arabizi was used a means of chatting to void the technological gap of the first generation of mobile phones which lacked Arabic keyboard. Arab communicators with modest knowledge of English used to chat in English, and when they were stuck with a word, they would use Arabizi, which employs the Latin alphabet and Hindi numerals that resemble Arabic letters either in their sound or shape.

However, with the evolution of mobile phones and development of Arabic keyboard, the use of Arabizi became confined to a certain segment of the chatter’s population, the teenagers, while the rest chat using Arabic or English. Arabic chatters may use either MSA or colloquial Arabic. One would not switch between these two varieties in one’s chat. This again depends on the people involved in the chat and the relationship between them. In addition, chatting happens in an informal environment where the communicators are familiar with each other and they choose the variety that they usually use in speech.

However, when advertisements in broadsheet employ these techniques, that will be discussed throughout this thesis, this means that a new register of writing is being created and appearing in a source that abides by the rules of written Arabic, and hence could pave the way to be used in other genres

1.2 The significance of the study.

This research aims at identifying a new register that employs unconventional ways of writing that have been appearing in broadsheets in two of the most circulated newspapers in Jordan and Egypt. This unorthodox style of writing, which I identify as
a register, merits investigating because it is used in a medium that abides by the rules of writing. Allowing this kind of style to appear in such a medium reinforces the manifestation of a novel phenomenon in advertisement copy that may infiltrate other genres and eventually change written Arabic.

1.2 Research Questions

This research is devoted to answering the following primary research question: to what extent is advertising in Arabic broadsheets, specifically in Jordan and Egypt, adopting new methods of writing that are different from conventional usage? One might expect that in a diglossic language such as Arabic, with two varieties each having a designated social function, that print advertisements, especially those in broadsheets, would follow the standard language norms. Arabic broadly speaking, and according to Charles Ferguson (1959), is a language with two varieties, a high and a low. The high is represented by Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is acquired through formal education, and is used in writing and certain oral situations such as formal speeches or liturgical sermons, while the low is the oral variety of Arabic, which does not require formal education and is acquired usually from the mother or a guardian. This variety comprises regional vernaculars that can be unintelligible to Arabic speakers from other regions of the Arab world (Holes 1995: 36-41)

According to Ferguson’s bipartite categorisation, print advertisements should adopt MSA since it is the variety of Arabic used in the writing domain. However, this new phenomenon deploys unconventional techniques such as the use of colloquial Arabic, using both MSA and colloquial Arabic within the same text, a phenomenon
known as diglossic switching; it also includes English within the Arabic text, either by using Latin alphabet or using loan and transliterated English words, and finally it can include Arabizi in the Arabic text. Arabizi is contemporary writing system in Arabic that has surfaced as a result of modern telecommunications technology. It is a writing system in Arabic that uses the Latin alphabet and western numerals.

This research also attempts to answer the following subsidiary questions: What are the morpho-syntactic features of this new phenomenon, for example in terms of graphology or representation of colloquial sounds in script, of negation, tense, interrogation and orthographics? Why and in what way is this new phenomenon deployed in advertisements? How is this new phenomenon different from what is known as ‘Media Arabic’? Can this new phenomenon be considered a new register of writing?

In order to determine whether this phenomenon constitutes a register, we need to understand what a register is and what its characteristics are. According to Halliday (1989:44), register refers to specific lexical and grammatical choices made by speakers depending on the situational context, the participants of the conversation, and the function of the language in the discourse. He defines register as “the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type” (Halliday 1984: 111). In other words, register is simply a variety of language a person chooses in a specific situation. Other scholars are in conformity with Halliday. Leech defines registers in English as “Varieties of English distinguished by use in relation to social context” (Leech 1966: 68). Peter Trudgill (1983: 101) has a similar definition. He defines register as: “A rather special case of a particular kind of language being produced by the social situation”. Suzanne Romaine is more elaborate in her definition. She defines it as “variation in language
conditioned by uses rather than users and it involves consideration of the situation or context of use, the purpose, subject-matter, and content of the message, and the relationship between participants” (Romaine 1994: 20). To sum up, I define register simply as a specific variety of language a person produces in certain social situation that is determined by the subject matter and the parties involved in the communicative process. For example, a doctor presenting a case in a medical conference would use certain medical terms. The same doctor will use simpler words to explain the case to an ordinary person with no medical background.

Registers are distinguished mainly by their vocabulary, and sometimes grammar. Each register has its own vocabulary repertoire, and when a person sees certain words s/he can immediately recognize the register being used (Romaine 1994:20-21). We speak of legal register when we hear words in context such as ‘hereinafter’ or ‘undersigned’, we associate ‘thou’ and ‘unto’ with religious register (Leech 1966: 98). Halliday (1964, 1984), Leech (1966), Doughty et al (1972), Trudgill (1983) and Romaine (1994) argue that registers can be distinguished by three factors: field, mode and style. Halliday (1964: 90-93) and Pearce (1972) coined another term for style, which is tenor; Leech (1966: 67-101) argues that registers can be distinguished by role, mode and style. Trudgill (1983: 100-102) claims that the subject matter, situation and social context, distinguish a register.

Halliday and Pearce’s “field”, Leech’s “role” and Trudgill’s “subject matter” all signify the physical setting and the occasion of the language produced. Within the field factor, registers are classified as technical, such as those relating to biology and mathematics, or non-technical, such as such as those relating to politics and personal relations (Halliday 1964:91). This classification is determined by the subject
matter and sometimes according to the nature of the whole event of which a language activity forms part. For example, the register of a lecture in biology will be scientific and hence technical. On other occasions, where the language activity plays a minor role, the field of discourse or subject matter is determined by the whole event. Halliday (1964:88) gives the example of a register of domestic chores: ‘hoovering the carpets’ may involve very limited language activity but the language used while doing the action contributes to the total event. Showing somebody how to hoover a carpet entails more demonstration than oral explanation, but still the subject matter or the field of the conversation would be about hoovering the carpet.

However, sometimes the language activity in a situation may not form part of that event, such as the case where two people are talking about politics while doing the washing up. Here the field of discourse is politics, even though it is taking place while the participants are doing a domestic chores event. The distinction of registers within this factor can be easily recognised by the lexical items used (Halliday 1964:88). Advertisements possess specialised lexical items typical of their register. For example, nouns such as [khuṣūmāt] ‘reductions’, [‘urūd] ‘offers’, [tanzīlāt] ‘sales’ all indicate that the text is an advertisement. Phrases such as حطمنا الأسور [ḥṭamnā il-‘asār] ‘we smashed the prices’, عرض خاص [‘arḍ khaş] ‘special offer’, اغتنم الفرصة [ightanim al-furṣa] ‘ grab the opportunity’ are all characteristics of advertisements.

The medium in which the language is being introduced, or the channel of communication adopted is identified as the ‘Mode’ according to both Halliday and Leech and the ‘situational context’ according to Trudgill. Registers, according to this factor, can be classified as spoken or written, with each having its own lexical and
grammatical distinctions. They also vary in the degree of formality. A written register is more formal than a spoken one, according to Trudgill (1983:101) and Halliday (1964:91), unless the written communication is of a purely private nature, such as personal letters, when some concessions are made to informality (Leech 1966: 86). However, the mode or situational context of some print advertisements, like the ones involved in this study, fall within the informal written register categorisation, though they do not have a private nature. Leech adds another register in relation to mode, which is the ‘scripted’ register or the ‘written-to-be-spoken’ register (Leech 1966: 85). An example of this register is advertising on television and radio. The last factor that contributes to the classification of registers is Halliday’s ‘tenor’, Leech’s ‘style’ and Trudgill’s ‘social context’, each of which refers to the persons taking part in the discourse, how many of them, their relationships and their statuses. For the sake of simplicity and common use, I am going to use Leech’s ‘style’ to refer to this. The relationship between the participants determines the style of the discourse, which ranges from being formal or polite (Halliday 1964:92) to being colloquial, or from being formal to informal according to Romaine (1994:21). However, between these two styles, the formality and informality, at the opposite poles of the continuum, lie other styles such as casual, intimate, and deferential, according to Halliday (1964: 92). Leech identifies four sets of style, colloquial-formal, casual-ceremonial, personal–impersonal and simple-complex (Leech 1966:74). In print advertisements, the anticipated target audience determines the style that the advertiser decides to use. If the target audience is young people, then the style will be informal and employ colloquial Arabic. Therefore, the register of any language event can be described in association with the appropriate, field, mode and style. For example, a lecture in physics in a university will be in a technical or scientific field,
lecturing mode and formal style. In the case of advertisements in broadsheets, we can describe the print advertisement register as follows: Broadsheet advertisements are non-technical, written in various writing styles that vary from the formal to colloquial and sometimes include English.

In summary, a language variety can be said to constitute a register if it possesses specialised vocabulary, certain grammatical structure, specified functions of the communicative event and specified relations between the participants. In the following paragraph, and building on Hilliday’s proposition of developing a register by stating the characteristics that should be present in it, I demonstrate that Advertising Arabic manifests these characteristics.

Halliday (1984) suggests ways to develop a register of mathematics. His approach can be applied more broadly. He (1984: 195-196) suggests ways by which new vocabulary specific to a certain register is created. Advertising Arabic employs some of these, hence demonstrating the first characteristic of a register. One way is by borrowing words from another language, in particular English words. The other is by creating new words out of non-native word stock. Advertising Arabic has created some words from both English and Turkish. The second characteristic of a register is to have a distinctive grammatical structure. Advertising Arabic has a grammatical structure that defies the written grammatical norms, it combines the grammatical rules the standard language uses in writing with the informal spoken rules. It also possesses distinctive properties. These include the deployment of the spoken variety in a written context, the use of English words using the Latin alphabet, transliterated English words, and irregular orthography.

The third characteristic of a register is to have specified functions. Advertising Arabic aims at informing the prospective customers and persuading them into buying
the product or service the advertiser is promoting. It utilizes various styles to achieve this objective, depending on the nature of the product and the target audience being addressed. Accordingly, the style used in composing these advertisements can vary from the formal to informal, as I illustrate in this thesis.

The fourth characteristic of a register is to have specified relationships between the participants. This is partly determined by the nature of the product and the anticipated target audience. For example, if the product or service being advertised targets the present young generation, advertisers opt to use a mixture of colloquial Arabic, borrowed English words, and English words written in the Latin alphabet to show solidarity with that age group.

Before investigating this new phenomenon, a definition of advertisements is essential to understand the importance of this kind of genre. I would like to propose the following, based on definitions provided by Wells et al (2006:6), Sandage et al (2002:5), Arens & Schaefer (2007:4), Borden (1964: 7-14) and McCarthy (1981: 83-93)) which are explored further in chapter three. Advertising is “a communicative process that aims at creating awareness, introducing and persuading prospective customers with respect to a specific product, service or idea through various media”. Advertising started orally and evolved over time. The town crier was the advertising medium in England and other European countries during medieval times Dominick (2009: 337). The crier was also the medium of advertising in the Arab world (ṣābbāt 1969:36). In fact criers are still present these days in some Arab countries, including Jordan and Egypt. However, with the invention of writing, advertisements moved from being oral to being written and then, with advances in print, communication and media technology, it has developed rapidly both verbally, that is in terms of the
words used and how they are used, and non-verbally, that is, the colours, typography and pictures O’ Guinn et al (2003:436).

1.3. Advertising in The Arab World

Advertising in the Arab world is in its infancy compared to advertising in the West. Even within the Arab world, its form and development varies from one country to another. This variation can be attributed to several factors, including mainly language policy, religion, the economic status of the country, and its social make up. My main concern in this thesis is in the language policies of the countries involved in this study, which are explored below. In order to understand how advertisements are taking a new turn in the way they are composed, I would like to discuss some of the factors that have been controlling print media.

1.3.1 Language Policy

Language policy refers to the language or languages of a country that are enforced by the government and implemented by individuals and institutions. Spolsky (2004:5) defines language policy as “a set of planned interventions supported and enforced by law and implemented by government agencies”. He adds that language policies “may refer to all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community” (Spolsky 2004:9). This means that some countries record their language policies in their constitution or law while others do not. Some countries such as the two involved in this study, do not explicitly mention language policies in their constitution, but they do name the official language. By doing so, legislators are implicitly stating the country’s language policy. The constitutions of Jordan and Egypt state that the official language on the country is Arabic. (c.f. article 2 of the Egyptian Constitution and article 2 of the first chapter of the Jordanian Constitution). Even
though the two constitutions do not clearly state which variety of Arabic is the official one, it is implied that it is *de facto* the standard one, MSA, that is used as the language of instruction and official communication. Nevertheless, since there is no legislation the specifically stipulates the use of MSA, language policies can be ignored by individuals. In addition, broadsheet publishers sometimes obtain permission to publish in other languages to cater for people who do not speak the language of the country they reside in. For example, in Jordan there are two newspapers published in English, *The Star* and *The Jordan Times*, while in Egypt there four newspapers in English, *The Egyptian Gazette*, *The Daily News Egypt*, *Egypt Independent* and *Al-Ahram Weekly*, and three in French *Le Progrès Egyptien* Rugh (2004: 123), *Al Ahram Hebdo*, and *Le Petit Journal*.

Language policies generally do not oblige the press to use the official language, and they are not held accountable for not using it either constitutionally or legislatively. However, broadsheets in general, and the two broadsheets involved in this study in particular, implement the language policy of the government and publish their newspapers using the official language of the country, which is Arabic, to reach out to the larger number of people. Print advertisements in broadsheets have traditionally adhered to the variety of language used in the broadsheet they appear in. In the two broadsheets in this study, readers expect to read advertisements composed in MSA. However, advertising copywriters often violate this norm, since there is no legal specification that states that adverts should be composed in MSA and that the copywriter will be legally responsible. This violation happens to some consumer advertisements and some public announcements. I have found that the earliest violation to Arabic writing norms in the composition of advertising by not employing MSA was in the 1970s in Egypt and late 1980s in Jordan. This will be
discussed in section (5.13). From that time, advertisements started to take a new twist in writing by using the local colloquial variety or combining colloquial Arabic and MSA or even using English.

The use of MSA in advertisements varies between the two countries included in this study. This can be attributed to the different language practices of the two. Language practices are defined by Spolsky (2004:9) as “the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual speaker makes, sometimes consciously and sometimes less consciously that make up the conventional unmarked pattern of a variety of a language”. In other words, a person chooses among the available varieties a word or sound or grammatical structure and makes up his/ her linguistic repertoire. In fact language practices can implicitly constitute language policies (Spolsky 2007:3). Egyptians employ colloquial Arabic more extensively than any other Arab country in domains that are supposed to be exclusive to MSA (Versteegh 1997:196). For example, speeches in the Egyptian parliament are often delivered in a style closer to the colloquial language (Versteegh 1997:196), something that is not used in the Jordanian parliament. Suleiman (2003) argues that the use of colloquial language has been hailed by Egyptians, who take pride in their Egyptian spoken Language, to the extent that some have called for the replacement of classical Arabic (CA) with Egyptian Spoken Arabic (ESA) as part of an ‘Egyptianization’ movement (Suleiman 2003:178). This tendency of Egyptianization’ or Egyptian regional nationalism finds its beginning in British colonial policy, which aimed at disparaging the Arabic language, especially CA, as a means of breaking down pan-Arab unity (Holes 1995 : 37) . Shraybom-Shivtiel (1999:131-140) argues that key figures in the British administration in Egypt emphasized elevating Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) by calling for its use as a written language and the official
language in civil affairs. He claimsthat the British endeavoured to depreciate Classical Arabic and upgrade the status of the colloquial language. He says that the British administration, in its effort to weaken the influence of Arabic, adopted two actions. First, they announced in 1888 that the language of instruction in schools should be either English or French; then they elevated the status of colloquial Arabic to strengthen the distinctiveness of Egyptian identity as opposed to other Arab nationals (Shraybom-Shivtiel 1999:132; Bassiouney 2009:238).

Elevating Egyptian colloquial Arabic was also encouraged by some Egyptian intellectuals and writers at the beginning of the twentieth century such as Niqua Yusuf and Salamah Musa, who demanded the adoption of colloquial Egyptian Arabic as the state language (Shraybom-Shivtiel 1999:134). These writers nurtured, through their writings, the idea of Egyptian distinctiveness, and that Egyptians were different from the Arabs with whom they share a language, and that they felt psychological and ancestral links with their supposed pharaonic ancestors (Suleiman 2003:176). People in Egypt associate CA with Bedouins as it is the language that originated in the Arabian Peninsula and in which the Quran was revealed. According to Suleiman, the Egyptian intellectuals mentioned above postulated that Egypt has its own environment that is different from the Bedouin one in which Standard Arabic is spoken. To Yusuf Arabic was not a language suitable for the modern needs of Egypt (Suleiman 2003:178). Meanwhile, Musa declared that it was a dead language that could not compete with the colloquial as the true mother tongue of Egyptians (Suleiman 2003:182). He believed that written Arabic was not only too distant from the Egyptian national character, but also it had too little bearing on social reality (Brugman 1984: 398-400). He advocated the use of Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) in writing and to unify the spoken and written varieties of
Arabic. He postulates that writers write for all people, not only for the educated ones and therefore should use their language, “I do not mean to say that we should write in the vernacular for the sake of the people, but that we are going to write for the people in a popular literary language” (Musa 1956:114). The irony in Musa’s statement is that he was advocating the use of ECA in writing using CA himself. The postcolonial era in Egypt witnessed an interest in reviving CA, but at the same time, Egyptians wanted to simplify CA to meet modern needs. This included some modifications in grammar, such as eliminating some grammatical rules such as the dual system and other changes, a move that was hailed by the Egyptian king Fuad at that time (in 1930), who himself did not know Arabic well but was aware of the problem (Shraybom-Shivtiel 1999:137; Bassiouney 2009:288-242).

With the ascent of the Nasserist regime in (1952) and the growing Egyptian aspiration for an Arab national unity, the simplification of Arabic was halted and the idea of territorial nationalism dropped. Nasser emphasized in his speeches the relationships between the Arabic language and Arab national unity. In a speech delivered in the United Nations in 1960. He emphasized this point by saying, “We announce that we believe in a single Arab nation. The Arab nation was always united linguistically, and linguistic unity is unity of thought”, (Dajani 1973:119). This meant that the colloquial language lost its status as an ideological factor, though it remained the daily language of native speakers (Shraybom-Shivtiel 1999:137).

Egyptianization, colonisation and pan-Arab nationalism have all influenced the writing style of Egyptian newspapers. However, our main concern here is the language of advertising, which was first written in the same style as newspapers, that is, MSA. However, later, and in the early twentieth century, the language of newspapers evolved and began to included colloquialism, although this was confined
to certain topics, especially those aimed at women such as fashion pages Holes (1995: 256). As print advertisements are part of this journalistic genre, they were also subject to a linguistic facelift, and the way in which they used to be written also changed and they started to include colloquial language in very few advertisement copy.

Language practices in Jordan with respect to the language variety in newspapers are different. MSA has always been favoured in the press in general, and in print advertisements in particular, as these newspapers implement the language policy of the government. However, with factors such as globalization and advances in telecommunications, the language of advertisements has evolved, just like in Egypt, and colloquialism has become part of it to facilitate the conveyance of the message to prospective readers.

Nevertheless, Jordanian advertisements have started to take a novel twist in the language employed in them, especially after the introduction of mobile phones to the Jordanian market in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s. Some advertisers started to favour using either colloquial language or diglossic switching between colloquial and MSA in print advertisements. Diglossic switching is a phenomenon that takes place in a language that has two varieties. People shift between these two varieties for specific reasons which will be explored in chapter six in this thesis. Scholars such as Krumbacher (1902), Marcais (1930:20-39), Ferguson(1972[1959]:245) and Bassiouny (2009:10-26) among others, whose views about the subject will be discussed in chapter six, have written about Arabic as typical case of diglossic language. Diglossia according to Ferguson is:
“...a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation”. (1972 [1959]: 245).

Usually diglossic switching in Arabic takes place in speech, and was formerly never acceptable in written contexts. However, it started to appear in literary works and became a writing style for many literary writers at the beginning of the twentieth century as the new genre of the novel became popular. Many renowned Egyptian writers such as Yuusif Al- Sibaa‘i, Tawfiq al-Hakim and Naguib Mahfouz, amongst others, believed that switching between MSA and ESA in their novels would bring life to their novels and make situations more realistic. They felt that switching between the two varieties was unavoidable when reporting the speech of illiterate people (Versteegh 1997:126) and to reflect the characters in their novels as real people illiterate, and literate alike. However some of these writers, such as Tawfiq al-Hakim, who used colloquial Arabic in his earlier literary work, later publically regretted it and returned to the use of MSA (Versteegh 1997:126).

Perhaps one reason that has aided the inclusion of diglossic switching in writing is the intensive employment of this technique by public figures in their speeches. Perhaps the public figure most famous for diglossic switching was the Egyptian president Gamal Abudl Nasser (1954-1970) who used to switch between the two
varieties in order to convey his political message to a larger segment of the public. Diglossic switching was a hallmark of his rhetoric and other Arab leaders followed suit (Holes 1995:285; Versteegh 1997:196).

The main objective of public figures exploiting diglossic switching is to indirectly achieve their political purposes (Holes 1995:283). I believe the same objective is set by advertising copywriters. The aim of political figures in employing diglossic switching is to convey their message to a larger segment of the audience, whose educational background is modest. When these speeches were reported in broadsheets, they were transferred into MSA rather than the colloquial form they were originally said in. An exception to this was the last speech of President Sadat in the parliament in 1981. It was published in the newspapers in the colloquial variety as it was delivered the day after his assassination with a note from the publisher that there had been no time to translate it into MSA (Versteegh 1997:196).

The use of colloquial Arabic in the print media, especially broadsheets was historically confined to certain sections within Egyptian broadsheets, and occurred very rarely in their Jordanian counterparts. In the Jordanian broadsheet Al-Rai, the only section that sometimes includes vernacular words is in the ‘Abwab’ section. This does not discuss serious topics, but rather articles and news related to women, including fashion, cooking and beauty news, in addition to some health news and entertainment. Other places in Al-Rai where colloquial language can sometimes be spotted are in articles by columnists Mohammed Al-Zu‘bi and Abedalhadi Al-Majalli, who use satire in their articles to criticise the ongoing events in Jordan based on anecdotes from the daily lives of Jordanians.
The transition to the selective use of colloquial Arabic in the written form, or even diglossic switching between colloquial and MSA, became more noticeable in advertisements in Jordanian broadsheets in the mid 1990s. The earliest advertisement I have found in Al-Rai that utilizes diglossic switching was in 1995, for Samsung split-unit air conditioning (see advertisement 13 of Appendix 2). The phenomenon then became more popular with the introduction of wireless networks and mobile phones, brought to the Jordanian market by foreign companies. Prior to that period, the use of diglossic switching was very limited. These companies, especially retailers who sold mobile phones, used the same technique in advertising as they did in the west, and introduced the idea of including colloquial Arabic within the MSA text. In fact, the earliest advertisement for mobile phones I found in Al-Rai that employs diglossic switching was in 1997 (see advertisement 17 in Appendix 2). But still, switching was very limited, though it gradually increased, and the language of advertisements in these broadsheets started to take a turn away from the conventional use of MSA. Consequently, a new way of writing the advertisements started to emerge to include features already mentioned: using colloquial language, code switching, English, and words transliterated from English, as it will be explored in chapters six and seven.

As this novel turn in copywriting has spread, and more advertisements have adopted it, this stirred the concerns of Arabic language activists who call for what they regard as the “preservation” of the Arabic language. These include the Jordanian Houiedi and Krieshan already mentioned, and the Syrian Mohammed Omar, to mention a few, who claim that Arabic is deteriorating, and blame the deterioration specifically on advertisements written in the colloquial language. In an article published on an online magazine arabiclanguageic.org on 21 May 2014, Kreishan, a journalist at the
Jordanian daily Al Doustour, proposed that “In order to preserve the Arabic language from deterioration, we, Arab people, have to eliminate the use of colloquial words in print advertisements and replace foreign words with their Arabic equivalents” (Kreishan, 2014). In the same article, he quotes the activist Mahmoud Mousa claiming that “the popular use of colloquial language and the use of foreign languages in all sorts of life is only a conspiracy (by those who wish to depreciate the language) to drive away the Arabs from their Arabic and Islamic culture and heritage” (Kreishan, 2014). In the same vein, Fahmi Houidi delivered a paper in a seminar held in Ribbat city in Morocco in 2002 entitled “Arabic language, where to?: Arabic language in the media”, which was published on the official site of the Saudi Arabian University of Um Al-Qura. It says that:

“The ‘ordeal' of Arabic in the media has three forms:

a. The frequency of grammatical mistakes in MSA.

b. The popularity of using colloquial language in advertisements, some articles and on radio and television programmes.

c. The extensive use of foreign words in a medium directed towards an Arab recipient. A person might sometimes find a whole advertisement written in a foreign language printed in an Arabic newspaper (Houidi, 2014)

 Meanwhile, Omar, published an article on the Syrian Al Baath newspaper web site in January 2011 entitled ‘Arabic and its current struggle with the colloquial language’, which claims “That having advertisements written in foreign languages and colloquial Arabic instead of classical Arabic is a sin that the media should not commit” (Omar 2011). He adds that “the media has the burden to improve the
language and make it more contemporary and easy, and should not contribute to its deterioration”.

In the same vein, in an article published in the Kuwaiti *Al Arabi* magazine in July 2008 by Sha‘ban Shams, professor of Communication and Media Studies at 6 of October University in Egypt, pleads for advertising agencies and the media to preserve MSA so that it will not be substituted by unwelcomed foreign languages or even vernacular languages. He argues that “the emergence of ‘āmmyya, colloquial Arabic, intensively in visual and print media has a serious impact on the youth since ‘āmmyya contains in many cases expressions that can be detrimental to the mother language” (Shams, 2008).

On the other hand, the Jordanian economist and columnist at Al-Rai, Fahd al-Fanik, defends these advertisements, saying that they ensure the perpetuity of the economy and the media they appear in. In an article published in Al-Rai on 12 April 2014, al-Fanik says “that even though some advertisements contain some exaggeration in their contents, one should not overlook the fact that these advertisements do convey the message to the consumer in an attractive way, and they provide consumers with an array of choices from which consumers can choose whatever they wish, besides the fact that without the advertisements, the general public would not be able to get the newspaper at such a cheap price” (Al-Fanik, 2014: 40) Al-Fanik here is indicating that the exaggeration to which he refers is actually the hyperbole used in the advertisement that makes the product magical in terms of the words employed or in exaggerating in describing the product. Therefore, whichever register the advertiser chooses to write the advertisement in, the principal aim is to make the advertisement appealing to the prospective customer (Al-Fanik,
214: 40). In conclusion, advertising is like any other communicative activity needs to convey the desired message in an appealing way using various techniques, rather verbal or non-verbal. Therefore they should be composed in a way that is understood by the majority. Suffice it to say that advertisements talk to people using their mother tongue, even though they are printed.

1.4 The Contribution of This Thesis

The outcome of this thesis is to identify the features of a new register of Arabic which is used in the writing of some consumer advertisements and public announcements in Arabic broadsheets, in particular Al-Rai and Al-Ahram. Even though this register is found there, it does not conform to the normal writing conventions.

Print advertisements in general and advertisements in broadsheets in particular employ various linguistic techniques to entice the prospective readers. This thesis shows that this new phenomenon in composing advertisement, can be considered a new register of writing which includes the following the linguistic features,

i. The dominance of colloquial language, violating the conventions of written Arabic, which are based on MSA.

ii. Diglossic switching between the two varieties of Arabic. Some adverts are not written only in colloquial language or in MSA but rather involve both at the same time, thereby changing the norms or the general rules of the language.
iii. The significance of foreign influences on the Arabic language, in particular the influence of English.

iv. Introducing new vocabulary to the Arabic Language repertoire through borrowing or transliterating English words.

1.5 The Order of This Thesis

This thesis is made up of seven chapters and a conclusion. Chapter one, as I have presented, is the introduction, in which the background and research problem is discussed, in addition to how this study will contribute to the knowledge of the subject.

Chapter two is the literature review. It is divided into two parts. The first looks at theories of diglossia and diglossic switching; the impact of globalization and modern technology on the evolution of Arabic; and the key linguistic features of MSA and the colloquial language of both Jordan and Egypt. The second considers past academic research into advertising theory, exploring why and how people advertise; what tools they utilize in advertising; and the anatomy of an advertisement. It also discusses the language of advertisements in the two countries involved in this thesis.

Chapter three discusses the various models and theories that underpin composing the most effective advertisement. It also analyzes the anatomy of advertisements in general, including the linguistic and non-linguistic elements and discusses the rhetorical devices employed in advertisements.

Chapter four discusses the methodology and dataset. It gives a brief history the two papers included in this study. It also explains how the data was collected and why.
Chapter five discusses the impact of colloquial Arabic on broadsheet advertising. It also outlines the different kinds of Arabic and identifies the morpho-syntactic, lexical, and semantic features of Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic. It analyzes the difference between MSA and colloquial Jordanian and Egyptian Arabic in negation interrogation, sentence structure, phonology and lexicology to pave the way to identify the features of this new register.

Chapter six analyzes the use of diglossic switching in print advertisements in the two broadsheets. It explains the social motives that make copywriters switch between the two varieties of Arabic in advertisements, building on theories addressing the social motivation of diglossic switching in speech. It also discusses types of diglossic switching and how diglossic switching is employed in advertisements.

Chapter seven examines the use of English in broadsheet advertisements including composing a whole advertisement in English, and using English text with an Arabic one; employing English words within an Arabic sentence; and finally the use of borrowed and transliterated English words in Arabic texts to show another feature of this new register.

Chapter eight is the conclusion. It states the features of the new register and proposes further investigations that should be done in various areas.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review considers previous studies that have been conducted, mainly in the West, on the linguistic aspects of advertising. It also reviews several studies conducted on advertising in the Arab world, in addition to some conducted on diglossia and code switching. The number of studies on the language of advertising in the Arab world is in fact quite limited, and this thesis tries to fill this gap. It draws on the experiences of other scholars by discussing more explicitly what they have left out in terms of the use of diglossia, diglossic switching in the written form and the employment of English within an Arabic text.

This review is divided into two parts: the first looks at some of the theories of diglossia and diglossic switching, as they are both principal features of the new register of writing advertisements. Colloquial language and diglossic switching are linguistic properties that were previously confined largely to orality, but they have lately infiltrated to the written form of Arabic. The first part of the review also discusses the impact of globalization and modernization on the evolution of Arabic, which has yielded in enriched the Arabic language repertoire with new lexical elements that had been absent. The review also looks at some of the linguistic features of MSA and the colloquial language of both Jordan and Egypt in order to explain the features of this new register of writing.

The second part looks at advertising theory: why and how people advertise; what tools advertisers use; and the anatomy of an advertisement. It also looks at the various theories on advertising in general that were postulated by scholars to find the
best model of a good advertisement that can fulfill the primary objective of marketing the product. The review briefly discusses the language of advertisement in the two countries in this thesis, in order to see how advertisements are formed there.

2.2 Theoretical Background and Literature Review I: Variation, Change and Social Prestige in Arabic

Arabic is diglossic. A diglossic language is one that has two or more varieties that coexist with each other, with each having its own role played within a specific social function. The term Diglossia is derived from the Greek word διγλωσσία (diglōssia) referring to bilingualism in general, or to a single speaking community which uses two languages or dialects of the same language. It was first used to refer to linguistic varieties of a single language by Emmanuel Rhoides in the prologue of his Parerga in 1885. The Greek linguist and philologist Ioannis Psycharis adapted the term into French as ‘diglossie’ (Mackridge 2009:27). This term was first applied to Arabic by the French Arabist Linguist William Marçais in his article “La diglossie arabe,” published in L’Enseignement public in 1930 (20–39). Marçais’ work spawned subsequent treatises on diglossia that describe the linguistic situation in Arabic-speaking countries. However, the term only attained general currency after the publication of Charles Ferguson’s article entitled ‘Diglossia’ (1959: 325-40) dealing with the linguistic situation in four diglossic speech communities, namely Modern Greek, Arabic, Swiss German and Haitian Creole. He argues that in a diglossic speech community, these varieties are used as markers for social structure and an index for social solidarity.

Linguists with firsthand experience of Arabic speaking communities deem Arabic a typical case of what Ferguson has framed as ‘Diglossia’. To linguists, Arabic is rich
and diverse that comes in different forms. They have approached Arabic in various ways, and sought to show the various varieties found within. The fundamental distinction of Arabic as a diglossic language is that there are two varieties in Arabic that are linguistically and functionally distinct. The Classical variety or Classical standard known as Fuṣḥa (فصحى), is used in writing and formal speech. (The Classical Arabic considered here includes both Classical Arabic (CA), the language of Islamic heritage, and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the modern counterpart of the CA). The other variety is the colloquial language known as ‘āmmiyya (عامية) which is equivalent to ‘vernacular’, used informally in conversational situations. ‘āmmiyya is the mother tongue of the Arabic speaking community, which may include distinct geographical and social accents, a feature that CA does not have. The Classical standard is not acquired at home, but rather learned by formal school education. Ferguson also distinguishes the CA and ‘āmmiya from dialects within that speech community.

As we have seen earlier in the introduction, Ferguson defines diglossia as “...a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.” (1972 [1959]: 245).

Ferguson (1972 [1959]: 245) compartmentalised the speech varieties in a diglossic community into a H (high) and L (low) variety. Both of these two varieties are
standardised by their users, but at the same time each has a distinctive social function. The (L) variety, known as the primary variety or the familial variety, is actually the mother tongue, picked by the child naturally from the moment s/he learns how to speak. The (H) variety, on the other hand is the superposed variety that is accomplished through formal education. The distinction between the H and L is done in terms of function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology.

Another distinctive feature between H and L is the presence of dialects in the L variety. A dialect is the low variety of language that is regionally or socially distinctive and confined to a certain geographic area with its own pronunciation and lexical items that may differ from one region to another within the same speech community. In the Arab world, there are many national dialects that distinguish each and every Arab region from the other and within these dialects there are sub-national dialects that vary between being prestigious and less so. In the two countries involved in this study, the spoken Cairene dialect of Egypt and the Amman dialect of Jordan are considered the most prestigious among the dialects found in the two countries. Haugen (1966:927) defines a dialect as ‘undeveloped language’, in other words, it has not been employed in all the functions that a language can perform in a society larger than that of a local community.

Ferguson (1972 [1959]: 245) initially circumscribed diglossia in Arabic exclusively to situation, and gave an idealised description of each and every one of these. He suggested certain situations or contexts for the use of pure H or pure L on the bases of written-spoken dichotomy. He also mentioned that there are situations where the H and L slightly overlap, such as in the case of university lectures, where they are delivered in H but sometimes explained and drilled in L, or in conversational setting
which is usually held in L, but people would switch to H for polite formulas or citing proverbs. Another situation where the H and L overlap is in poetry, which is usually composed in H and sometimes in both H and L. But the respective status of each differs greatly. The H-composed poetry is highly appreciated, since it reflects the poet’s proficiency in language. Ferguson’s circumscription has been challenged by linguists such as Badawi (1973), Mitchell (1975), Ryding (1991) and Giolfo (2011) amongst others, and diglossia became broadly defined to include the functional distribution of linguistic varieties. Functional distribution refers to the employment of either the H or L varieties, in a certain situation. The situation in which H can be used is exclusive to H, and L cannot be used, and vice versa. However, there may be very little or no overlapping.

Ferguson (1959a: 28) posits that the H and L must be functionally allocated within the speech community and Boussofara-Omar argues that they have to be in “complimentary distribution functionally” (Boussofara-Omar 2006a: 630). In other words, the context or the situation determines which variety to be used.

In his definition, Ferguson also states that the diglossic situation is relatively stable, and elaborates that it may exist for thousands of years before it fades away to be replaced by an un-codified, unstable intermediate form of the language, such as ‘Middle Arabic’ or Al-lugah al-wusta in Arabic, which is basically a modified form of Standard Arabic that does not comply with the inflectional endings and follows colloquial pronunciation. Kees Versteegh defines Middle Arabic as “Any text with deviation from Classical grammar” (Versteegh 1997: 116). However, Versteegh adds that Middle Arabic may be used to describe the texts found between the seventh and the twentieth century as these texts, reflect the emergence of dialects. Middle Arabic also introduces colloquial words, but at the same time it preserves the general
structure of the standard language. Ferguson warns that if a diglossic situation becomes unstable, that is if the H and L start to mix, this will mean the demise of diglossia, that is diglossia demises and a new variety is generated. Ferguson (1972) states factors that lead to such dissolution of diglossia. These include increased literacy, broader communication throughout the country among different strata of population, more familiarity with H, and more usage of the written language.

Ferguson posits that these factors probably cause some confusion with respect to the linguistic distinctions between H and L, and members of the speech community will desire a national language in general as a symbol of unity, Ferguson (1972:248).

Ferguson adds that, though the grammatical structure of L is related to H, the grammar of L is simple, and gained without detailed explanation of the grammatical concepts, whereas the grammar of H is accomplished through formal learning and used in terms of rules and norms.

Ferguson regards the H as superior and prestigious: it is the language of culture, religion and literary heritage. For Arabic, H is the language of the Qur’an, which Muslims believe constitutes the actual word of God, which is immutable beyond the limits of space and time.

According to Ferguson, (1972[1959]:236) H is appropriate in sermons in churches or mosques, speech in parliament, political speeches, personal letters, news broadcasts, poetry, newspapers editorials, news story, and captions on pictures. On the other hand, L is merely used in instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks, conversation with family, friends, colleagues, radio soap operas, captions on political cartoons and folk literature.
Ferguson’s model of diglossia has been criticised by scholars for having some lacunae. For example, he mentions that any mixing in form between the H and L or leakage in function between the two varieties will indicate the disappearance of diglossia. This has proven to be untrue, since mixing has been a feature in the language situation in some Arab countries such as Egypt for a long time, yet the diglossic situation has remained stable (Bassiouney 2004: 243-254; Giolfo & Sinatora 2011:5-8).

Ferguson does not specify the degree of proximity between H and L in a language for it to be still considered diglossic. Fasold (1995:50 ff.) points out that there are no absolute measures that could specify the distance between H and L in a diglossic community. Britto (1986:10-12, 321) said that for a language to be considered diglossic, the H and L must be ‘optimally’ distant, as in Arabic, but not super-optimally, as in Spanish and Guarani, or sub-optimally, as with the formal–informal styles in English. By ‘optimally distant’, Britto means that a speech community has two varieties of the same language such, as the case in Arabic, whereas ‘super optimally distant’ means that the speech community use two languages that are totally different and unrelated, such as the case in North Africa, where they use Arabic and French. The ‘sub optimal distant’ is the case where different styles and accents of the same language are used within the speech community, such as the case in most Arab countries. According to Britto, Jordan, like any other Arab country is an example of both an optimal and sub-optimal diglossic country. The optimal diglossia is found in distinctive use of the H and L varieties, while the sub-optimal diglossia is obvious in the dialects within the L variety. Abdel-Jawad (1986) and Al-Wer (1999) identify three major dialects where the variables are realised differently, besides to having various accents. The three major Jordanian dialects are Bedouin

The other criticism of Ferguson’s dichotomic classification of H and L in Arabic is that he does not recognise that there are intermediate varieties on the continuum between the two. Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973) and Meiseles (1980) refute his bipartite classification and argue that there are other varieties of spoken Arabic that lie between. These three linguists have studied the mixed kind of Arabic produced in semi-formal situations, giving more specific description to the oral situation in the Arab world. They describe the diglossic situation in the Arab world in terms of ‘levels of speech’, relating certain speech varieties to certain situations. They refute Ferguson’s dichotomy of two discrete varieties of H and L or CA and ‘āmmiyya and suggest intermediate levels along the linguistic continuum. They argue that people within the course of their speech tend to shift between H and L, but not all the way, resulting in new levels that are far from being pure L or pure H. Blanc (1960: 85) and Badawi (1973: 93-95) argue that shifting between levels of speech variety is done gradually (according to Blanc), and continuously (according to Badawi), within the means of the available language variety utilized by the interlocutors. According to Badawi, everyone has more than one level at his disposal and can shift freely between them. However, while more educated people can shift easily between the levels, the illiterate and less educated find it difficult, since they have control with confidence over one or two levels only.(ibid). In contrast, Ferguson, who mentions the possibility of switching between the H and L varieties within the same discourse, never mentions how or how much switching can be done.

Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973), and Meiseles’s (1980) analyses were based mainly on sociolects and general sociolinguistics. They allocate the speech varieties to
socioeconomic factors; and adduce that the nature of the topic, context, education of
the speaker, the relative status of the locuters, inter alia, other criteria, stipulates the
use of one of these varieties.

These sociolinguistic factors of determining language choice were ignored by
Ferguson at first. He later said that these had not been viewed as “true science”
(Ferguson 1996[1991]:60) at the time his original paper was written.

Blanc (1960:85) distinguishes five varieties in regard to their proximity to either CA or
‘āmmiyya. He classifies them as classical, modified classical, elevated colloquial,
cloneised colloquial and plain colloquial. He says that people shift gradually between
these varieties or registers (1960:151). He also showed correlation between religious
affiliation and dialect variety (Blanc 1964: 6). He studied the dialects of Baghdad
where he found three dialects associated to religious communities (Blanc 1964: 6).

Meiseles (1980) distinguishes four varieties of Arabic: Literary Arabic or standard
Arabic, oral literary Arabic, educated spoken Arabic and plain vernacular.
Meanwhile, Badawi (1973:95) looked at diglossia from a sociolinguistics point of view
and considered other extra-linguistic factors, in particular education, to classify his
variation along the linguistic continuum. He also speculated five varieties in spoken
Egyptian Arabic in reference to the proximity of their linguistic forms to either ends of
the continuum. These are:

I. *Fuṣḥa al-turath* or ‘heritage classical’ or ‘Classical Arabic’. This is the Arabic of
Arab literary heritage and of the Qur’an. It is a written language which represents the
prescriptive Arabic grammar. This kind of Arabic can be heard on religious
programmes on television or in religious sermons.
II. *Fuṣḥa al-ʾaṣr*, ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ The standard form of the language used in writing and sometimes in formal speeches. It is the simplified form of CA created to answer the needs of the modern age. This variety is used in news bulletins.

III. ‘āmmiyat al-muthaqqaḍīn or ‘colloquial of the intellectuals’, the formal spoken language of educated people. It is the colloquial influenced by MSA.

IV. ‘āmmiyat al-mutanawwirīn or ‘colloquial of the literate’ the informal spoken language of the educated people, used on conversational and familial levels. This kind of variety can be heard on television in non-intellectual topics programmes.

V. ‘āmmiyat al-ummiyyīn, or ‘colloquial of the illiterates’. The spoken language used by the illiterates. It is a colloquial not influenced by MSA.

The lacuna of Badawi’s classification is that his analysis was intra-dialectal, and was concerned only with Egyptian Arabic. His classification implies stylistic and social hierarchy. He explains which level of spoken Egyptian Arabic is typical of which kind of person and in which kind of situation, and states that people have more than one level at their disposal when they speak. However, illiterates and less educated people have less flexibility in shifting between levels for their lack of knowledge in these levels. He adds that there are no clear-cut boundaries between the levels, but rather they tend to interweave; hence, theoretically speaking, instead of having a five discrete levels, one would expect to have an infinite number (Badawi 1973:93).

Though Blanc, Meiseles and Badawi identify intermediate levels of Arabic and say that people move between these levels either frequently or continuously, they, like Ferguson do not specify the reasons for moving along these levels.
In spite of the criticism of Ferguson’s model, his work had substantial influence on subsequent research in that domain. Joshua Fishman (1965e:2: 67-88) is in conformity with Ferguson in terms of the functional distribution in society. He agrees that H varieties are reserved for formal purposes and L for informal more intimate more personal uses. Fishman explains diglossia through sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic approaches. He argues that diglossia refers to the distribution of more than one language variety to serve different communicational tasks in society.

He adopts Schmidt-Rohr’s (1963) notion of domains of behaviour in explaining language choice according to topics. The domains he proposes are: family, friends, religion, employment, and education. However, he also distinguishes between diglossia and bilingualism, which according to him, considered from the psycholinguistic point of view, is the ability of an individual to use more than one language variety (Fishman 1967). In 1972, he revised and expanded the concept of diglossia by endorsing Gumperz’s (1961;1962;1964;1964a;1966) view that it is a phenomenon that ‘exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several “languages”, and not only in societies that utilize vernacular and classical varieties, but also in societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind’. Fishman uses the term diglossia to refer to ‘any degree of linguistic difference from the most subtle stylistic differences within a single language to the use of two totally unrelated languages, including, the range allowed by Ferguson’ (Fasold 1984:40). While Fishman and Ferguson are in concord, they have their differences; Ferguson (1972:245) limits diglossia to two language varieties of the same language that are linguistically related and moderately divergent. He also distinguishes between standard language and regional dialects. Fishman (1967/1972d: 29), on the other
hand, posits that there are in fact more than two varieties in a language that can be used for specific functions in a society, as well as relating diglossia to bilingualism. He considers bilingualism as a form of diglossia as long as the linguistic differences have functional distinction (ibid).

Alan Kaye (1972) is at odds with Ferguson’s description of diglossia as being stable, he argues that some diglossic situations of some speech communities like Arabic can be described as flexible and changeable because of the interaction between the varieties. He identifies two kinds of system in a language: a well-defined system which is a spoken, non-written, vernacular geographic variant that does not require formal education, and an ill-defined system which is supra-regional widely intelligible variety that is acquired only through formal education. According to Kaye, in the case of Arabic, the well-defined system is the ‘colloquial’ Arabic, and the ill-defined one is the Modern Standard Arabic. To Kaye no ill-defined system is stable Kaye (1972:32-48).

Fasold (1984:44-53) distinguishes between a speech community and a diglossic community. He argues that a diglossic community is part of the speech community. Moreover, speech communities are polyglossic rather than diglossic since they have various distinctive regional dialects sharing one standard language. Fasold defined the diglossic community as “a social unit which shares the same High and Low variety” Fasold (1984:45). He also looks at the language use and situation from the formality-informality point of view and hence provided a different definition for diglossia which he called a Broad Diglossia. According to Fasold, a Broad Diglossia is:

“ The reservation of highly valued segments of a community’s linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously,}
usually through formal education), for situations perceived as more formal and guarded; and reservation of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate“ Fasold (1984:50).

He ramifies the broad diglossia into three types in relation to the linguistic relatedness between the H and L forms. If the H and L are linguistically less closely related then we have a superposed bilingualism. If the H and L are linguistically related but have divergent dialects, then we have a classic diglossia, whereas, if the H and L are very closely related, then we have a style–shifting rather than diglossia (ibid).

Unlike Blanc (1964), Badawi (1973), Holes (1987) and others who studied the intra-dialectal relationship of a particular Arab country, other scholars such as Mitchell (1975,1978,1980,1985,1986) and El-Hassan (1977,1978) were concerned with a transdialectal form of Arabic, A variety of Arabic that can be understood by all Arabs with various dialects, they opposed Ferguson’s dichotomous linguistic variation of H and L and posited a single intermediate variety instead which is created and sustained by the continuous interaction of the classical and vernacular Arabic. This intermediate variety is known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), and should be regarded as separate and autonomous. ESA is an essential tool for communication among Arabs, since Arabs from different regional communities need a common means of communication that is intelligible to all. This can be achieved by creating a new variety, ESA, which is based on switching to a form of language that consists of a mixture of shared vernacular elements and MSA. Meiseles (1980:126) defines ESA as “the current informal language used among educated Arabs, fulfilling in general their daily language needs. It is also the main means of Arabic inter-dialectal communication, one of its most important trends being its inter-comprehensibility
among speakers of different vernaculars, arising mainly from the speaker’s incentive to share a common language with his interlocutor or interlocutors”.

Even though MSA can serve as intradialectal means of communication among Arabs with different dialect, Mitchell (1986:8), defends and gives reasons for the existence of ESA; he says in the modern world, educated men and women tend to converse on topics beyond the scope of a given regional vernacular. In addition people want to ‘share and commune’ with Arabs from elsewhere with similar educational background. People in the Arab world want to promote forms that are required to meet the pressures of modernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, mass education and internationalism. According to Mitchell (1987:227) ESA is a koineised form of speech which “greatly depends for its maintenance and dissemination on the binding power of writing”.

According to Mitchell, the ESA should be the unifying spoken language of all Arabs. However, his idea has been criticized by Nielsen (1996), Parkinson (2003), Boussofara-Omar (2005), Bassiouney (2009) and Giolfo & Sinatora (2011) in that he does not explain the mechanism of switching between MSA and the vernaculars in different Arab countries. Bssiousney argues that one has to describe the linguistic situation in specific countries before one actually generalises it. “One has to be able to describe the linguistic situation thoroughly and meticulously before starting to specify a set of practices in a specific community or communities” (Bassiouney 2009:17). Her criticism is based on the fact that Mitchell does not provide a ‘comprehensive description’ (Bassiouney 2009:17) of how ESA works. She also criticised Mitchell’s ESA for not specifying whether or not it possesses a discourse function that governs its occurrence. Parkinson (2003:29) argues that though ESA is
*de facto* rule-governed, there are no clear rules that describe it. Nielsen is also in line with Parkinson and criticised ESA:

“ESA is a mixed variety which is badly codified...apart from very few studies (for example Eid 1982), no research has established what kind of rules actually govern this mixing, nor do we know whether or not such rules are subject to generalisation. This is not to say that native speakers do not know how to mix; but we have no reliable information establishing that the mixing is not a phenomenon heavily influenced, say, by personal or regional factors”. (Nielsen 1996: 225)

Boussofara-Omar (2003, 2004, 2005) and Bassiouney (2009) criticise the concept of having a third variety and polyglossia and endeavour to re-conceptualise diglossia within the framework of code switching and Myers-Scotton’s Matrix language and its refined model, the 4-M (Myers-Scotten 1998a: 289). Myers-Scotten 4-M model explains how morphemes are activated and accessed in the production of speech when there is code switching between two languages. Her Matrix language theory ML states that in a bilingual community, the languages in use do not have an equal role. One language usually overpowers the other and seems to be more dominant. This language is referred to by Myers-Scotten as the Matrix language ML. The other language in use is an embedded language known as the EL, which is less dominant and less preferred. What gives one language the dominance over the other is the grammatical frame of the sentence. According to Myers-Scotten, an ML is assigned if it supplies ‘system morphemes’ (Myers-Scotten 1998a: 289). She identifies two kinds of morphemes, based on lexical features and thematic roles. These morphemes are the ‘content morphemes’ and ‘system morphemes’ (ibid). Content morphemes have thematic role: Verbs, adjectives and nouns fall within this category. Inflection, determiners, possessive adjectives, intensifier adverbs, negative markers, pronouns and prepositions which do not have a thematic role belong to the second
category which is the ‘system morphemes’. The ML supplies system morphemes but the EL supplies the content morphemes (ibid). Myers-Scotten subsequently amended the ML model to be able to explain more cases of code-switching. She proposed the 4-M model (Myers-Scotten 2004a:111). Instead of having two morpheme systems in the ML, the 4-M has 4 morphemes, one content morpheme as found in the ML model which include verbs, adjectives and nouns and 3 system morphemes. The system morphemes include early system morphemes which add semantic and pragmatic information to their heads (content morphemes). Examples of these morphemes include determiners in English and plural markers. Late system morphemes or ‘bridges’ connect content morphemes to each other. Examples of bridges include possession or association. Outsiders late system morphemes their form depends on information that comes from governing verbs or prepositions. Case markers, markers on verbs that refer to the subject of the verb and noun affixes fit within this category (Myers-Scotten 2004a:111).

Bassiouney and Boussofara-Omar believe that Myers-Scotton’s ML and 4-M models do not perfectly explain the diglossic switching in spoken Arabic within the framework of code switching. The two models fail to explain some cases of diglossic switching basically because the two varieties are so close and can be difficult to decide which morpheme belongs to which variety. The ML and 4-M models work better in explaining code switching in a bilingual speech community where the two languages are different, such as with Arabic and English.

Perhaps the best model to explain the diglossic situation in Arabic is Myers-Scotten ‘composite ML’(1998a: 299) which states that when there is a change in a bilingual community, the ML will be a composite that has a structure of both codes and moves towards a new code that has a role of a new ML.
Though El-Hassan (1980), Eid (1988), Bassiouney (2003a, 2006) and Boussofara-Omar (1999, 2003, 2006b) have tried to explain the functions and purposes of diglossic switching in spoken Arabic, and proposed theories to explain this phenomenon, none has attempted to explain it when used in the written form, since it is more common in speech than in writing.

Switching between varieties in written Arabic is not something new. It was used by Arab writers in early literary texts. Perhaps the earliest example of code switching was noticed in 1888 by Carlo Landberg who edited ‘The story of Basim the Blacksmith’ taken from the collection of stories of ‘One Thousand and One Night’ written in the Middle Ages, in which he found an example of diglossia where the writer used Egyptian dialect expressions in a written text throughout (Versteegh 1997: 115). This deviation of colloquial language or diglossia and switching between colloquial expression and standard Arabic in literary text, became more popular in the twentieth century especially in Egypt, as part of ‘Egyptianising’ of novels. Writers such as Tawfīq al- Hakīm and Najīb Mahfouz amongst others found it unavoidable to use Egyptian dialects, especially when reporting the speech of the illiterate (Versteegh 1997: 126). The use of spoken colloquial Egyptian Arabic in writing is employed to make the situation closer to real life. Other Arab novelists and even poets followed suit in an attempt to give their novels or poetry a local flavour. Copywriters of advertisements in national newspapers have likewise started to use this strategy in order to localise their advertisements and reach to a bigger segment of the population, contributing to the creation of a new style in print media.

In this first part of the literature review, I have mentioned the different classifications of colloquial Arabic as identified by various scholars which ranged from identifying different inter-dialectal varieties, to creating a single intra-dialectal variety. I have
also mentioned some of the theories that justify switching between varieties in order to explain why such phenomenon can be used in the advertisements copy. However, despite this diversity in Arabic varieties, I will adopt Ferguson’s bipartite classification of Arabic, the high and low, to identify a new register of Arabic writing, which includes the two varieties of Arabic used in the written form, especially in the copy writing of printed advertisements.

2.3 Linguistic Features of MSA and Colloquial Arabic.

In order to establish the linguistic features of this novel register of writing in Arabic advertisements, I now look briefly at some of the features that distinguish MSA from the spoken colloquial forms of Arabic in both Egypt and Jordan.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature between MSA and spoken colloquial Arabic is the loss of inflection. Inflection refers to adjustment of the word to express different grammatical categories such as case, gender, mood and number. In Arabic, it refers to a system of independent and suffix pronouns classified by person and number and verbal inflectional marking person and number. Other syntactic differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic include, negation, the dual system—which disappears almost entirely in colloquial Arabic, the use of relative pronouns and adjectives. However, there are other morpho-syntactic and phonological features that distinguish the two varieties. Perhaps the most prominent is phonological. Even though both share the same alphabets, there is some variation in the way some variables are realized, and this difference in realization can sometimes stereotype the speaker. If we look at the variable [q] in MSA, for example, this in Jordanian colloquial Arabic is realized in three different ways, as [g] by original Jordanians, in particular men; as [k] by Jordanians descending from rural Palestinian origins; and
as a glottal stop [ʔ] by Jordanians descending from urban Palestinian origins. Clive Holes, in his book *Modern Arabic*, outlines the features of MSA and dialects in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax. Some of the major differences between MSA and the spoken dialects are obvious, such as number and gender. For example, the gender distinction of the verb disappears completely in the plural form in the spoken dialect, the masculine form being used instead for both (Holes 1995:97). Meanwhile, the dual system of the verb disappears completely in spoken dialects.

Another difference between MSA and some colloquial Arabic, especially those included in this study, is the disappearance of some phonemes, such as the glottal stop *hamza* which disappears in colloquial Arabic. For example the MSA word [ruʻūs] (heads) is pronounced [rūs] in the colloquial Arabic. Holes’s comparison between the features of MSA and colloquial Arabic forms a reference for this research in determining how the novel style of advertisement copy writing comprises features of both MSA and spoken colloquial, along with features that are not found in either.

In the same vein, Bassiouney (2000:243-253) discusses some of the quintessential features of Egyptian Cairian Arabic (ECA). She argues that some of these features are used intrinsically, in that they are used frequently by the speaker without realizing it, such as the use of the b- prefix with the verb. Other features are used idiosyncratically, that is, the speaker normalizes a form from the high variety of the language or the low variety and uses it as part of his or her linguistic repertoire. Bassiouney (2000:253) gives an example of the use of ‘sawan’an’ equivalent to ‘whether’ in English. This word is usually used in MSA, which is the H variety, and is used usually in formal speeches, but the speaker uses it as part of his individual repertoire (ibid) in his/her every day speech as L variety. Bassiouney also discusses other features that are quintessential to ECA, such as the use of the relative marker.
illi, equivalent to the relative pronoun ‘which’. According to Bassiouney, this relative marker or adjective is dominant in the speech of Egyptians using MSA. She says they cannot help but to use it in their speech, and it usually marks a shift from MSA to colloquial or vice versa. This is exclusive to ECA; such phenomenon is not present in spoken Jordanian Arabic, where the colloquial relative pronoun or adjective ‘ylli’ is used exclusively as a relative pronoun but never as an indicator for diglossic switching as in ECA. When ‘ylli’ is used by Jordanians, the speaker adheres to the colloquial form and does not shift between the two varieties like the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Enam Al-Wer (1999) investigates the realization of the phonological variables (q), (dʒ), (θ) and (ḍ) in the speech of 116 women from three major Jordanian towns inhibited mainly by indigenous Jordanians. She concluded that the majority of women showed a strong adherence to the local variable [g] of the MSA variable (q) in order to express their local and ethnic identity (Al-Wer 1999:54). Other phonological and lexical differences between the two varieties will be discussed in chapter five of this thesis.

Building on the findings of both Al-Wer and Bassiouney among other scholars who have investigated colloquial Arabic in Jordan and Egypt, this research tries to find the colloquially based features of advertisement copy writing.

I now move to another issue that has an impact on the evolution of Arabic language, which is globalization.
Globalisation has been defined from economic, political and social aspects. My main concern here is to look at it from an economic, business and cultural perspectives since these have a great impact on advertisements and the language employed in them.

From a cultural perspective, globalization can be defined as a the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture (Albrow and King 1990:8). Economist Takis Fotopoulos identifies various kinds of globalization. To him, "economic globalization" is the opening and deregulation of commodity, capital and labour markets that has led toward the present neoliberal globalization. He uses "political globalization" to refer to the emergence of a transnational elite and a phasing out of the nation-state. "Cultural globalization", to him, refers to the worldwide homogenization of culture. He also identifies other kinds of globalization which include "ideological ", "technological " and "social "(Fotopoulos, 2001: 7).

Scholars have identified three chronological phases for globalization: old or archaic globalization, proto globalization and modern. My main interest here is the latter, since it is during this phase, which started in the nineteenth century, that business started to extend beyond the national boundaries and, with the advent of transport and telecommunication, globalisation as we know it started to form.

In order to explain how globalization has affected the language of advertising, it is worth mentioning some of the aspects that have an impact on it. The language of advertising has been influenced by culture, economics and business globalization.
Before discussing cultural globalization, I would like to provide a brief definition to what is meant by culture. People present it differently and perceive it in different ways for different purposes. Anthropologists, for example, employ various notions in defining it.

Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn cite 164 definitions of the word culture, and then provide a definition which, according to them, is now “formulated by most social scientists” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1963 [1952]: 181). To them, culture focuses on behavioural and symbolic inheritances. Behavioural inheritances include patterns of behaviour, such as language, gestures, and customs, which are learned and passed from generation to another. Symbolic inheritances refer to the beliefs and creeds that people live by (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1963 [1952]: 181).

Based on the various definitions of Kroeber and Kluckhohn, I define culture as dynamic patterns of life, both acquired and learned, and passed from one generation to another, that are exclusive to a certain community. Such patterns include language, life style, customs, gestures, beliefs, values and religion.

Culture is not static, but rather changes with time. In the Middle East, for instance, Western culture in general, and American culture in particular, exerts paramount influence on Arab life style; This can be attributed to what we call cultural globalization.

Cultural globalization refers to the transmission of ideas, meanings and values across national borders. This process is marked by the spread of commodities and ideologies, which become standardized around the world. Mass consumption serves
as a facilitator between different people and cultures around the globe as a result of the exponential growth of the human population. Through technological advancement, culture has been moving beyond borders and boundaries, transforming through locations the shared meanings of culture. Ideas and values of one culture are shared with another. This leads to an inter-connectedness between various populations from diverse cultures (Inda & Rosaldo 2008:1-13). In other words, cultural globalization is the integration of people, thoughts and ideas facilitated by technological advances.

Most people view globalization as transforming the entire world into a westernized consumer culture, in particular into an American culture that seems to dominate the whole world. In fact, the term is coterminous with Americanization or westernization.

Americanization can be defined as the export of American culture, products and business to other countries around the world and its impact on these cultures. Americanization forms a threat to these cultures. It deprives them of the exclusiveness of certain items, ideologies and values, and at the same time imposes certain ideologies and values that were once alien to them. This in turn has a negative impact on culture. It destroys cultural identity and the authenticity of non-American, non-Western culture. In terms of food, for example, Falafel is no longer confined to the Middle East. It is found everywhere in the United States and Europe; sushi bars are not exclusive to Japanese culture, but are found all over the world; and hamburgers are found everywhere as well. The same is applied to music and musical instruments; some Middle Eastern instruments are endangered, or are not being used anymore, and have been replaced by western musical instruments.
Anglo-American pop music spread across the world through the American cable television channel, MTV. The best theory to explain how this has helped to make the world an integrated international system is ‘Dependency Theory’ which was devised by Hans Singer and Raul Prebisch in 1949 (Wallerstein 2004: 92). The Dependency Theory in brief states the flow of resources from poor or underdeveloped countries known as “periphery” countries to wealthy or developed countries known as “core” countries in order to enrich the core countries on the expense of the periphery countries. This is done through the integration of poor countries in the world system (Wallerstein 2004: 92); Musically, this translates into the loss of local musical identity (Wallerstein, 2004:23-59). ‘Dependency theory’ talks about the core and periphery countries, but core countries are also integrating with each other; therefore it is not only developed countries trying to empower, or sometimes dispower, underdeveloped countries.

American culture has influenced the world in many ways: either through the media in the form of American television programmes and films produced in Hollywood and based on the American life style, or through the spread of American clothing such as the denim jeans and the proliferation of fast food. Beverage companies have played a major role in spreading American culture. The two most prominent companies that represent American cultural influence are McDonalds and Coca-Cola. The mushrooming of these two companies in the world has led to the coinage of terms such as Cocacolonization (Melnick& Jackson 2002-37:429-448), and McDonaldization (Ritzer 1993) to refer to the dominance of American products in foreign countries.
However, if we look at globalization from another perspective, it is openness, a process of hybridization on which cultural mixture and adaptation continuously transform and renew cultural forms (Kraidy 2005: 1-23). In the present time where the world has become a small global village (McLuhan 2003:6), cultures tend to overlap and actually borrow from each other’s traditions. As anthropologist Roy Wagner cited by Hopper (2007:40) has argued; cultures are continually changing and being recreated as part of an ongoing process. Globalization does not influence culture, rather it proliferates to influence other aspects of life such as the economy, values and tradition.

2.6 The Effect of Globalization on the Economy

Economic globalization is the increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital Joshi (2009:140). Whereas the globalization of business is centred around the diminution of international trade regulations as well as tariffs, taxes, and other impediments that suppresses global trade, economic globalization is the process of increasing economic integration between countries, leading to the emergence of a global marketplace or a single world market (Riley 2005:9).

Economic globalization refers to the process of opening markets in other countries through foreign investment by deregulating and facilitating the movement of capital between these countries. This is achieved by the reduction of trade barriers such as reducing tariffs, import/export license or trade embargos induced by governments. Opening these markets and facilitating trade between counties has helped many
businesses to expand their span and to go beyond the borders of their original country.

2.7 The Effect of Globalization on Global Business

The communication and transport revolution that took place in the 20th century has definitely influenced the evolution of global business. The reduction of transport and communication costs initiated globalized economies around the world. For example, maritime shipping, airfreight, and telecommunications costs have also lowered drastically in the last forty or fifty years in comparison to the 1930s (Martell 2010:53-55). This improvement has facilitated and encouraged international trade and investment. Private businesses have been enticed to widen their transactional scope from local to national and go beyond their political borders to spread regionally and then internationally (Martell 2010:60). They seek to establish a global brand identity in order to make profit (ibid).

The most famous companies that have gone international or global are usually fast food and beverages businesses such as Coca-Cola, McDonalds, Pizza Hut, KFC among others, vehicle manufacturers such as General Motors, Ford Motor Company and Toyota to name a few, consumer electronics companies like Samsung, LG and Sony, etc., and energy companies such as ExxonMobil, Shell and BP. Most of the largest corporations operate in multiple national markets, and in order to survive in these markets they need firstly to familiarize the new audience with their products. This can only be done through international advertising.
2.8 International or Global Advertising

International advertising is complicated especially in that the producer or the manufacturer has to tailor his/her advertisements in a way to suit specific consumers. In order to do that, the successful advertiser takes into consideration certain aspects such as the new consumer’s culture, values, language, politics, economics, religion, environment and surroundings. Perhaps the most problematic and difficult factor an outsider encounters when he/she wants to design an advertisement for a global market is culture. People see and judge other people in the context of their own values and culture, overlooking the cultural values of people from other communities. Some cultural values are fixed within the local frame, while others are being constantly modified and become more global, disengaging from the local frame. This is due to the fact that people are migrating from their own culture to other cultures either to work or study. Furthermore, the advancement in telecommunications technologies such as the internet, satellite televisions and smart phones is facilitating the change in the cultural values, since people are getting more exposed to the western culture, in particular the Anglo-American one in the form of films, music and so on.

However, international advertisers still face many hardships when they endeavour to go global. These hardships may be manifested in language, religion, politics, economics and cultural values.

2.9 The Dilemma of Globalisation and Language

Language, as defined by Crystal, is ‘a systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-
expression’ (Crystal 1994:424). People interpret what they hear according to their own perception of that symbol, which varies from one culture to another. Even within the same culture, meaning may vary according to the context. If for example somebody says ‘she is hot’, this can be interpreted according to the context of the speech. If this was said to you by a doctor checking the temperature of one’s sick daughter, then one would understand that he is talking about the temperature. But if the same sentence was uttered in a pub for example with respect to young beautiful women, then the message would mean that she was sexy. So the context of the speech determines what the words actually connote. Beard (2004:55) defines language as “an arbitrary system in that it is made up of culturally agreed connections between words and meanings”. This definition suggests that there is cultural consensus on the denotation and connotation of words which may vary from one culture to another. For that reason, the advertiser has to ‘go global, but speak local’ (Daniels et al 2015: 55).

Language is alive and dynamic, just as the culture it belongs to. The development and change that language undergoes is usually in harmony with the development and change of the society to which it belongs. In order to understand a spoken language, one has to understand the culture in which it exists.

Just as globalization has influenced culture, values, attitudes and way of life, it has also influenced language, not least the language of advertisement. For example, The Arabic language used in advertisements today has changed drastically from that used thirty or forty years ago.

The language of advertisement has been going through what can be called ‘language change’. This change is influenced by many factors, such as social
change, language policies, and technological advances, which can be seen on the semantic, syntactic and lexical levels (Crystal 1994: 328-333).

Language change on lexical or word level includes the introduction of new items to language through borrowing or transliteration from other languages (Crystal 1994: 330). In the case of Arabic, borrowing usually happens from English and French. The words are borrowed and transliterated into Arabic in written texts or they are arabtized in speech; that is they are pronounced in the same way they are pronounced in the original language from which they have been borrowed with little difference in pronunciation if a phoneme does not exist in Arabic. For example, table (2.1) shows some of the imported words found in the present corpora. These imported lexical items – are borrowed from the scientific and technological domain-used to refer to items that have no equivalence in Arabic and are used to fill the lexical gap created by technological advancement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word</th>
<th>Arabic borrowed word</th>
<th>Pronunciation in Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dongle</td>
<td>دونجل</td>
<td>[dongil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>video</td>
<td>فيديو</td>
<td>[fidyo]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internet</td>
<td>انترنت</td>
<td>[ntrnit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>facebook</td>
<td>فيسبوك</td>
<td>[fiasbūk]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (2.1) imported words from scientific and technological domain.

Other words have been taken from other languages, transliterated, and treated as borrowed words. These do not fall in the technical and scientific domain but have been used extensively by bilinguals despite the fact that an Arabic equivalence is available, and hence they have become unofficially part of the Arabic lexical...
repertoire for some people. Table (2.2) shows some non-scientific transliterated words from English found in the present corpora.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word</th>
<th>Arabic borrowed word</th>
<th>Pronunciation in Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>double</td>
<td>دويل</td>
<td>[dūbil]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td>بزنس</td>
<td>[biznis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>compound</td>
<td>كمبوند</td>
<td>[kūmbawnd]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mall</td>
<td>مول</td>
<td>[mūl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hypermarket</td>
<td>هاٌبر ماركت</td>
<td>[hāybir mārkit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reception</td>
<td>رٌسبشن</td>
<td>[rīsbshn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi</td>
<td>سٌمً</td>
<td>[sīmī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duplex</td>
<td>دوبلكس</td>
<td>[dūblks]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (2.2) non-scientific transliterated words treated as borrowed ones

Language change on the syntactic level is obvious in the disappearance of some of grammatical features, such as, the duel system of verbs and the inflectional ending. These two syntactic features are not found in colloquial spoken Arabic. This issue is discussed in chapter five.

One of the features of globalisation and openness of cultures is the use of English. It is employed in some advertisements of international companies, especially in the ones with a unified advertisement campaign; that is the company uses the same advertisement all over the world; English is largely used in the advertisements of international companies, even if the company does not originate in an English-speaking country. However, these companies need to communicate their message to people who speak different first languages with a common language that is understood by both parties, which is English. English has gained the status of being
a lingua franca by virtue of political, military, economic and technological progress made by English-speaking nations (Crystal 1994: 358). These companies assume that people round the world know enough English to understand the message. However, this is infeasible. Though many people whose first language is not English know and manage to communicate in English, their command of the language does not equal those whose mother tongue is English. In fact, language comprehension by non-native English speakers is over-estimated. For example, English advertisements with their verbal and non-verbal elements rely greatly on rhetoric which can be misunderstood or misinterpreted by non-native English speakers.

As a result, many companies who want to broaden their markets beyond their national boundaries, opt to advertise using the language of the host country. But since most of the original advertisements are composed in English and require to be translated into the official language of the host country, a dilemma might surface regarding the translation process. Should the advertisement be translated or interpreted? Are the English words used in the original advertisement suitable to be translated? Do they have equivalence? Are the terms used in the ad familiar to the host country audience? Do the terms have similar connotations? These questions have to be taken into consideration when composing a global advertisement so as to avoid mistranslation or cause offence in the host culture. The message of the advertisement should be interpreted, instead of being translated. People from different cultures decode things differently. Besides, advertisements in the West are more sophisticated than the ones in the Arab world. American and British advertisements are extremely dependent on culture in their use of humour, puns and twists of familiar words. Consequently, the literal translation of these advertisements is filled with a number of pitfalls (Lane & Russell 2002:621). In international
advertising, one has to be wary of colloquialism and humour, since these two are decoded differently even within same language speaking nations. Some international companies such as McDonald’s tend to create their own ‘Esperanto’ or global language so it can be comprehensible to all McDonald’s users wherever they go in the world. Consequently, McDonald’s transliterates key terms on its menu into the language of the country in which it is advertising. In Jordan for example, McDonald’s transliterates McMuffin into مَك مَاكْ مَفْن [māk māfn] (cf. advertisement Ra-17-03-013-217 in the appendix 1), or ‘Big Breakfast’ which is transliterated into بِيج بِرِكْفَٰسِت [beg brikfāst] (cf. advertisement Ra-17-03-013-215 in appendix 1) as to familiarize users with their global product. This is not confined exclusively to McDonald’s; other fast food companies have followed suit, such as Burger King, Popeyes, Pizza Hut and others. For example, Burger King’s chicken royal was transliterated as تشَكْن رُوّْال [tškën royāl] in their advertisement in Al-Rai (Ra-9-05-011-7 in appendix 1), Popeyes’ بُودل أَند سْبَّاْسِي [budl ānd sbāysī] for ‘bold and spicy cf. (Ra-20-1-013-192 in appendix 1) in the appendix, and Chiken Tikka’s سْوْبَر فَامِلْي ميْك يِجْرِيل [sūber fāmilī mix gril] (Ah-25-01-013-193 in appendix 1) for ‘super family mix grill’. By transliterating these terms into the host country language, these advertisements are actually enriching the language repertoire of the host country.

2.10 The Impact of Tradition as Part of Culture on Global Advertising

Another factor that influences global or international marketing, and hence international or global advertising, is tradition, which is part of culture. Culture, as has been defined in terms of tradition by Edward Taylor (1920 [1871]: 1), “is a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, customs and the various other capabilities and habits which are acquired as a member of a particular society”
(Taylor 1920 [1871]: 1). Therefore, habits, morals, customs and beliefs differ from one culture to another and the perception of certain ideologies varies accordingly.

People perceive and decode messages differently. They tend to observe others from the perspective of their own culture and values, and in many cases, cultures are so different. They have different iconic representations, different symbolic references, different history, different humour and different schemata (Semino 1997:18).

Advertisements are mirrors, albeit partial, of the culture they are found in. They reflect people’s belief system, norms, attitude, taste, values and way of life. These can be noticed not only in the layout of the advertisement, such as the pictures used, but also in the language system, which represents that culture (Pollay and Gallagher 1990: 371). In English, for example, the use of the first-person and second-person pronouns should be mentioned in the sentence, since in Western culture, and particularly American culture, the emphasis is placed on freedom, individualism, and independence (Moriarty et al 2009: 178). The presence of the subject pronouns in advertisements has been found to imply individualism. Middle Eastern culture, on the other hand, places more value on familial relations, kinship, and respect for the elderly; therefore first and second pronouns are rarely used in advertisements.

People respond to advertising messages that are in tune with their culture and are tailored according to their values and beliefs. Many international companies have failed at some point to find their niche in the international market simply because they overlooked the cultural values of that market. They simply transferred their domestic values to other parts of the world and hence failed to make their way to the consumers’ heart. Coca-Cola for example, failed to gain a share of the Saudi market because its advertisement featured images of everyday western people, to which
Saudi people found it difficult to relate (Yeshin 2006:404). On the other hand its rival competitor, Pepsi, adopted a more successful policy, in the Saudi market, that Coca-cola was not aware of. Pepsi’s advertisements feature the brand logo only, or they will use people from the Middle East, in particular from Saudi Arabia, or use some persona likely a popular male Arab singer or a renowned sports celebrity. In other words, advertisements are culturally bound, and if the advertiser wants to be acceptable and remembered in that market, s/he has to respect and respond to the culture and the cultural values of it. Recently, Pepsi has confined the language used in its print advertisement to the minimum, since the brand is well established and it relies on images rather than linguistic elements. These advertisements are usually in uniform with each other wherever they are in the world in terms of the theme used. Adaptations, of course, are made to them to be in concord with the values of the culture in which they are appearing, and linguistic features are translated into the host country’s language. For example, Pepsi’s advertisement with the motto ‘live for now’ was translated into Arabic as ‘لا’ [yalla] which means ‘let’s go’ followed by the English word ‘Now’ as featured in advertisements Ra-13-02-013-198 and Ra-17-2-013-203 in Appendix 1. The images used in that campaign featured happy young people doing physical activity together. This theme was used internationally, but the company has made cultural adaptation to the images.

2.11 The Impact of Religion on Advertising

Religion is one of the most sensitive factors that influence global markets and global advertising. It is important for advertising campaigns not to offend religious values otherwise failure will be their fate. The international market is filled with examples of marketing campaigns that had to be withdrawn because they offended
certain religious communities. Nike, for example, was forced to withdraw a line of training shoes because the logo intended to look like flames resembled the word ‘Allah’ in Arabic and offended Muslims (Yeshin 2006: 402). In the Arab world, in particular in Egypt and Jordan, where Islam forms the majority of the population, the use of religious quotations in some advertisements is common, especially in public announcements, such as for family planning or appeals to donate to orphans. However, it would be unacceptable if used in other forms of advertising, such as for energy drink, or celebrating Valentine’s Day.

2.12 The Effect of Politics and Economics on Global Advertising

International or global advertising should take into account the political and economic status of the host country in terms of customising its products and services to meet the requirements and demand of its prospective customers. McDonalds offers a good example of how it customises its campaigns according to the countries where they offer their products. McDonalds offers and advertises the use of kosher products in Israel, and makes sure the word Halal is present in its advertisements in all Middle Eastern countries to remove any suspicion of using non-Halal meet. The same scenario is used in India, where it advertises the use of lamb instead of beef. As for the politics in the host country, McDonalds also represents a good example. When sales revenues of McDonalds dropped in Egypt as a result of a boycott of American companies that support - according to Egyptians - the ‘Zionist project’ in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion of Ramallah in 2001, McDonalds in Egypt cleverly used in their advertising campaign the singer Sha’ban Abed Raheem, whose song expressing his hatred for Israel had been used as the theme song of the boycott. The use of Sha’ban came in an effort to give McDonalds a more localized
stance in Egypt. This was condemned by the American Jewish Congress who accused them of hiring a singer whom they said ‘sponsor hate’, and eventually the advertisement was dropped just after three weeks (Peterson 2011:198). Taking into consideration factors such religion, tradition, economics and politics, international companies face the dilemma of whether to unify their advertising campaign or to accommodate it to the requirements of the host country.

2.13 How do Advertisements Contribute to the Evolution of Culture

Culture, with all its elements of values, language, lifestyle, tastes and attitudes, is not static but continuously changing, and many factors contribute to this change.

Globalization, for example, has indeed contributed greatly to how cultures evolve. This can be embodied in changes in attitudes. For example, the way people view women in the Middle East has changed drastically. What was considered taboo in the past has become acceptable later on. The style of life has also changed. Fast food, Western-style clothing, and even Western values have gained wider acceptance in the Middle East. This change might not have happened without advertisements.

Advertisements are powerful. They not only promote products, but also promote and transmit values, attitudes, and moralities. In his book Advertising and Social Change, Ronald Berman summarizes the influence of advertisements on social values. He says:

“The institutions of family, religion and education have grown noticeably weaker over each of the past three generations. The world itself seems to have grown more complex. In the absence of traditional authority, advertising has become a kind of social guide. It depicts us in
all the myriad situations possible to a life of free choice. It provides ideas about style, morality, behaviour.” (Berman 1981:13)

These promoted values can be either positive or negative depending on one’s perspective. Materialism, for instance, which is considered a negative value by Belch (2007:732), is viewed as a positive value by many economists. On another level, some critics such as Vestergaard and Schoder (1993: 117-122) and Berger 1972:148) have criticized advertisements for manipulating the emotions of the audience to entice prospective customers. They target the audience’s most vulnerable points, which revolve round cupidity and desire. They accuse Advertisements of creating a Utopian world, usually featuring some idolized figure of a certain culture, thus creating the desire to emulate this Utopian world or idolized figure through the purchase of the product or service the advertisement is promoting.

The relationship between advertisements and culture is reciprocal. Advertisements would have little significance if they did not understand and express a culture’s codes and cherished values. Yet, a culture can change in part because of the omnipresent influence of advertisements. For example, three or four decades ago, images of Saudi women in the media were virtually absent because the Saudi state assigns a very restricted role to women in the public space. Images of women in advertisements and the media would have seemed to enforce a role that the prevailing culture of the time, was not ready to embrace. Nowadays, Saudi culture is considerably more open. This openness is seen everywhere in the media, which features not only images of Saudi women, but also includes women among its television anchors and reporters. By extension, Middle Eastern culture has been saturated with Western values, attitudes and tastes. These attitudes have been
welcomed by much of the younger generation who associate Western values, tastes and attitudes with modernity, reason, science, freedom and dignity. This is in part due to the influence of advertisements, which have portrayed Western culture as a model to be emulated. In other words, both culture and advertisements are interrelated. However, sometime companies fall into the dilemma of how to deal with advertisements. Should they keep the advertisements the same in all countries, or should they tailor new ones to suit the culture of the host country, or maybe to keep the advertisements but adjust them to suit the market?

2.14 To go Global or Not to Go Global? This is The Question. Global vs Glocal Advertising

Marketing researchers have differed as to whether to go global, that is, to use one uniform advertisement all around the world, or to tailor advertisements that are locally composed to meet the needs and desires of the market in which they wish to operate or to go glocal, that is, to tailor their advertisements in a way that are accepted by the people in the host country.

If an international company wants to expand and find its niche on the international markets, it may decide to go “glocal”. Glocalisation is a Japanese term that was used by Japanese economists in Harvard Business Review in the late 1980s as a marketing strategy. The term originates from the Japanese word dochakuka, which means global localization. Glocalisation is a term used to refer to international “... brands that seek to find the best ways to tie them to the local needs and desires” (Peterson 2011:181). Whether international companies should go global or glocal in advertising has become a point of controversy. How would they tailor their advertisements to suit the host culture and be accepted by new consumers? To do
so, international companies have to take into account the culture of their new market, such as social moralities, traditions, taboos, what is acceptable and what is not and, religion. Theodore Levitt (1983) argues that companies should operate as if there were only one global market. He argues that this is because people all over the world are motivated by the same desires, wants and expectations. Other business and marketing scholars have been in concord with Levitt and say that there are certain values that are found in all cultures. For that reason, if companies operate on the basis of one global market they will never go wrong. On the other hand, other researchers such as Geert Hofstede quoted in Moriarty et al (2009) argue that this view overlooks the impact of culture of individual consumption. He found in a study conducted on IBM employees around the world that some American values that are believed to be universal were proved to be otherwise in other cultures (Moriarty et al 2009: 595).

The debate over whether to go global or stay local in advertising has created three schools of thought (Moriarty et al 2009:596-600); (Belch &Belch 2007: 648-660):

- Standardization or Global marketing. The standardization school of thought, which was initiated by Levitt, affirms that differences between cultures are irrelevant, since people all over the world have the same needs and wants, which should surpass any cultural differences. Such a segment of people, who share the same needs and wants, was coined by Moriarty as a ‘cultural cohort’ (Moriarty et al 2009: 598). Teenagers, for example, are a cultural cohort, since teenagers, as consumers all around the world have the same needs, interests and desire. The cultural differences between teenagers around the world have diminished vastly because of technological advances.
Most of them, I believe, look for the same products and services. For that reason, it would be wise for international companies catering for teenagers to adopt a global advertisement, so that it will be familiar to all consumers around the world. Companies such as Pepsi, Benetton – though with its controversial adverts, Benetton sometimes opts for adaptation in some countries - and Nike among other companies whose prospect customer are mainly from the young generation use global advertising for marketing their products. Global marketing is cost effective for both the producer and the consumer. For the producer, going for global advertising means lower advertising production costs, and faster distribution of the product worldwide, since the producer will not have to produce different marketing strategies for different countries, and will have brand consistency all over the world.

As for the consumer, global advertising means that the consumer in different countries with various economic statuses will not carry the burden of paying the extra cost of localised advertising or marketing, since only one advertisement has been tailored to be used all over the world. Most global advertisings are visually dependent, with minimum translation or no verbal elements at all. Global advertising is best suited for products that rely on visuals such as jewellery, cosmetics, cigarettes, technological products like computers, mobile phones, television sets, etc. for example, from my corpus, see advertisements Ah-25-10-011-52; Ah-02-01-013-184; Ra-28-4-013-2220; Ra-22-12-013-258 in Appendix (1).

Products whose national reputation for quality surpasses any introduction or explanation of the product’s features usually adopt a standardization or global
advertisement campaign. Such products include Swiss watches and French perfumes.

- The second school of thought, with respect to international advertising strategy, is the localised or adaptation school (ibid). The localised school disagrees with Levitt’s notion of homogeneity of needs, wants and desires. The localised school argues that no matter how close cultures are getting, there is still difference. This difference can be in language, values, life style, economic and developmental status, demographic distribution, market conditions or any other differences. These differences will cause different interpretations to the message. Therefore, in order for the message to be understood correctly and to avoid cultural gaffes, it has to have a local stance rather than an international flavour. McDonalds, is a good example of this school.

- The third school of thought is a combination of the standardisation and the localisation schools or what we can call the ‘glocal’ school (Moraiarty et al 2009:596-600). This school contends that producers should ‘think globally and act locally’. Advocates of this school argue that even though people in different cultures are ‘culturally cohort’, the producers should take into account the culture and conditions of the local market. The primary principal of the combination school is to adjust the components of the advertising message whether verbal or non-verbal in a way that would reflect the culture and reference of the consumer in a particular country.

Advertisements in the Arab world compromise a variety of global, local and combination adverts. Swiss watches, perfumes, cosmetics and sometimes fashion
use global advertising, where the advert is kept in its original state, and where visuals are more dominant over the verbal elements. In some countries such as Saudi Arabia, visuals which contain pictorials of women, indecently clothed according to the Middle Eastern standards and beliefs, are generally manipulated so as they appear to be fully clothed and covered to their necks (al-Shehari 2001).

Local advertisements are exclusive to locally produce and services. These adverts usually contain a lot of colloquial terms and cultural elements.

Combination adverts usually market international products and services. Their campaign is similar to parallel campaigns run in other countries, but with some adaptations to fit the local culture. But still certain elements of the advertisement are preserved without adaptation, such as the logo and the brand name, which are kept in order to maintain consistency worldwide. The adaptations that are performed in an advertisement include language, which sometimes includes using colloquial words confined to that country or region, and adaptation of visuals which might be sometimes also required.

2.15 Summary

This chapter introduces the issue of Arabic as a diglossic language consisting of two varieties, the high variety, the MSA, which is the written form of Arabic, acquired through formal education, and can be also used in formal speeches, religious sermons, university lectures, etc (Ferguson 1972 [1959] :245) and the low variety, ‘āmmiyā, the informal one, used in daily speech and is acquired from at home. It also introduces briefly some quintessential features that distinguish the low variety of Arabic from the high. These features fall in the realm of syntax and
phonology. It also discusses ‘globalization’, the most important factor that is contributing to the evolution of the Arabic language in general, and to advertisements in particular. The term globalization is broad and has influenced the cultures, economies and businesses of the world. As a result of its impact on the above-mentioned sectors, it has also influenced advertisements and international businesses who want to take their businesses beyond their borders.

Advertisements are the mirror of the culture in which they appear. Therefore, they are parameters one can use to see how the culture is changing. The changes that a culture witnesses can be felt in advertisements, especially print ones. These changes are tangible in the general appearance of the advertisement and in the language used in composing them.

As global businesses go beyond borders, they have to take along advertisements as well. At this point, they face the dilemma of going global, that is, keeping their advertisement in uniform all over the world, or going local, that is, to tailor their advertisements with a local flavour, or otherwise to go glocal, that is, to keep the same advertisement all over the world but adjust it to suit the culture of the host country.

Globalization has changed the orthodox way of composing advertisement in the Arab world in general and in the two countries involved in this study in particular.

The current language of print advertisements employs both colloquial language and MSA in the written form. Many advertisements are composed in purely colloquial language, while others include both MSA and colloquial Arabic. English is also
employed in the copy of some advertisements. The use of English can be found by either using English words or transliterated and borrowed words.

This outline paves the way for subsequent chapters which discuss the features of this novel style of writing. Next, I discuss advertisements in general in terms of theory, the anatomy of advertisements, and advertisements in both Jordan and Egypt.
Chapter Three

Advertisement Theory and Arabic Advertising

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discusses diglossia in general and Arabic as a diglossic language in particular. It also features some of the quintessential characteristics that distinguish the high from the low variety of Arabic, and how globalization has contributed to the evolution of Arabic, in particular the language of advertising.

This chapter deals with the advertising theory: why and how people advertise, what tools advertisers use, either linguistic or non-linguistic, in order to influence the decision of the prospective customer into choosing the advertised product or service, the anatomy of an advertisement in general, and in the two countries involved in this study. This chapter identifies the various types of advertisements, which include the two types involved in this study, and states the anatomy of advertisements, to show in which part of the advertisement, advertisers use unconventional linguistic ways to make the advertisement more appealing. It also discusses various theories and models to create a good advertisement.

3.2 Why Do People Advertise?

In this capitalist, consumer oriented world, we are being bombarded by an array of advertisements. Every day we see or hear hundreds of advertisements. They are found in newspapers, magazines, on the radio, television, billboards, and on the internet. Because of their number, they are perceived either negatively or
positively according from which perspective they are being looked at. Consumers, producers, and economists perceive them differently. Some sceptic consumers, for example, perceive advertisements as a kind of marketing process used by companies to sell their goods or services to increase their profits. For them, these advertisements are biased and lack credibility. Producers perceive advertisements as public relations which aim at building a relationship between them and the general public to familiarize the public with their novel product, if the producer already exists in the market, or to introduce the producer if it is new to the market.

From the perspective of economists, advertisements focus on economic, societal and ethical significance. For them, advertisements contribute to the prosperity of the society by increasing production and hence increase demand which will consequently create more employment opportunities and thus better standard of living, as William Arens & David Schaefer argue:

"Advertising stimulates competition (many buyers and sellers). In countries where consumers have more income to spend after their physical needs are satisfied, advertising also stimulates innovation and new products"( Arens & Schaefer 2007 :31).

Economists such as Yeshin(2005) and Bullimore (1995) and Winston Fletcher (1999) view advertising as the operating wheel that encourages competition between products by providing the public with information about competing products and services thus as Tony Yeshin quote Bullimore (1995) "without advertising, we would not have brands, or innovation, consumer choice, value for money, or our diverse media" (Yeshin 2005:4).
Winston Fletcher states the social benefits of advertising. He pithily summarizes the benefits of advertising as he was quoted by the Daily Telegraph on September 10th 2012 by saying “No sales, no jobs. More sales, more jobs”. So in order to create jobs, producers need to sell and they can do that through introducing their products through advertising. In his book “Advertising, advertising: advertising’s public benefits”, (1999) Fletcher states the benefits of advertising in that they provide stimulating information, facilitate choice and help consumers to overcome the ‘information mountain’, increase the user’s satisfaction in using the product, foster competition and thereby, reduce prices, subsidise the media and often make a contribution to societal well-being- encouraging charitable donations, and more careful driving.

While the above mentioned scholars are among those who are in favour of advertising, others such as Terence Shimp (1997), Richard Pollay & Katherine Gallagher (1990) amongst others, consider advertising as unethical and a detrimental tool to societal and cultural morality. For them, advertisements are sheer nuisance that underestimate the intelligence of some people by being irrational in creating an illusion or a utopian condition that does not exist. Terence Shimp (1997: 157-164) identified several areas where advertisements have negative influence on society that include the following:

- Advertisements are untruthful and deceptive, manipulative, offensive and in bad taste.
- They create and perpetuate stereotype
- Encourage people to buy things that they don’t really need
- Play upon fear and insecurities.
Richard Pollay and Katherine Gallagher studied the effects of US magazine and television advertisements on society and tabulated the possible cultural effects of what they called commercialisation. They concluded that advertisements contribute to ‘sociological pollution’ with negative impacts and that there is a cultural corruption due to commercial communication. They recommended that the various sources that influence cultural change or reinforce traditional values – such as advertisements – should be assessed (Pollay and Gallagher 1990: 371).

### Advertising typically is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Promoting goods and objects</th>
<th>So it seems to foster</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- As satisfying all needs source of sell satisfaction</td>
<td>- psychological belief in consumption as the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- As all that is important public goods</td>
<td>- political properties favouring private over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- As good for everyone</td>
<td>- spiritual displacement of religion</td>
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### Intense advocacy

- Insisting, exhorting disregarding consequences
- Half-truths, incomplete information

### Appealing to individuals

- Selfishness and greed
- Sacrificing community, charity, cooperation, compassion

### Easily understood using:

- Social stereotypes
- Strong symbols

### Idealising ‘the good life’

- Creates dissatisfaction
- Loss of self-esteem, self-respect
- Frustrations, powerlessness
- Criminality, revolution
When advertising appeals to:  It also promotes:

- Mass markets  - conformity
- Sexuality  - pornography
- Fears  - chronic anxieties
- Status  - envy social competitiveness
- Youth  - disrespect of family elders
- Newness  - disrespect of tradition

Pollay and Gallagher possible cultural consequences of commercialisation

(Pollay and Gallagher 1990: 363)

Whichever perspective advertisement is seen from, it is by no doubt a communicative process with socio-economic effects. It is a principal tool used in the marketing strategy to achieve the primary goal of companies, which is to entice prospective customers into buying their goods and services. This can be achieved by the use of different tools in the advertisement including language. Moreover, with the advancement of transportation, communication and technology, advertisements have witnessed dramatic change in the last four decades, especially in the Arab world. For example, the layout of the advertisements has changed from being simple, to more sophisticated and more attractive in terms of using colours, advanced technology in printing and unconventional use of language. In Jordan, for example, prior the 1980s, the market lacked the presence of international companies for political reasons. Therefore, advertising in broadsheets was confined to local companies with limited printing potentials, and advertisements in Jordanian broadsheets were mostly in black and white with mainly a body copy with no pictures, illustrations or witty language. On the other hand, Egypt was more advanced in advertisements probably because journalism in Egypt was more mature and hence this would reflect on advertisement.
Unlike in the Arab world, in industrial countries, such as the USA and most Western European countries, commercial advertisements started to flourish in the years following War World II as companies, in particular American ones, started to expand and seek international markets for their products. Hence, advertisements evolved from local to global, or more precisely to glocal. However, how are local advertisements different from the glocal ones in terms of language and copy? This was expressed in the previous chapter (c.f. 2.14).

To conclude this section, we can say that people advertise to either introduce a product or remind the public of a certain product. In order to do that, advertisers have to compose an advertisement that is both appealing and memorable to people by employing various techniques. But before discussing these techniques, it is worth mentioning what is the nature of advertisements.

3.3 What are Advertisements?

3.3.1 Definition of Advertisements

In order to form a definition for advertisements, one initially requires to identify the objectives of this concept. The primary objective, for advertisements, is to capture the attention of the reader, to register the advertiser’s communication in pursuit of making the reader take action, or to induce the prospective consumer to the advertised product or service in a way that lures him/her, rather than pestering him/her into buying that product.

Both words ‘advertising’ and ‘advertisement’ have the Latin verb ‘advertere’ at their root, meaning ‘to turn towards’ which is exactly what the creator of any advertisement aims at; to attract the viewer’s attention, compelling them to literally ‘turn towards them’ consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily.
Definitions proposed by economists, scholars, and theorists are all readership oriented since the readership or viewer is the most important element of the advertisement, and advertisers aim to notify the public or inform the viewer about their message. Many scholars have proposed definitions for advertisements that are relatively similar. However before listing some of these, I will mention the dictionary definition of advertisement. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines advertisements as “a set of words, or a short film, which is intended to persuade people to buy a product or use a service or that gives information about a job that is available, an event that is going to happen etc”.

Wells, Burnett and Moriarty (2000:6) state six features that should be found in a text in order for it to be considered an advertisement. According to them an advertisement is “ (1)a paid, (2)non-personal communication, from (3) an identified sponsor(4) using mass media, (5) to persuade, or influence (6) an audience”. Dominick (2009:336) looks at advertisements as part of marketing, and mentions the features and functions of advertisements in his definition. He defines advertising as, “any form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, and services usually paid for by an identified sponsor”. Sandage, Fryburger and Rotzoll (2002:5) define advertising as a “Paid, non-personal communication forms, used with persuasive intent by identified sources through various media”. Arens and Schaefer(2007:4) consider advertisements as part of marketing communications, they are part of what is known in economics and marketing as, the ‘marketing mix’ (Borden [1953]1964:7-14) or what is usually known as the four Ps: Price of the brand, product (including service, packaging, brand name and design), place which includes the distribution and finally, promotion that includes advertising, Public Relations etc.(McCarthy[1960] 1981:83-93).
From the definitions above, I define advertisement as a non-personal communicative process with specific functions that aim at creating awareness, introducing and persuading the audience with a specific product, service or idea through various media. Language can play a vital part in the persuasion process in advertisement.

In other words, the objectives of advertisements revolve around increasing sales of the product or service, and creating awareness in order to add value to the organization, or to its products. To achieve this, the advertisement has to be appealing to the reader and be memorable. This can be achieved by using various linguistic methods, such as using unconventional writing styles in print advertisements, or using attractive, non-linguistic effects in oral and visual ones.

3.4 Elements of Advertisements

For the purpose of this thesis, I perceive an advertisement as a published discourse structured in a way to inform, persuade, change attitude, entice and sometimes deceive prospective customers into purchasing or using the goods and services of a certain company in a media that is accessible and easily obtained. However, for any discourse to be considered an advertisement, it needs certain elements:

a. An **advertiser**, who “needs to get out a message”, (Moriarty et al 2002:16), and usually pays for the advertisement in both commercial and non-commercial advertisements. Public service messages, such as awareness campaigns, like breast cancer, road safety, family planning or domestic violence campaigns are usually exempted from advertising fees because of their nature of being non-profit. The advertiser’s name is usually mentioned in
the advert, so that the reader knows the source product or service. However, some well known companies, whose emblem has become very famous do not mention the name of the company in the advert, such as in the case of Nike.

b. **Untargeted groups** rather than personalised individuals, that is, the advertisement should not address a particular person, though it may address a certain segment of the population (Dominick 2009:336). For example, Jordanian telecommunication company Orange’s advertisements, sometimes specify the audience they are addressing. For example, when they advertised for a service, or offer for young people aged between 18-25, they called the service ‘\( \text{yalā shabāb} \)’, that is ‘come on young people’. Therefore, the segment of the population is specified. Another example of specifying the target group comes from the Jordanian mobile network ‘Zain’, which sometimes advertises offers only for recruits in the Jordanian armed forces, and call them ‘\( \text{khaṭ al-jaysh} \)’ ‘the army lines’ or ‘\( \text{khaṭ al-shahāmih} \)’ ‘the nobility line’. Therefore, even the general idea of the advertisement should be non-personal and addresses the public in general, yet there are some exceptions where the company targets certain groups.

c. **A persuasive** structure to entice the prospective customer to purchase, or to convince him/her of the service being provided. Advertisements are structured to win converts to a new idea or product, and attempt to change attitude or behaviour. After all, the primary objective of an advertisement is to promote the sale of a particular service or product. For this reason, advertisers employ various techniques in order to achieve the persuasive element. This could include the use of linguistic or non-linguistic elements,
such as the use of colour, pictures, font print or the use of colloquial language or both colloquial and standard language in order to make the advertisement more appealing and more persuasive to the target customer.

d. A **communication medium** through which the message is passed from the addressee to the addressee. This medium could be print publications such as newspapers or magazines, broadcast such as radios or television, outdoor such as billboards, bus shelters, on buses and taxis or in underground rail stations and on trains, new media such as the world wide web and other social networks and finally by other means of media such as cinemas, fliers or even coupons. When the receiver gets the message, he/she should be able to decode it, respond to it and provide feedback. The feedback in the case of commercial product advertisements would be in a form of purchase. This thesis focuses on the printed media, in particular in broadsheets.

### 3.5. The Print Media

Print media consists of newspapers and magazines. Newspapers in the West, can be divided into national daily, regional daily, tabloids and local free distribution newspapers. However, the situation is different in the two countries included in this study. There are no national weekend papers such as in the United Kingdom or the United States, usually the weekend edition of the daily paper may include extra segments containing advertisement or more sports. In fact, in the two papers included in this study, Al-Rai tends to shrink over the weekend to half, while Al-Ahram tends to have more sections over the weekend. These sections usually include property and motor advertisement sections. Newspapers, on one hand, in particular broadsheets,
are more circulated than any other newspapers. They are easily obtained and available everywhere from bookshops, to supermarkets, to small corner shops, and they can even be obtained from sellers selling them by traffic lights. Magazines, on the other hand, are more varied than newspapers, and more specific. Unlike newspapers, magazines target special segments of society such as: women, young people, engineers, doctors, dentists and so on, or specialise in certain topics such as sports, religion, health, education and so on. Advertisements in these magazines-especially the ones that target certain professions- may include technical terms that can only be understood by people with specific profession or interest. Another difference between newspapers and magazines is circulation. Magazines are more expensive than newspapers and therefore less circulated.

Print advertising in the Arab world, especially in newspapers, is larger and more appealing than any other kind of media after television. This preference is based on several factors: mainly that they cater for a wide range of audience, have high circulation, have a wide coverage, advertisers can employ colour, illustration and photographs to reinforce the message. Advertising in newspapers is cost effective; it costs less to have an advertisement printed in a newspaper than broadcasted on TV or radio, and finally, newspapers have high credibility with readers, which provide a positive environment to advertisers. Newspapers are believed to deliver information and news that is authentic and truthful. Therefore, people believe that any advertisement printed in a daily newspaper, especially a broadsheet, is authentic, and the information provided about a product or service is true.
Advertising in newspapers can be categorised into two: classified and display (Moriarty et al 2006:217). Classified advertising are commercial messages arranged according to their interest to readers (Wells et al 2003:243), whereas display advertisings are traded through an advertising agency, and their layout differs completely from the classified ones. The layout of display advertisements includes a headline, body copy and a visual. They can also be any size and placed anywhere in the newspaper, except in the editorial page, depending on where the advertiser wishes his/her advertisement to appear and how much s/he pays for that.

All the advertisements included in this thesis are display advertisements, which I call consumer advertisements.

3.6. Types of Advertisements

There are various categories and subcategories of consumer display advertisements. Each has a particular role, purpose, content, and context and even specific linguistic structure. In a broad sense, they can be classified into commercial and non-commercial, product and non product. Yeshin (2006:5), Dominick (2009:336) classify advertisements in four main ways: By target audience, by purpose, by medium, and by geographic group.

Cook (2007: 14), Sandage et al (2002: 47) classify advertisements in terms of the consumer, medium, product and technique. However, Sandage et al (2002) add a further category to the classification, which is the purpose of the advertisement. My main concern here in this thesis is to look into consumer and some public announcements print advertisements, which appear in broadsheets. They target
different audience segments, and share one purpose which is to sell a product or service and to spread public awareness through public announcements.

3.6.1. Consumer Advertising

Consumer advertising targets individuals and tries to influence them to buy a product for their personal and household use. Some products are more likely to be bought a certain segment of the population, such as, by men, women, children, certain age group, certain social class and so on. This kind of advertisement is less informative and less factual. Nevertheless, some consumer advertisements, such as those for computers, laptops, mobile phones and high-tech products provide some facts by stating the features of the advertised product so that people know these features and can compare between the different similar products on the market. However, this does not apply to all consumer advertisements. Some consumer advertisements will not give the consumer full details about the product, like washing up liquids or detergents or even fruits and vegetables basically because people will not be interested in knowing for example how these fruits were grown or what are the nutritional value of these fruits or how many calories does each fruit have. These facts and information are found on the packaging and information about the product in order to present the prospective customer with the specification of the product. The layout and the language used in these advertisements differ according to the prospective buyers. The language is usually very subtle, wheedling and more persuasive than other kinds of advertisements. I have classified the consumer advertisements included in this study, in the data collection section.

3.6.2 Public Service Advertisements

Garbett (1981:12) defines public service advertisements as “...either government or association sponsored, which promote causes and activities generally
accepted as desirable. By its nature, public service advertising is usually noncontroversial....‖. This includes, for example, the announcement of free vaccination to children, employment and openings for civil servants, recruiting cadets for the army, government tenders, summoning people or parties to court, and so on.

3.6.3. Advertorials

Advertorials are defined by Sandage et al (2002:81) as “... the expression of a position by an individual, group, or organization on a topic of some controversy, through a medium of advertising”. For example, abortion, animal rights, environmental issues, anti-smoking, healthy eating, some health issues warning, political propaganda are few of the topics that one might encounter in Western media. For the purpose of this thesis, I shall consider advertorials and public announcements as one and name them public announcements.

In the Arab world, issues such as abortion or animal rights, safe sex and/or promotion of the contraceptive pill would not be tackled in a public forum for religious and cultural reasons. Instead, the topics advertorials or public announcements promote in the two broadsheets included in this study are, either social issues such as family planning, educating women against abuse, warning people against child labour, drugs , discouraging marriage at a young age, advice against road rage violence, fostering orphans, donating for cancer centres, and awareness to participate in cancer insurance programs . Or they can promote environmental issues such as encouraging recycling, energy saving, making official complaints against public services, promoting national products or even encouraging them to pay utility bills or taxes. (c.f. advertisements Ra-04-07-011-12, Ra-13-07-011-18, Ah-27-03-012-103, Ra29-7-012-114, Ra-21-10-012-151, Ra-04-11-012-155, Ra-03-12-
Regardless of their geographic placement, public announcements are informative and factually oriented. They tend to be less complicated than consumer product advertisements in terms of pictures and language used. This could be because although they employ persuasive techniques of that used in consumer advertisements to change the public’s opinion or behaviour, they are non-profit and have been given space and time by the publisher free of charge.

In such advertisements, the sponsors are mentioned. However, the language used varies according to the nature of the announcement. Most public service announcements are written in MSA, and may include verses quoted from the Quran or quotations from Prophet Mohammed, a technique used for persuasion to encourage people to do these things as they are desirable and hailed by religion. In example (1), a public announcement for road rage control (Ra-04-07-011-12) the whole advertisement, including the headline and body copy, is written in MSA with quotation from the Prophet Mohammed.

Example (1)

A public announcement for anti road rage’, Ra-04-07-011-12

This public announcement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 04/07/2011

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1 I shall not transliterate the advertisements that are written in MSA since they are written in the conventional way of writing.
The advertisement can be literally translated as:

‘Count to ten....

Violence in all its forms is not an answer to any problem, however using rational dialogue is the appropriate means to communicate and to solve all problems. We in Youth Without Violence unite together to reduce violence among youth and eradicate it from all ways of our lives’

In another public announcement for family planning, in example (2), the government chose not to use all the elements of the advertisement; the headline, body copy, logo, etc. Rather the advertisement was confined to the minimal and included only a headline, a picture and a verse from the holy Quran since family planning according to Islam is prohibited.

Example (2)

A public announcement for family planning and birth control, Ra-13-07-011-18

This public announcement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 13/07/2011
The advertisement here encourages families who only have daughters to be satisfied with them and not to have more children in hope of getting a son, which is important in the Middle Eastern culture. The headline begins with literally translated:

‘Girls are a gift from God; there is no difference between a boy or girl’, followed by a picture of a happy Muslim family with two girls, then the advertisement goes on to quote a verse from the holy Quran which is literally translated as ‘...He bestows daughters upon whom he pleases, and he bestows sons upon whom he pleases’.

This is followed by a statement which can be literally translated as, ‘Modern methods to family planning..... many choices. Consult the doctor to choose a suitable method’.

However, not all public announcements are written in MSA. In another public announcement for the same cause, a family planning public announcement, the sponsors choose to switch between MSA and colloquial Arabic (as I will discuss in chapter six). By using this technique, the advertiser has a social motivation. The advertiser wants to be perceived as more modern, and target other segments of the
population such as the non-Muslim ethnic minorities (the social motivation for employing certain techniques in composing advertisements will be discussed in chapter six). Example (3) illustrates this motivation.

Examples (3)

A public announcement for family planning campaign, Ra-21-10-012-155

This public announcement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 21/10/2012

This advertisement starts with colloquial Arabic, followed by MSA

(colloquial Arabic)

Transliteration: khaṭṭiṭ, min hūn labukrā tūfraj

Literal translation: plan, from now till tomorrow things will chang

Idiomatic translation: Plan it, things will get better in the future.
Transliteration: khaṭṭiṭlamustaqbal usratika mina al-yaum

Literal and Idiomatic translation: plan for the future of your family now.

الوسائل الحديثة لتنظيم الأسرة، خيارات متعددة

Al- wasā’il al-ḥadītha litanẓīm al-ussra, khayārāt muta‘adida

Literal and Idiomatic translation: the modern family planning methods, various choices

استشروا الطبيب لاختيار الوسيلة المناسبة

Transliteration: Istashīrū al-ṭabīb li-ikhtyār al-wasīla al-munsiba

Literal and Idiomatic translation: Consult your doctor for the most appropriate birth control method

However some public announcements that do not discuss social or cultural behaviour, take another approach that is used in contemporary advertisements in terms of switching between the two varieties of Arabic, the MSA and colloquial, such as (Ra-03-12-012-170), which encourages the public to place official complaints about unsatisfactory public service performance. Other kinds of public announcements that employ diglossic switching include announcements for vocational training sponsored by NGOs (Ra-06-01-013-186 and Ra-06-01-013-186), encouraging the public to pay their bills on time (Ra-23-12-012-179), or fostering orphans (Ra29-7-012-114)

Other public announcements can be written in purely colloquial Arabic. These are more popular in Egyptian papers. They may include donation for cancer centres as
in advertisement (Ah-12-03-013-208), or any public awareness campaign, such as drug awareness campaigns, that target young people as illustrated in example (4).

Example (4)

Public announcement for drug awareness campaign, Ah-27-03-012-105

This public announcement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 27/03/2012

The above public awareness campaign uses not only colloquial Arabic, but also uses Arabizi, a form of informal Arabic communication, that surfaced in the aftermath of cellular phones revolution which at its early days lacked the presence of Arabic letters on their software and keyboard. Arabizi, as it will be discussed in chapter five, uses Latin letters and numerals to transcribe Arabic words. It has become known as the ‘language of chatting’ and has become very popular among young people who communicated with each other using cellular phones and social media sites.

In the above advertisement, the headline is written in Arabizi, and the rest of the advertisement in colloquial Arabic. This approach is use to reach out to the target audience.

Ewإا (Arabizi)

خليك واعي ... اوعي تضيع حلمك (colloquial Arabic)
Transliteration: Khaïk wa‘ī ...’u‘a tiḍaya‘ ḥilmak

Literal translation: be alaert... do not lose your dream

Idiomatic translation: follow you dreams not drugs.

3.7. Advertising as a Means of Communication

For an advertisement to be successful, it has to achieve the principal objective set for it in the advertising strategy. For an advertising campaign to survive, it must maintain and sustain the public’s interest by keeping a perpetual contact with the mass audience and constantly try to persuade it to buy the goods and services the advertiser is trying to promote.

Advertisements play a vital role in the economy. They do not only stimulate competition, sustain employment and income (Arens & Schaefer 2007:31), but also have an impact on the mass media. The sustainability of the media depends on advertising; they support the cost of the mass media, and nurture the economy by transforming their audience into buyers and contribute to the prosperity of the economy.

For an advertisement to achieve the goals set for it, it has to perform a variety of interdependent functions, but generally speaking these functions fall within three broad areas: the informative function, the persuasive function and the selling function (Vestergaard & Schroder 1989:17). These functions are achieved through the use of both linguistic and para-linguistic elements.
3.8. Functions of Advertisements

3.8.1 The Informative Function

Advertising serves the manufacturer or service provider who wishes to introduce a new product to the market by creating product awareness and providing information to prospective customers about it. This is done by showing the product’s features, functions and maybe a comparison or claim about this product in the context of alternative offers. For that reason, sellers employ advertising to enhance the interest of the public of an existing product by suggesting new applications for it, price changes or even the operating differences between the product and other competitors. In the case of disappointment in the performance of the product, or if a dissension between the product performance and the consumer perception exists, the manufacturer uses advertising to correct the misconception (Yeshin 2006:8).

Advertisements of service companies such as financial institutions and banks usually provide information about the range of available services to the prospective consumers more than producers of household items.

Non-product advertisements such as public announcements, government advertising, employment advertisements and obituaries provide specific pieces of information with neutral, unbiased content.

Many advertisements collected from the two Arab broadsheets use the informative function. The most prominent advertisements are the ones of supermarkets, electrical appliances or technology suppliers. Supermarkets use pictures of items with some information in Arabic and sometimes, Arabic and English. Computer suppliers where Arabic fails to fill the gap in providing the words for the technology, use English to give information about the products they are selling. The price of
anything is always written in English. This function is obvious in examples (5) and (6) below.

Example (5)

Advertisement for Smart Buy electronic shop, Ra-20-10-011-49

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 20/10/2011

In this advertisement, the features of the product and the price are written in English.

Example (6)

Advertisement for Sameh Mall, Ra-01-12-013-261

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/12/2013
In this advertisement, the products are described with words in both Arabic and English and illustrated with pictures. The prices are mentioned in English.


3.8.2 The Persuasive Function

The persuasive Function is very much conspicuous in advertisements which assays to induce prospective customers to alter their attitude towards a certain issue. Political parties, charitable organizations and governments concentrate on the persuasive function in their advertisements to change attitude or behaviour towards issues of general concern (Yeshin 2006:10).
In commercial and product advertisements, companies use the persuasive function to persuade customers to buy their product. They provide information that could lead to brand preference or even brand switching by highlighting features of brand superiority. In some instances, the advertisement might make a direct comparison with competitive products to avoid any predisposition or change of attitude. Even major well-established brands need to maintain brand awareness by continuously reminding their customers of the advantages and benefits they provide. Advertisement Ra 08-05-011-8 in example (7) for Safeway Supermarket, shows that mentioning the prices of items serves the persuasive function since they are selling these items for less than their competitors.

Example (7)

Advertisement for Safeway supermarket, Ra 08-05-011-8

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 08/05/2011.
3.8.3 The Selling Function

Most advertisements attempt to promote the sale of a particular commodity or service. In order to accomplish that, the advertisement should include the informative and persuasive functions, in its context. An effective and successful advertisement tends to take the prospective customer through a concatenation of steps that will gradually develop the proper condition for a sale. This gradual transition from one step to another depends on the success of the previous one, and this in turn is the base to what is known as the “hierarchy of effects theory in advertising” (MacKay 2005:24).
3.9. Theories of Effective Advertising

Since the early days of the twentieth century, scholars have been suggesting models for an effective advertisement. Wilmshurst in Mackay (2005: 24-31) and Yeshine (2006: 31-51) summarise major theories and models in advertising suggested by Daniel Starch (1923), Strong (1925), Russell Colley (1969), Kenneth Longman (1971), Alan Hedges (1974), George and Michael Belch (1993), Andrew Ehrenberg (1997) amongst others. These models and theories are based on the effect of the advertising on the prospective audience. The fundamental doctrine of creating an impact on the prospective audience has inceptively been to attract the attention of the audience. Furthermore, the marketing communication process requires the audience to proceed through a sequence of stages following the exposure to advertisement. These stages came to be known as the ‘hierarchy of effects’. The earliest model in the literature of marketing communication is the ‘Starch model’ set by Daniel Starch in the 1920s which states that for an advertisement to be effective it must be:

1. Seen
2. Read
3. Believed
4. Remembered
5. Acted upon

Starch’s model worked well in the early twenties, before the advent of the broadcast media but could not be sustained in the era after the advent of broadcast media. It was based on noticing and reading, therefore, the model only studied the print advertisements and not the broadcast ones.
An alternative model that is considered the pillar on which most scholars have built their models to explain the process of marketing communication in advertising, and is still often used as a yardstick to an effective advertisement that suggested by Strong (1925) and known as the AIDA model. It proposes that an effective advertisement should follow a sequence of interdependent actions if it pursues to achieve its ultimate objective (Figure 3-1). This model suggests that a successful advertisement is the one that:

1. Attracts attention
2. Leads to interest in the product
3. Creates a desire to possess or use the product
4. Takes action by purchasing it.

![Diagram of AIDA model](Figure (3-1) The AIDA model of the process of communication
(Quoted in Yeshin 2006: 32)

This hierarchal procession from one stage to another makes more sense to consumers than the starch model. People need to be aware of the existence of the brand before they develop an interest in the product. When there is
interest, which is gained through giving information of the product, a desire to take an action will develop through persuasive function of the advertisement. This will eventually lead to buying the product. This model explains how the two functions of advertising are employed:

(1) the informative function, by introducing the product to the public and making them aware of its existence, and (2) the persuasive function by inducing the public to desire the product and hence take action to purchase it.

This model cannot work for all kinds of goods since not all people follow the hierarchical order to buy the goods and this cannot work for all kinds of goods. Some purchases are done spontaneously. Moreover, this model does not take into account the environment and the medium in which the advertisement will appear and how will they affect the advertisement.

Like Starch and Strong, Russell Colley in 1969 used the hierarchy of effects to describe the advertising process (Yeshin 2006 :34). He identified the procedure to ensure the objectives established for the advertising were correctly formed and could be monitored. He proposed the DAGMAR model- an acronym for Colley’s book *Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results* -which suggests that for a commercial communication to lead to the ultimate objective of a sale, it must take the prospective reader through four levels of comprehension:

1. The prospective reader should be aware of the existence of the brand or company
2. The prospective reader must understand what the product is and what it can do for him/her.

3. The prospective reader must reach a conviction to purchase the product.

4. The prospective reader must stimulate himself/herself to take action.

What distinguishes the DAGMAR model from the two previous ones is that it was created to set objectives in the advertising planning process. It measures the objectives of each stage of the communication process and how to measure the success of the advertising campaign.

The DAGMAR model (Figure 3-2) was considered by some economists at that time as an improvement on the Starch and the AIDA models. Nevertheless, Yeshin (2006: 34) argues that even though Colley’s model describes the advertising process, yet it does not describe each step. It does not deal with the message but focuses on the levels of understanding a prospective customer must have for the producer of the product or service and also how to measure the success of the advertisement campaign. It does not state how advertising affects customers in their buying process.

![DAGMAR Model Diagram](Yeshin_2006_35)
Though the Starch, AIDA and the DAGMAR hierarchy of effects models were dominant in the past, they have been criticised by Colin McDonald (1992) for being message-oriented and ignoring a vital participant in the communicative process of advertising, namely the prospective consumer. According to McDonald, these models treat the audience as a passive, helpless person who is easily influenced by the amount of advertisements, and disregard the fact that some consumers actively search for ads for a particular product. McDonald argues that these hierarchy-of-effects models are ‘necessary conditions’ rather than theories of how advertising works, and there are other factors that contribute positively or negatively when taking the action of purchasing the product.

In 1979, an advertising agency known as Foote, Cone and Belding proposed that advertising exists on two level: (1) thinking versus feeling (2) high involvement versus low involvement. (Figure 3-3)

The first level tackles whether the purchasing decision and buying action of a product was based on the functional advantages of the product or based on emotional factors. However, a lot of purchases made involve the two aspects. For example buying a certain car is thought to be based purely on the functional benefits of it such as fuel efficiency, capacity, size, etc. however, such decision is greatly influenced by emotional value of the car, for example what it looks like, what it reflects about the personality of the person driving this car, his/her social status, the reaction of other people to the ownership of such a brand and so on.

The second level is low involvement versus high involvement. The low-involvement purchases are those which do not require a lot of thinking and consideration on part of the consumer. These include products that are frequently
bought such as food, household items, etc. On the other hand, the high involvement purchases are those that are not frequently bought and are usually costly such as a house, a car, a new product, etc.

**Figure (3-3) The Foote, Cone and Belding (FCB) planning grid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informative</th>
<th>Affective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(thinking)</td>
<td>(feelings)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High involvement Purchases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New products</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habit formation</th>
<th>Self satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Confectionery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household items</td>
<td>Alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cigarettes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Foote, cone and Belding 1979)

In 1991 Rossiter et al, added a new element to the FCB grid which they believe is missing and hence weakens the model. They argue that in order to create an attitude or feeling towards the brand, the consumer needs to be aware of the brand in the first place. They argue that people may have other motivations when they want to purchase a product other than the ones mentioned in the think-feel...
dimensions of the FCB model. They include three transformational motives and five informational motives. The transformational motives include: sensory gratification, intellectual stimulation and social approval, whereas the informational motives include: problem removal, problem avoidance, incomplete satisfaction, mixed approach and normal depletion. Many of the advertisements in the two broadsheets in this study follow the FCB model. The sensory gratification is achieved through the non-linguistic elements employed in the advertisement which include the use of colours, pictures and graphology. The intellectual stimulation and social approval is achieved through the linguistic elements such as, the variety of language employed in the text; whether it is MSA or colloquial. This depends on the target audience, and the advertised product. If the target audience is young, the variety used the colloquial one. If the product is related technology, then the language used may include some English words that have no equivalence in Arabic.

Andrew Ehrenberg (1997d: 20-24) argues that concept of persuasion and conversion before the actual purchasing process is not supported by empirical evidence, and that advertising draws the attention to the brand and thus prevents the brand from being forgotten. He argues that the consumer’s attitude is subject to four stages before the consumer takes the action of buying (Figure3-4). Ehrenberg suggests that the consumer has to be aware and interested of the new brand. This can be achieved through advertising, promotions, retail displays, word of mouth, etc. The second stage is trial; some people are more curious and may purchase the brand to explore it. This trial purchase is urged by advertisements, word of mouth, trial availability and promotions. The third stage is reinforcement. In this stage advertising and marketing communication play an
important part. Advertisements retain awareness of a newly purchased brand as well as providing reassurance of the credibility of the brand. In this stage the brand will gain the consumer’s trust.

The final stage is nudging, at this stage the consumer is induced to become a regular purchaser of the product. This can be achieved by re-launching the product or using other devises to attract attention to the brand and incite the prospective customers to reconsider the product afresh Ehrenberg (1997d: 20-24)

![Figure 3-4](image)

**Ehrenberg’s model based on four stages**

(Ehrenberg 1997:22)

Ehrenberg’s model stresses that the first stage of consumer purchase is done through Awareness. A consumer will be aware of the product through advertisements. In order to achieve this awareness, the advertisement has to attract the attention of the reader through employing various linguistic and non-linguistic elements. This does not stop there, but advertisements play another vital role in reinforcing the product by using new advertisements for new products for the same brand
Mark Earls (2003) presented a paper to the Market Research Society which was published later in the same year in the International Journal of Market Research, in which he proposed that in advertising and marketing research, the brand has been given more weight and emphasis than the consumer, who is the key element in the marketing campaign. He adds that the best way to study how individuals respond to advertising is not by studying their individual behaviour, but rather to study the group behaviour with whom they live. He argues that the individual’s response to advertisements is influenced by the ‘tribe’s behaviour’. A consuming individual is a member of a tribe where the brand creates a universe for that tribe (Earls 2003: 322-326). Earl’s model can be correct, however, the tribe’s behaviour is the outcome of their response to advertisements. Therefore, if the advertisement is not interesting both linguistically and non-linguistically, no such behaviour will be created.

3.9.1 What is the Best Model to Describe the Arab Consumer's Behaviour Towards Choosing a Product in The Arab World?

After reviewing the models and theories of advertising applied in the west, the best model that can describe marketing in the Arab world is a mixture of Ehrenberg’s model and Earls’ assumption of tribe’s behaviour. The makeup of Arabic societies and the great familial and kin’s relationship affects the attitude and the decision making of purchasing. Even though persuasion is achieved from members of the tribe, as proposed by Earl, it is enhanced after purchasing the product and trying it as suggested by Ehrenberg. Therefore, it can be said that the Arab consumer’s attitude is first influenced by the general attitude of the tribe members, that is, the tribe in Ehrenberg sense, then reinforcement is achieved when he/she purchases the product, and finally Ehrenberg’s nudging takes place. Therefore, marketing in the
Arab world is a circuit that begins with the tribe’s recommendations, which usually includes an awareness of the brand by a member of the tribe who then recommends it to the rest of the tribe members and ends with the nudging.

(Figure 3-5) Consumer’s behaviour towards choosing a product in the Arab world

For this reason, advertisements in general and printed advertisement in broadsheets in particular give more attention to the headline to attract the attention of the prospective reader and do not give weight to the copy body since the tribal or kin/group’s recommendations is as important as the advertisement itself. As a result, advertisers in broadsheets tend to reduce the body copy to the minimum by listing the features of the advertised product or service in points rather than explaining them in an expository style.

Advertising in the Arab world also faces various constraints ranging from censorship to language policies, and they have to be taken into consideration when composing an advertisement (c.f. chapter one sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2)
3.10. The Anatomy of an Advertisement

The layout of an advertisement is the overall orderly arrangement of all the format elements: visual(s), headline, subheads, body copy, slogans, seal, logo and signature (Arens & Schaefer, 2006: 235). Competition among advertisements is enormous. This consequently forces advertising companies to compete in composing advertisements that are both eye-catching and amusing.

For the purpose of this thesis, I discuss here the layout of print advertisements in broadsheets. The structure or layout of print advertisements is not universal. One would not find the same format all over the world. However, in general, they all consist of an integration of verbal and non-verbal elements or linguistic and para-linguistic features.

The non-verbal or para-linguistic elements found in print advertisements include photography, typography, colours illustration, and sometimes a persona used in the advertisement. The verbal or linguistic elements of a print advertisement include the headline, the subhead, the body copy, the logo and the signature.

Both the verbal and non-verbal elements in a print advertisement have a reciprocal relationship. They are so interrelated that neither is granted superiority over the other and they both carry an equal amount of burden in capturing the attention of the reader and achieving the ultimate communication potential. Readers do not notice the verbal element of the advertisement in segregation from the non-verbal element. Pictures or illustrations are easier to understand. They can be comprehended with less effort, provide more information, can be easily remembered. They also have a more rapid effect than words, besides being a source of entertainment to the reader. These pictures and illustrations usually lead the eye to the verbal element which is
used as a re-enforcement to the illustration. In some ads, however the dominance of verbal over non-verbal elements or vice versa depends on the product advertised, the medium and the target audience.

People tend to scan a print advertisement in a certain manner (Arens & Schaefer 2007:126, Yeshin 2006: 310, Moriarty et al 2006:330-336, Pieters & Wedel 2004:36-50). The first thing that catches their eye is paralinguistic elements, from the size of the advertisement to the colours, photography, typography or the persona if used. In other words it is the illustration that does the trick first. Next they move to the headline which should promise a benefit of using the product or service, it should say something important to the reader in order to entice them to continue reading. Then the reader moves to the first line of the copy, or what is known as subheadline. Sub-headlines are not found in all advertisements, but if they are used, they spell out the promise mentioned in the headline. Following the subhead, the reader notices the logo. If the reader is still interested, s/he will turn to the copy and read it.

Readers of English advertisements would go from left to right and from top to bottom, whereas, readers of Arabic advertisements would go from right to left and from top to bottom.
3.10.1. The Linguistic or Verbal Elements of the Layout- The Display Copy

Elements-

3.10.1.1. Headlines

The headline is the most important part of the advertisement. It is the phrase or statement that acts like the opening to the advertisement (Arens & Schaefer 2007, Moriarty et al 2006, Sandage et al 2002) that has a two-fold function: to inform the reader about something that is important, by introducing a new product or adding a new value to an existing product or service, and to entertain the reader so as to draw his attention to the product being advertised. The headline is the first thing that is read by the audience, for that reason, it should always be interesting in order to capture the attention of the readers to encourage them to continue reading. Headlines usually communicate the complete selling idea. Therefore, if the headline is not eye-catching or lacks immediacy then the rest of the advertisement will remain unread. A headline can be eye-catching through the use of rhetorical devises such
as assonance, alliteration, parallelism, rhyme, similes, ellipsis and repetition. A headline will be even more interesting, and more eye-catching if it deviates from the traditional rules of grammar and spelling. Such manipulation of language is used as a means of persuasion.

Headlines can be classified by the type of information they carry and by the manner of presentation into three major categories: direct, indirect and combination headlines (Dunn & Barban 1986: 459-61, Wells et al 2002: 336).

3.10.1.1.1. **Direct headlines** are straightforward and informative headlines that provide direct and clear information about the product or service (Moriarty et al 2006: 336, Drewniany & Jewler 2008: 159). This kind of headline is used when advertising a product which is by itself is powerful enough to capture the interest of the prospective customers. Therefore, the prospective customer acquires all the information he requires from the headline without having to read the body copy. Direct headlines include assertion, news announcement and commands (Drewniany & Jewler 2008: 160, Moriarty et al 2002: 336).

An assertion headline (c.f. Ra-09-05-011-10, Ah-13-07-011-15, Ah-13-07-011-17, Ra-16-08-011-21 in Appendix 1) usually states a claim or a promise that will motivate the prospective customer into buying the product or service, for example,

[ ḥaraqnā alas'r]..., [qārinhā]

**Literal translation:** ‘We burnt the prices, compare it’

**Idiomatic translation:** ‘Hot prices... Compare’
[al'așîr raqam waḥad fī al'am]

Literal and idiomatic translation: ‘Number one juice in the world’.

In contrast, the news announcement headline (c.f. Ra-08-05-011-8, Ra-22-09-011-28, Ra-03-10-011-36 in Appendix 1) is used in advertisements that introduce a new product or a new formulation of an existing product, for example,

جدد وجبات تكا العائلية

[jadiyd wajbat tika al'aiylay]

Literal translation: ‘New, Tikka family meals’

Another example is

عرض اليوم

['ard al yaum]

Literal translation: ‘Today’s offer’.

Command headlines ask the prospective customer to do something. For example,

استبدل أي سخان غاز قديم بسخان فريش جديد

['istabdal ay sakhan ghaz qadîm bi sakhan frish jadîd]

Literal translation: ‘Exchange any old gas heater for a new fresh heater’.

Idiomatic translation: ‘Replace any old heater with a new one’

Other examples of command headlines can be found in the following advertisements (Ra-02-10-011-32, Ah-04-10-011-37, Ah-04-10-011-38, Ah-04-10-011-39, Ra-04-10-
3.10.1.1.2 Indirect headlines may not provide information like direct ones, but they are better in attracting the prospective customers to read the body copy. Since this kind of headline provides little or no information about the advertised product, the copywriter usually uses suggestive words to provide some story appeal or enhances the message with clarifying visuals. The danger with this kind of headline is that the reader might not read on, he might be too tired mentally and physically trying to figure out the message of the advertisement. In the advertisement Ra-12-12-012-175, for example, which is for ready-made meals, the advertiser chose the headline to read as ‘Nabil’s Challenge’ تحدي نبيل [taḥadī nabīl]. For a person who is not familiar with the producer or even the products, and by looking at the illustration provided, s/he would think it is a boxing tournament for women who are dressed ridiculously. This kind of headlines is not common in the two broadsheets. I have found only one advertisement with such headlines.

3.10.1.1.3 Combination headlines are those that raise the reader’s curiosity by asking a question and encouraging him/her to look for the answer in the body copy (Dunn & Barban 1986: 460). This kind of headline usually carries some kind of hint about the product being advertised, but does not provide full information. That is, the message is not complete, and this in turn would entice the reader to read on through the body to acquire information about the product (cf. advertisement Ra-07-04-013-218 in Appendix 1). Again, this kind of headline should be enhanced by illustration if the advertisement wants to have a complete effect.
Arens and Schaefer (2007:247) make a similar categorization of headlines but with different titles. They categorized them into news/information, provocative, question and command headlines.

3.10.1.1.4. News/Information headline, known by Dunn & Barban (1986) as direct headlines, announce news or promise information. Of course the information they provide must be believable. For this reason, the use of adjectives is prominent in such headlines, for example, one would find adjectives such as: ‘new’, ‘improved’, ‘unique’, ‘best of’, or a superlative form of an adjective such as: ‘the biggest’, ‘the largest’, ‘best of’ etc. For example, in advertisement Ah-25-10-011-53, the superlative form is used

‘الموبايل الذكي الأكثر إبتكاراً في العالم’

[al-mubayl al-akthar ibtikaran fi al‘am]

Literal translation: ‘The smart mobile, the most innovative in the world’

3.10.1.1.5. Provocative headlines- or Indirect headlines- are those that arouse or provoke the reader’s curiosity to stimulate questions and thoughts. This kind of headline encourages the reader to read the body copy to learn more about the advertisement. In this kind of headline, the use of conditional clause followed by an imperative statement is used to arouse and hold the reader’s interest (c.f.Ra-29-07-012-110, Ra-12-08-012-118, Ra-02-09-012-122, Ra-04-11-012-152, Ah-16-11-012-158 in Appendix 1).

For example, in advertisement Ra-30-06-013-235, the conditional sentence is used in colloquial Arabic followed by an imperative statement.
 Literal translation ‘Are you happy? If you want to really be happy, be happy with...’

Idiomatic translation: ‘Are you happy? If you want to enjoy your time, then enjoy...’

3.10.1.1.6. Question Headlines/ The Combination Headlines: this kind of headline asks a question and encourages the reader to search for the answer in the body copy. A good question headline piques the readers’ curiosity and imagination, (c.f. Ra-12-10-011-44, Ra-18-10-011-46, Ra-28-10-011-56 in Appendix 1).

For example, in advertisement Ra 28-10-011-56, the headline asks the reader about the daily requirements for the human body of Tropicana Juice, a brand of juice, which is full of nutrients and vitamins vital for the human body, then, the answer is given by providing facts about the nutrients found in the contents.

3.9.1.1.7. Command headlines. This kind of headline orders the reader to do something. These headlines are grouped under the “direct headlines” in the Dunn & Barban categorization.

Drewniany & Jewler (2008: 159-165) add other types of headline, which in my opinion can go as sub-categories of the three major ones. They also include rhetorical writing strategies as separate categories of advertisements. Their categorization includes: direct benefit headline where the headline offers the readers a reason to use the product; reverse benefit headline on the other hand implies that the prospective consumer will be worse off without the advertised product; factual headline is where a piece of trivia is stated in it to encourage the reader to carry on reading; selective headline includes specific audience addressed in them; curiosity
headline tempts the readers with just enough information to make them want to read more; news headline tells people about new products and services. Command headline orders readers to do something, whereas question headline arouses curiosity and entice the reader to read further in the advertisement. Repetition headline is used to enforce the message by repeating a certain phrase, while Word play headline is used by copy writers to encourage the reader to pause and think about the intended meaning of the words. Copy writers also use rhetorical devices in the headlines to attract the attention of the reader such as metaphors, similes and analogies, parallel construction and rhyming words and phrases.

In my corpora, I have found that headlines in the two Arab broadsheets in this thesis fall within the above mentioned categories of being direct, indirect or a combination headlines (c.f. figure 3-8).

No matter what kind of headline the copywriter chooses to use, there are no universal format for writing it. However, for the copywriter to produce a catchy and interesting headline, he should consider the following guidelines proposed by renowned copywriters.

Russell and Lane (2002:425) proposed that a headline should:

- include short, simple words usually no more than ten words
- include an invitation to the prospective reader, primary product benefits, name of the brand and an interest provoking idea to gain readership of the rest of the ad
- include words that are selective, appealing only to prime prospective reader
- contain action verbs
- give enough information so that the consumer who reads only the headline learns something about the product and its benefit.

Again the copywriter is not obliged to abide by these guidelines. Many good and famous advertisements do not abide them. In terms of length for example, the famous David Ogilvy headline for the car make Rolls-Royce in 1958, printed in The Motor contained eighteen words: “At 60 miles an hour, the loudest noise in the new Rolls Royce comes from the electric clock.” (Drewniany & Jewler 2008:169). On other occasions, the reader might find an advertisement that fully conveys the message without any headline or a body copy, but consists merely of a visual and a logo or signature of the company. Logos or signatures are special designs that give individuality and swift recognition for the producer or service provider or the product. These appear in all the manufacturers’ adverts and on their products. Examples of companies that do not use headlines or body copy in their advertisements are the Nike and Pepsi, whose logos and signatures are recognised even without reading the advertisement.

Figure (3-7) General types of headlines in the Arab World

(Author)
3.10.2 Subheads

Subheads are additional smaller headlines that transmit key sales points fast (Arens & Schaefer 2007:248). They appear either above or below the headline and carry less important information than the headline. Their importance lies in the fact that people may be content by just reading the headline and the subhead.

3.10.3 Slogans

Slogans are short phrases used to sum up the theme for the product’s benefits to deliver an easily remembered message in few words (. They are used repeated from advertisement to another as part of the campaign or a long term brand identity effort (Moriarty et al 2006:363). Slogans have two primary purposes: to provide continuity to a series of advertisement in a campaign and to sum up the advertising message in a brief repeatable and memorable statement. Copywriters usually use a number of literary techniques to enhance the memorability of the slogan including rhyme, rhythm, alliteration and parallel structure.

Not all advertisements need slogans, a one shot announcement does not need a slogan such as an announcement for sale where price is the overriding consideration. Having said that, slogans can be classified as either institutional or hard-sell. Institutional slogans are company oriented. They are created to establish a prestigious image for the company and is used in all the advertisement of the company as well as on their letterheads. The hard-sell slogans on the other hand are product or service oriented and they change with the campaigns (Russell & Lane 2002:435)
3.10.4 Seals, Logos, and Signature

A seal is awarded when a product meets standards established by a particular organization such as the ISO (International Organization for Standardization). The importance of having a seal for the product in the ad endorses the product or service being advertised.

3.10.5 Body Copy

The body copy is the actual text of the advertisement and the logical continuation of the headline and subhead. It covers the features, benefits and utility of the product or service and develops the sales message that is why it should speak to the reader’s self-interest, explain how the product or service satisfies the prospective customer’s needs. Consequently the ad should focus on one big idea or one big benefit (Arens & Schaefer 2007:248, Wells et al 2003:338).

There are various techniques and writing styles for the body copy as there are many copywriters and product personalities. Each of these techniques is thought to be more efficient in a particular medium and context. Narrative, dialogue/monologue, explanation, and testimonial copy, for example, are more suitable in broadcast media such as television and radio, whereas the straight shell or straight forward, is best in print advertisement. However, the soundest kind of copies that is suitable for any kind is the device copy (figure 3-8).

3.10.5.1. The Straight Forward or Straight Shell Copy

The straight forward approach is the most used in writing a body copy. It explains and develops the headline and subhead by stating facts usually written in the words of an anonymous or unacknowledged source (Arens & Schaefer 2007:248). This kind of copy is suitable for high-tech products or ones that are difficult to
use. In the two Arabic broadsheets the body copy is either written in MSA (c.f. chapter five) or written in English, for the paucity of Arabic of certain technological terminologies, or these terms are transliterated into Arabic.

In advertisement Ah-04-10-011-37 for a Samsung laptop, the technical features are written in English such as the processor, the cam, the capacity etc....

In advertisement Ra-17-3-013-215, technical features such as ‘dongle’ and the ‘net’ have been transliterated into Arabic into ‘دونجل’ [dūngil] and ‘نت’ [nit].

3.10.5.2 Device Copy

Device copy is actually used with any of the copy styles mentioned above. It usually employs the use of figurative language such as puns, alliteration, rhymes, metaphors and similes in addition to humour and exaggeration (Arens & Schaefer 2007: 250).

The use of these devices is to attract attention, interest and enhance memorability.

![Diagram of body copy types](Image)

Figure(3-8) The general types of body copy in advertisements

The body copy has a special writing format just like any other kind of prose. It should have a beginning or a lead in paragraph, middle or an interior paragraph and an ending or a closing statement (Arens & Schaefer 2007: 250-252).

The beginning or lead-in paragraph functions as the bridge between the headline and the sales ideas in the text. It should pique the interest of the reader so as to
attract him to the product. The interior or middle paragraph, on the other hand, develops credibility by providing proofs for claims and promises. Advertisers support their product promises with research data, testimonials and warranties in order to convince customers of the validity of the product, improve good will toward the advertiser and stimulate sales (Arens & Schaefer 2007: 250). The closing paragraph of most advertisement includes asking the prospective customers to take action either directly or indirectly through a subtle suggestion or a direct command. A direct close seeks an immediate response in the form of purchase, a store or website visit or request for further information (Arens & Schaefer ibid).

3.11. The Non-Verbal or Para-Linguistic Elements of Advertisement

Previously, advertisers relied heavily on words to persuade consumers of their products, but with the turn of the 20th century and especially after World War I, advertisers started to use visuals. O’ Guinn et al (2003:436) explain the reasons for using the visuals, first the improved technology which facilitates better and more affordable illustrations. Second, the inherent advantage of pictures is to quickly demonstrate goods and services. Third, the ability to build a brand image through visuals, Fourth, the legalistic advantage of pictures over words in that the truth or falsity of a picture is virtually impossible to determine. Fifth, the widely held belief that pictures, although just as cultural as words, permit a certain type of portability that words do not; and sixth the fact that pictures allow advertisers to place brands in desired social contexts, thus transferring important social meaning to them.

When people approach advertisements, the first thing that attracts their attention is the non-verbal or para-linguistic elements, then they move to the headline, if it appeals to them, they will pursue the body copy. The non-verbal elements include
illustration that is pictures, typography, colour, and sometime persona which are used to facilitate the process of communication by enhancing the message. Para-linguistic elements are culturally bound and therefore they vary from one culture to another. Though they are not of interest of this study, but since they are part of an advertisement, I will mention them briefly.

3.11.1 Typography

Typography is the art of selecting and setting type (Drewniany & Jewler 2008: 194-198, Moriarty et al 2006: 330-338). It has a tremendous importance in advertising. Typeface affects the advertisement’s appearance, design and readability. Graphic designers often use typography to set a theme and mood in advertisements. Type, together with the efficient use of colour, shape and images are used to attract the attention of prospective readers. Different fonts convey different messages. Some are considered legible, boring, simple, formal and elegant (Drewniany & Jewler 2008: 194). For example, classical fonts represent strong personality, while more modern fonts represent simplicity. Bold fonts on the other hand are used for making statements and attracting attention. Typography can also express certain meaning, for example, fonts used to look like handwriting, especially cursive handwriting add a sense of elegance and formality in English but it has an informal significance in Arabic and it is usually used with the colloquial language used in writing (c.f advertisement Ra-30-09-012-130, Ra-17-03-013-214, Ra-30-06-013-235, Ra-14-7-013-238 and Ah-10-01-012-75 in Appendix 1).

3.11.2 Colour

Just like the typeface, colour plays a vital role in drawing the attention of the reader. Therefore, advertisers use colour wisely and sensitively. Colours have different connotations in different contexts that vary from one culture to another. The
use of colour is essential in advertisement to project the image of the product. For example, Orange the telecommunication company in Jordan, uses an orange coloured text with a black background to project the image of the company as the brand suggests to connote exclusivity of the company (c.f. advertisement Ra-14-02-011-2, Ra-8-05-011-5, Ra-9-05-011-9, Ra-4-07-011-13, Ra-16-08-011-21, Ra-11-09-011-27, Ra-28-10-011-56, Ra-21-11-011-61, Ra-01-12-011-62, Ra-06-02-012-86, Ra-28-02-012-96 in Appendix 1).

3.11.3 Illustration

Illustration plays a vital role in the effectiveness of the advertisement. It includes drawing, painting, photography or any graphic designs that forms the picture in an advertisement. It is the first thing that attracts the attention of the reader and is used as a means to an end. It entices the reader to pursue the headline and the body. The appealing thing about illustration is that it enhances the message with the minimal intellectual effort from the reader. Readers prefer to look at the illustration and get the message instantly. However, an effective illustration is one that provides information relevant to the product. For that reason, it says something about the product, but not everything.

O’Guinn et al (2003: 436) summarize the purposes of having an illustration in an advertisement. They mention that the basic purposes of illustrations are:

- To attract the attention of the target audience. This is perhaps one of the primary goals of illustration, however, attracting attention is not sufficient, they need to communicate with the target audience and support other components of the ad in order to achieve the intended communication impact. This means that as the advertisement addresses a certain group
of people, its content including the illustration should also be designed in a way that would appeal to that particular group.

- To make the brand heroic. This is done through visual techniques such as using dramatic colour. Some brands incorporate tragic events in their ads to make their product or their brand heroic.

- To communicate product features or benefits. This can be done by showing the product in action. The benefits of the product can be illustrated with before and after shots or by demonstrating the results of having used the product.

- To create a mood, feeling, or image

- To stimulate reading of the body copy. Just like the headline can entice the reader into reading the body copy so does the illustration. Illustrations can create curiosity and interest in the reader and in order to satisfy this curiosity, the reader will proceed to read the body copy for more information and clarification.

- To create the desired social context for the brand, advertisers need to associate their brand with a certain social setting. That is linking it with certain type of people or certain life style. This is done through illustrations.

Para-linguistic elements in advertisements are as important in conveying the message as the linguistic elements. Both the linguistic and para-linguistic elements are so interrelated that advertisements cannot be studied by examining one element excluded from the other.
3.12. Language Used in Composing Advertisement Copy

3.12.1 Advertisement As a New Discourse Genre

Since advertisements are a form of communication, with certain functions and share some of the communicative purposes, then according to discourse analysis, they should be considered as a kind of discourse or a genre. But the question is: can they be considered a separate genre, or are they a sub-category of the three major discourse categories identified by linguists such as Holbrook? Holbrook (1987) cited in Cook (2007) identified three kinds of discourse: the scientific, poetic and religious, based on their use and function. Holbrook’s categorization is based on Plato’s ancient trichotomy of rhetoric: the cognitive, affective and conative. (figure 3-9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Plato’s Tricholomy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>Descriptive</td>
<td>Informative</td>
<td>Cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetic</td>
<td>Appraisive</td>
<td>Valuative</td>
<td>Affective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Prescriptive</td>
<td>Incitive</td>
<td>Conative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(figure 3-9) Plato’s ancient trichotomy of rhetoric: the cognitive, affective and conative. (Cook 2007:102)

Advertisements cannot be assigned to a particular discourse, and therefore should be considered as a genre on their own, since they reflect the point of view of the manufacturer and the consumer, whose major function is conative which aims at convincing people to buy or do something just like the religious texts. At the same time an advertisement usually describes the goods and services it is offering just like the scientific text, thought it may distract them from the facts or misrepresent the
truth. Yet its use of language and other modes is closer to poetic, tending towards the personal, the specific, the ambiguous and the indeterminate (Cook 2007:102)

In other words, advertisements can be considered a separate kind of discourse, as I shall point out in my conclusion, whose function and use do not separate, but draw on all three as required, in other words, human communication. Advertisements describe the product or service by giving the reader ample information about them, just like the scientific discourse, at the same time, when the advertisement mentions the benefits gained from using the product or service, it is appraisive, just like the poetic discourse in addition to employing persona construction especially in narrative style advertisements, which is very similar to poetic discourse. Advertisements also have some of the characteristics of the religious discourse, in a way that they incite prospective customers into using the product or service.

3.12.2 Language Used in Advertisements

In modern busy life, there is no time to spare to read a lengthy advertisement. People want an advertisement with few words that summarizes the function of the goods or service being advertised. Therefore, a few meaningful words will attract the attention of readers, rather than a lengthy advertisement. However, regardless of the length of words used in an advertisement, whether few words or flowery long sentences, the language of advertisement, like political speeches and religious sermons, is considered –according to Leech (1966)- to be ‘loaded’. What is meant by loaded in terms of rhetoric is that, it reaches particular audience using words and phrases that have strong emotional implications. It is of the persuasive nature of advertisements, that the language used in advertisements is ‘loaded’ (Leech 1966: 37), it manipulates the emotions of readers, trying to convince them that the
advertised product or service is the best thing that could ever happen to them. It makes us believe that the text is saying something which could not be said explicitly.

Since the primary function of an advertisement is to convince the prospective customer, then the use of adjectives and adverbs is important. They are extensively used in the headlines and sub-heads. Adjectives are used to convey mood and emotions as well as adding value to the item being advertised. Perhaps the most commonly used adjective in most ads is ‘new’, or the Arabic equivalent [جدد jājid], it is used in almost all kind of commercial ads, (c.f. advertisement Ah-04-10-011-37, and Ah-17-02-012-92 in Appendix 1).

The use of imperative mode, though is considered to be impolite in spoken language, it is very common in advertisement especially in command headlines such as ‘buy this’ or ‘try this’, the English equivalent to the Arabic imperative ‘اشتري’ (c.f. advertisement Ah-19-01-012-78 in Appendix 1).

Advertisements are rich with rhetoric devices that are used to maximize the impact of the message and facilitate memorability. The most commonly used rhetoric device in advertisement is repetition; which may include repetition of sound through alliteration and assonance or jingle. Alliteration involves repeating the first or last letter or syllables in words, whereas, assonance is used where words have similar sounds and are easily remembered. For example, advertisements Ra-04-10-011-38, إختار وما تحتار [ىكhtar ū ma tiṭṭār] which can be literally translated as ‘choose and don’t be confused’ here the advertiser chose the alliteration of [ār] to make it sound more pleasant and easy to remember. In another example, advertisement Ra-01-12-011-62, the telecommunication company Orange used the alliteration of [-itnā] in the
headline by using Jordanian colloquial language, again, to achieve easy memorability.

عزونتنا قوتنا... والمحافظات جماعتنا

[‘zwitnā gūwitnā... ū al mūḥāfaẓāt jamā‘ītnā]

Literal translation: ‘our family is our strength... and the governorates are our family’

Idiomatic translation: ‘the governorates are our family...they are our strength’

Juxtaposition is also used where two opposites or competing subjects are placed side by side. This technique is used to highlight differences. Parallelism is considered as a type of juxtaposition along with paradox when a statement or evidence is used to conflict with preconceived ideas of reality. It is usually used to challenge the existing beliefs about products and brands, for example, in advertisement Ra-07-02-012-87 parallelism is used here

البطارٌة بتخلص والحكً ما بٌخلص

الإجازة بتخلص والحكً ما بٌخلص

القصص بتخلص والحكً ما بٌخلص

Literal translation: ‘The battery stops but the talk never ends, The holiday ends but the talk never ends, The stories end but the talk never ends’

One rhetoric device that is used in advertisements and adds an entertaining flavour is double meaning and punning. Such a technique is omnipresent in English advertisement, but is not as much used in Arabic contemporary advertisement. Nevertheless, in advertisement Ra-18-10-011-43, the advertiser uses punning by using the word ‘bayh’ which is used in two different meaning.

نعمه بٌه-شارك بٌه – باشا بٌه,... كلها تحت أمرك يا بٌه
Literal translation: ‘Nemah Bay- Shark Bay- Pasha Bay-... they are all at your disposal Mr’.

The word بٌه [bayh] is used here with two meanings. The first one is borrowed from the English word ‘bay’, and the second a title of respect suffixed to a man’s name in Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

The importance of using rhetorical devices in advertisements, as I have mentioned earlier, is to aid memorability, draw attention, entice the prospective customer into the product and provide entertainment to the reader.

3.13 Summary

Advertisements have different definitions depending on the perspective they are viewed from. However, the one thing that all definitions agree upon is that advertisements are a tool for communication and marketing structured in a way to fulfil various functions better known as the informative, the persuasive and the selling. Therefore, I define advertisements as a certain kind of discourse structured with linguistic and para-linguistic elements to create awareness, inform, persuade and entice prospect customers into purchasing or using the goods and services or ideas being advertised. Advertisements can be categorized into two major categories that are different in their objective and form: commercial and non-commercials or consumer and public announcements. Consumer advertisements have the biggest stake in the advertisement industry and the competition to produce an entertaining advertisement is quite huge. Theories have been developed to suggest models to create the most effective advertisement based on the impact the advertisement can
create on the prospective audience by attracting their attention. Amongst the most prominent are the Starch Model in the 1920s, the AIDA, and the DAGMAR models. These models have been modified by other economists in a way that suits the western economy and lifestyle. Even though these theories form the base for composing advertisements, yet they may not be tenable in the Arab world where the tribal makeup, and familial relationships force societies, and family members make recommendation and reinforce the advertisement rather than the advertisement itself. In fact tribal recommendation overpowers the influence of advertisements.

The most challenging task for copywriters is to entice the reader to read the advertisement. Therefore, they put a lot of effort to make the headline and subhead attractive to prospective readers. Having succeeded in attracting their attention, they move to another challenge of composing the body copy which consists of points that can convince the readers about the product or service, since most people regard advertisements as deceitful tools created to make the consumer spend more.

Generally speaking, consumer advertisements include linguistic and paralinguistic elements. The linguistic elements include the discourse used in the headline, the sub-headline the body and the signature or the logo. The para-linguistic elements include the illustration which consists of photography, typography, colour illustration and sometime persona if used. Both the linguistic and para-linguistic elements are important in an advertisement and none of them is granted superiority over the other. They have a reciprocal and complementary relationship between them. Therefore, what cannot be understood by words would be clarified by the illustration. Sometimes the advertisement may be composed of only illustration with a signature or logo believing in the saying that a picture speaks a thousand words.
Advertisements as a form of writing can be considered a separate genre that shares some of the characteristics and functions of other genres such as the poetic, the religious and the scientific. By providing sufficient information about the product or service advertised, the advertisement shows some similarity to the scientific discourse, it also shows some appraisive mode just like the poetic discourse by listing the benefits gained from the product or service being advertised, it also shows some characteristics of the religious discourse by enticing prospective customers into buying the product or service being advertised.

The language of advertisement has been evolving rapidly it has always been characterized as ‘loaded’ since it manipulates the emotions of the reader and tries to convince him/ her that this product is the best thing would ever happen to him. Therefore, adjectives are used intensively, especially in headlines to convey mood and emotions. Rhetorical devices such as alliteration, punning, jingle, assonance and parallelism are used to add an entertaining flavour to the ad as well as to make it more memorable. The next chapter looks into how colloquial Arabic has found its way into print advertisement in broadsheets by looking into the main characteristics of colloquial Arabic and how colloquial Arabic varies from MSA.
Chapter four

Methodology and dataset

4.1 introduction

After giving a theoretical background about Arabic as a diglossic language and how language in particular, the language of advertising has been evolving as a result of globalization and modernization, and after I have looked briefly at how advertisements are defined and the different theories used to compose advertisements, I would like to move to explaining the methodology that I will be using throughout this thesis in order to try to answer the main question of this thesis set in the introduction which is ‘Is advertising in Arabic in the most circulated Jordanian and Egyptian broadsheets adopting new methods of writing that are different from the conventional usage? Can using these techniques in composing advertisements manifest a new register? What are the morpho-syntactic features of this new register of Arabic, for example in terms of phonology, negation, tense, interrogation and orthographics. Why and in what way is this new register deployed in advertisements, and how is this new register, which I would like to coin as ‘Advertising Arabic’ different from what is known as ‘Media Arabic’? Can this new register be added to the list of varieties suggested by scholars? But first I will mention my sources of data and how and why I made these choices in selecting my corpora.
4.2 Sources of the Data

The advertisements collected are taken from two broadsheets from two countries that are different politically, geographically and demographically. The broadsheets are the Egyptian Al-Ahram and the Jordanian Al-Rai. The choice of these papers is based on the high circulation in their homeland and accessibility to these broadsheets. Both Al-Ahram and Al-Rai can be obtained from newsagents in Jordan and pdf of the daily published issues online.

I relied on the issues that I used to obtain from the newsagents to collect my data, but some issues of Al-Ahram newspaper were difficult to obtain therefore I obtained the advertisements from the online pdf version of the paper.

4.2.1 The Egyptian Al-Ahram

Al-Ahram is one of the three state-owned broadsheets in Egypt and perhaps the most established newspaper in the Arab world. It is the oldest published newspaper that continues to publish till the present time. The first issue came out on the 5th of August 1876 as a weekly newspaper.

It is considered an influential source of writing throughout the Arab world because great writers write in it or have been editors in it. It is the most circulated Arabic daily both in Egypt and the world, and the second oldest daily after the ‘Egyptian Gazette.’ (Hartmann 1899: 11).

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2Egypt is considered the birth place of Arabic journalism. The first Arabic newspaper was published in Egypt in the reign Mohammed Ali, the Turkish Khedive of Egypt, as part of his reform policy in the country. He ordered the publishing of the first official newspaper ‘Egyptian Gazette’ which appeared on December, 22nd 1828. It was written in Turkish and Arabic on opposite pages and later was published only in Arabic. In 1847 France followed suit and published the first official bilingual newspaper in Algeria called ‘Almubashir’ which remained as the only Arabic language newspaper in Algeria till the end of the 19th century. Many subsequent privately-owned newspapers were published in Egypt such as, the ‘Nile Valley’ Wadi al-nil which was published twice weekly in 1866, al-ahram 1875, and ‘al watan’ 1876. They mainly discussed social issues and criticised the British policy in Egypt (Sharaf 2004:37)and (khodour 2008:12)
Al-Ahram gained a special status during the Nasserist regime when president Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the press and appointed his friend Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, an eloquent editorialist and a solid journalist, who gave the paper a prestige as the editor of the daily (Rough 2004: 129). It became the dominant daily in the Arab world and to Arab intellectuals, Al-Ahram was ‘the paper’ because it had contributions from famous profound political and literary elites of that time such as the nationalist leaders Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Sa’d Zaghlūl in addition to authors such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Naguib Mahfouz amongst others. (http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/10277/Al-Ahram).

However, with the emergence of national newspapers in the Arab world, Al-Ahram’s status has become less. People became interested in their domestic news in addition to the fact that good journalists were writing in these papers as well.

Al-Ahram was founded by two Lebanese brothers Bshara and Saleem Taqla as a weekly newspaper in Alexandria in 1875, but later moved its headquarters to Cairo (Hartmann 1899: 10).

Eleven years later, it started to be issued as a daily broadsheet. In the 1960, and as part of the nationalizing policy adopted by the Egyptian president at that time, President Gamal Abed Al-Naser, who eliminated the private ownership of newspapers, the ownership of the newspaper was handed to the government (Rough 2004: 125).

The daily circulation of Al-Ahram is estimated to be 1,000,000 copies every day and 1,200,000 on Fridays (Dorst 1991:139-140 ). The newspaper publishes three Arabic editions as well as a weekly edition in English (Al-Ahram Weekly) and another in French (Al-ahram Hebdo) which were founded in 1991. The three Arabic editions
include the main one – the Al-Ahram daily which is published in Cairo, *Al-Ahram Al-Arabiya* that is geared to readers in the Arab world and is published daily in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE and Kuwait and distributed in both the Gulf region and Egypt. *Al-Ahram Al-Duwali* is published daily in London and Paris and distributed throughout Europe, USA and Canada. Al-Ahram also produces an on-line edition where it is continually updated with the latest news and readers can actually access all the news texts similar to the hardcopy version in HTML (this has helped me in gaining access to the advertisements in the newspaper). The access to the online version of the newspaper can be through the website www.ahram.org.eg

The number of pages of the daily paper ranges between 20-24 but can reach 68 on Fridays when most advertisers place their advertisements.

4.2.2 *Al-Rai*

*Al-Rai* is one of seven broadsheet dailies published in Jordan. It is a part-government-owned newspaper with a government share of 55%. It was founded in 1971 and its first issue was published on the 2nd of June 1971. The current daily circulation is the highest of the broadsheets, estimated at 70,000 copies. The estimated Jordanian market share of advertising ranges between 50%-70% according to statistics done by Al- rai Corporation.

*Al- Rai* also publishes a daily English edition called the *Jordan Times* that was founded in 1975 and provides an on-line edition.

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3 Al-Rai is not the first newspaper to be published in Jordan. The first official published newspaper was ‘al sharq al ‘arabi’ which was published in Amman in 1923. In 1927 ‘Jazeert al ‘arab’ came into publication. Following that year, other newspapers came into existence but the most circulated broadsheets are Al-Rai and ‘al-dustour’ (Sharaf 2004: 151-154)
The length of Al-Rai ranges from forty-five to eighty pages. The paper comprises four parts, mostly in black and white. The first consists of local news, regional and international news and editorials. The second covers national and international economic news including the Jordanian stock market. The third covers sport, but can also include obituaries, and finally the fourth part is Abwab, which is the entertainment section, covering news about celebrities in addition to health and technology news. Fridays include a fifth section which is the culture section.

Advertising in the two newspapers consists of classified advertisements, unclassified advertisements, public tenders, legal, social and public announcements, and obituaries. The classified advertisements, public tenders, social and legal announcement along with the obituaries are found in the second part of Al-Rai. The unclassified advertisements which consist of consumer product advertisements are found in the first and second part, depending on which page the producer wishes to place his/ her advertisement. As for Al-Ahram advertisements are found in all the pages.

Classified advertisements, public tenders and legal announcements have the same format in both papers. On the other hand, consumer product advertisements public announcements and obituaries vary in the two newspapers. There is an obvious difference in the way advertisements are composed in the two papers. For example, in Al-Ahram, the use of ‘mni:yya prevails while in Al-Rai the diglossic switching is more obvious.
4.3 Data Collection

The data in this thesis comprises 275 adverts that I have collected from the two broadsheets mentioned above over the period of three years from 2011-2013. 201 advertisements have been collected from Al-Rai and 74 from Al-Ahram. The reason for not collecting an equal amount of advertisements from the two papers can be attributed to the amount of advertisements in the two papers. Al-Rai has more advertisement than Al-Ahram. This is because of government share of ownership of Al-Ahram, which means that he perpetuation of the broadsheet does not depend on the income of the advertisements, rather it is subsidised by the government. Therefore the amount of advertisement is less than that found in the Jordanian daily which depends on advertisements heavily to maintain its perpetuation. The advertisements I collected date from January 2011- December 2013. There is no specific reason for selecting this period, basically it is during that period when I decided to embark on my PhD and started noticing the way in which some of the advertisements are written and how the language of these advertisements – especially in Al-Rai- has been influenced by the language of the average person on the street. The advertisements incorporated in the data collected are confined to certain categories of products and services, mainly consumer products advertisements and some public announcements. In these two kinds of advertisements is where I have found this new style of writing or register. Other kinds of advertisements are usually written in MSA. However, that does not mean that all consumer product and public announcement advertisements are written in this style or register, rather a new style has surfaced in these advertisements and not in the other kinds.
4.3.1 Why Choose Print Advertisements in Broadsheets and not in Any Other Print Publication

I chose to examine the printed advertisements in broadsheets and not magazines or any other advertising media for several reasons:

a- Broadsheets are highly circulated and are available to everyone since they are reasonably priced. For example, the price of the Al-Rai daily is 25 Jordanian piasters and Al-Ahram is 15 Egyptian piasters, which are both equivalent to less than 10 British pence. In contrast, the cheapest magazine would cost around one British pound in both countries. Marketers therefore, prefer to place their advertisements in broadsheets rather than tabloids because high circulation means that advertisements reach large numbers of consumers (Bignell 2002 :81)

b- The nature of language used in broadsheets differs from that used in tabloids or magazines. Broadsheets use the official language of the country, the MSA and are considered as a means for inspirational writing. In other words, any writing style which appears in a broadsheet will soon be followed by writers. In the case of advertisements, it is obvious that the new register that is used in them and was pioneered by the telecommunication companies was soon followed by other companies offering other products.

c- The kind of readership. Unlike magazines and tabloid newspapers, broadsheets have a large readership from different social, educational backgrounds and different age groups. Magazines and tabloids target certain readership which can vary according to the subject matter of the magazines, and hence the language used in these magazines will vary accordingly. If a magazine targets a certain profession, then the language used will be very
technical and will include jargon that is comprehensible only to that particular profession. Tabloids tend to use simpler language which can be understood by all people. This can be attributed to the nature of topics printed in them and the kind of readership who pursue these kinds of papers.

d- Broadcast advertisements in Egypt and other Arab countries have already been investigated. Gully (1997) and El-daly (2011) have both investigated consumer advertising in written and visual media in Egypt. Al-shehari (2001) investigated the print advertisements in magazines but so far I have not come across any study done on the language of advertisements per se in broadsheets.

4.4. Methodology

My data collection went through several stages. First I chose the newspapers from the two countries that I wish to select the advertisements, then I studied the advertisements from page one to page 48 from parts one and two (c.f. the section about Al-Rai for more details) of Al-Rai and from page one to page 20 or 26 of Al-Ahram in order to determine what kind of advertisements do not use the conventional style of writing.

I found that consumer goods and some public announcements are the ones that have attracted my attention by employing an unconventional style of writing. Other kinds of advertisements such as recruiting advertisements or announcements for public tenders or even obituaries confine themselves to the written rules of Arabic by adhering to the use of MSA.

Public announcements included in this study are only those that are written in an unconventional way. Usually public announcements are written in MSA. Public
announcements advertisements or public service advertisements have been defined by Garbett (1981:12) as “...either government or association sponsored, which promotes causes and activities generally accepted as desirable”. This study does not cover other kinds of advertisements found in the broadsheets such as the classified adverts and the consumer adverts written in MSA.

Consumer products on the other hand- which aim to entice the prospective customers into buying them- require that such advertisements be composed in such a way in order to target individuals and try to influence them to buy a product for their personal and household use.. According to Ehrenberg (1997) and Earl (2003), advertisements are the most important elements in the marketing process. Awareness of the product or the brand is only achieved through an attractive advertisement that will entice the prospective customer to move to the next stage of Ehrenberg’s model which is trial purchase. If the product or brand succeeds to satisfy the customer, s/he will recommend it to other members of his family or kin according to Earl (2003). Again, a trial purchase is made by new customers of the same kin, and the product will gain credibility among the new members. The role of advertisements proceeds to reinforce the product or the brand to reassure customers of its credibility and gain trust. For that reason, advertisers utilize various methods either linguistically or non-linguistically to make these advertisements appealing to consumers.

Through my observation of consumer product advertising, I would categorise my data into two major categories: luxury goods and necessities. These two categories can be subdivided into the following sub categories. The necessities include telecommunication ( which includes mobile phones offers, internet offers, telecommunication companies and network offers), technology (which includes
television sets and computers), tourism, cars, food and beverages (which includes supermarket offers, food items and juice advertisements and fast food restaurants offers), property, miscellaneous (which includes home appliances, clothing, banks, furniture and tiles) and the luxury goods includes jewellery/ watches and perfumes.

After I divided my data into categories, I applied quantitative analysis to determine which sector dominates the use of this new register in the advertising market. I did that by counting the number of advertisements in each category that employ this new register.

The third stage of my data collection involved accomplishing a quantitative analysis across my corpora. I have accomplished a quantitative analysis to monitor the frequency of prevalence of the conventional and unconventional forms of writing used in print advertising in broadsheets that include advertisements written in MSA, oral colloquial Arabic, code switching between Arabic and English, diglossic switching between the spoken Arabic and MSA.

I further categorised my corpora into eight categories: those written in MSA; in purely colloquial ‘āmmyya, those that are written in both ‘āmmyya and Fushā (diglossic switching); those that include transliterated words from English; advertisements that include both English and Arabic (code switching); loan words; those that include both diglossic and code switching within the same advertisement and finally advertisements that are written in Arabic and then translated into English.

The next step in the data collection and methodology was to look into the linguistic elements of the advertisement to determine the features of this new register and how it varies from the conventional style. This involved establishing a qualitative analysis of particular markers in both the فصحى (Fushā) and عامية (‘āmmyya) such as the use of
syntax, phonology, choice of words, negation, interrogation, orthographic irregularities...etc. in terms of phonology, this new style has a novel phonological variables which consist of phonological variables from both register, the MSA and the colloquial. Even though both (Fusḥā) فصحي and عامية (āmmyya) have the same phonological variables, some of these variables are realized differently and vary between the two publications involved in this study. For example, the variable ذ/ð/ in MSA or فصحي (Fusḥā) is realized differently in colloquial or عامية (āmmyya) in the two countries. ذ/ð/ is realized as /z/ in Egyptian colloquial language and can be realized as /ð/ or /z/ in the Jordanian colloquial language depending on the origin and gender of the speaker, i.e. whether the speaker is an indigenous Jordanian or of Palestinian origin, or whether the speaker is a male or female. The same applies to ق/q/ which can be realized as a glottal stop /ʔ/ in Egyptian colloquial and to be more precise in the prestige Cairene dialect or as /q/ in upper Egypt or rural Egyptian areas (Versteegh 1997:161). In Jordan the variable ق/q/ has three realization again depending on the origin and gender of the speaker. The ق/q/ is realized as /ʔ/ glottal stop by those who descend from urban Palestinian origin and is realized as /k/ by rural Palestinian people and /q/ by Bedouin and rural Jordanians (Abedl-Jawad 1986:55). In the data I have collected I have noticed that this new style of writing in composing advertisements mixes variations from the two registers.

Both, فصحي (Fusḥā) and عامية (āmmyya) share a lot of lexical items. However, there are some lexical items and expressions that are quintessential features of one register rather than the other (Bassiouney 2010:102). For example the future modal auxiliary سوف [sawfa] equivalent to ‘will’ or ‘shall’ in English is a marker of فصحي (Fusḥā), while in Jordanian عامية it is expressed by using رح [rh] preceding the verb. In colloquial Egyptian the prefix -ح is added to the verb to
indicate the future tense. Another example of register lexical markers is the verb ‘to look’ in Arabic. (انظر) \( \text{[unzr]} \) is a marker of فصحى (Fushā), whereas in Egyptian colloquial language or dialect, it is expressed by using the word (بص) \( \text{[bus]} \). In Jordanian dialect language, it can be expressed in two ways. In the urban dialect the word (شوف) \( \text{[šuf]} \) is used, and in the rural and Bedouin dialect the word (لد) \( \text{[lid]} \) is used. In advertising, lexical items are used from both MSA and the colloquial Arabic. However if the colloquial language has more than one dialect, then the most dominant and most popular one would be used.

As for negation, although the two registers share some of the same negative particles, the negation system of MSA and the dialects differ (Holes 1995:194). In the MSA, the particles used for negation are لٌم \( \text{[lam]} \), لن \( \text{[lan]} \), ما \( \text{[ma:]} \) and لا \( \text{[la:]} \) in addition to the negative verb لٌس \( \text{[laysa]} \). These particles are separate words and precede the element, verb or noun, which they negate (ibid). Negation in عامٌة or dialects is formed by the particle ما \( \text{[ma:]} \) with or without the morpheme ش \( \text{[sh]} \) suffixed to the verb. In the Jordanian dialect adding the suffix ش \( \text{[sh]} \) is optional while in the Egyptian dialect negation is formed by the preverbal \( \text{[ma:]} \) followed by a verb suffixed ش \( \text{[sh]} \). In my data, I have collected advertisements that include negation to determine what is employed in this new style. Does it employ the negation style of the (Fushā) فصحى or the عامٌة or does it form its own style of negation?

Interrogation in Arabic in the two registers the (Fushā) فصحى and عامٌة has quintessential markers that differentiate them. Ideally forming interrogation in MSA or (Fushā فصحى) is done in two ways. The yes/ no questions are formed by using the interrogative marker هل \( \text{[hal]} \) which is equivalent to ‘do or does’ in English. In عامٌة however, forming a yes/no question ignores the use of the marker هل \( \text{[hal]} \). In fact,
one cannot differentiate between a yes/no question and a proposition except for the intonation. Consider the following question first in MSA فصحى (Fushā), followed by the Cairene colloquial dialect and then the urban Jordanian dialect.

هل ذهبت إلى المدرسة؟ [Fushā]

[Hal ǧhabta ʾila almadrasah]

[Egyptian colloquial]

[ruḥt almadrasah]

[Jordanian colloquial]

[ruḥt ʿlaalmadrəseh]

It is obvious that yes/no questions in عامية عامية does not use the interrogative marker هل [ ḥal]. Though Bassiouney argues that in her research on diglossic switching and the of blending in Egypt that Egyptians use هل [ ḥal] in colloquial speech when they form a yes/ no question (Bassiouney 2000:249). Blending as defined by Bassiouney refers to blending dominant features of MSA and Egyptian Cairene Arabic ECA. The features found in these two varieties are distinct and remain distinct. She posits that blending is a form of switching and that Egyptians switch for no specific reason Bassiouney 2000:251). Her argument cannot be generalized since the scope of her research is limited to four monologues, two of them are political speeches and the other two are by two cultured Egyptians on television (Bassiouney 2000:246) so her conclusions are made on certain kind of people in certain settings.

Other questions are formed by using interrogative pronouns such as ماذ [mādā], كيف
Some of these pronouns are shared between the two registers in some dialects, and others disappear completely. For example the interrogative pronoun مَا [kayfa] is shared in the two registers in the Jordanian urban dialect. It may be orthographically the same but it is phonetically different. It is pronounced as [kayfa] in (Fusḥā) فصحى but [kaif ] in Jordanian urban colloquial dialect . However this interrogative pronoun along with other pronouns disappears completely in the Cairene dialect and is replaced by a totally different marker. In the data collected I looked into how interrogation is formed in this new style of the writing, and whether it employs MSA or colloquial style. I also looked into the tenses employed by this new style in the writing of advertisements in my data. There are two tenses in Arabic that express time, past, present. The only difference between the فصحى (Fusḥā) and ’آمِيَّة عامِيَّة is in expressing the future tense since the past is expressed mainly by using the auxiliary verb كان [kaːna] which is equivalent to verb ‘to be’ in English (Holes 1995:188) which is used in both فصحى (Fusḥā) and عامِيَّة (‘آمِيَّة) and which is also employed in the new style. Perhaps the quintessential marker of the فصحى (Fusḥā) used to express past event with relevance to the present is the use of the particle قد [qad] which is never used in عامِيَّة (‘آمِيَّة) and is definitely absent in the new style of writing.

I also looked at the orthographics used in this new style of writing. I looked into how the words are written. Some are written in the MSA and others are written in the dialectal Arabic (‘آمِيَّة). However, I happened to come across words in these advertisement that are written in an unconventional way like repeating the vowel in the middle of the word such as repeating the vowel alif أ [ā] such as in the word بلاااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااa
I have also included advertisements either written completely in English with their translation in Arabic, or those that include English words in their Arabic text or even those that have transliterated English words. I did that in order to investigate how the new style of writing Arabic advertisements in Jordan and Egypt is being employed in the translation of advertisement and how this new style is employing code switching between Arabic and English and introducing English transliterated words into Arabic to become part of the Arabic repertoire.

Part of my methodology was to compare the language used in present day advertisement with the language used in media Arabic. The language of advertisement is defined according to Bignell (2002:89) as an “orally based, restricted set of vocabulary and sentence structure”. This orally based style used in writing has become very popular in tabloids, and it seems that because of its popularity, advertisements are following the same suit as tabloids mainly to reach out to a larger segment of people with different levels of education, social class and age groups.

I also looked into old advertisements that were published in the two broadsheets from the period covering May 1975 till August 1998 to investigate when was colloquial Arabic actually used in these broadsheets. I have found that colloquial Arabic was used in advertisements in Al-Ahram two decades prior to its use in Al–Rai but still the number of advertisements was very limited.

To sum up, Arabic consumer product advertisements and some public announcements in the two Arabic broadsheets are employing a novel style of writing that is unconventional. They are using different techniques to entice prospective
customers and to make the advertisement more appealing to readers. This style is new and has its own linguistic features that merit investigating.

4.5 Challenges faced in collecting further data

As I embarked on doing this research, I have faced several challenges that prevented me from collecting equal amount of advertisements from the two newspapers. As I reside in Amman, it was very difficult to get copies of Al-ahram newspaper in Jordan, not all the issues were brought here, only two or three times a week the newspaper would be available for purchase, and it was unfeasible to travel to Cairo during the period of data collection because of the political instability there. Therefore I relied mostly on the hard copies I purchased in addition to the online PDF copies which again were not available for previous issues.

Another challenge I faced was to get interviews, and data from some of the advertising companies, or even the advertising team in the companies that compose their own advertisements. I called the prepared food company, Nabile, to inquire if they do their advertisements or they commission an advertising agency, but the lady in charge was very uncooperative and said they cannot reveal such information since it is considered as confidential and classified information even though I introduced myself as a PhD student and require such information for research purpose. I had the same fate with other companies who claimed that their advertisements are designed abroad by firms they are not aware of.

Another challenge was to get access to older issues of newspapers. The only issues I could access were the ones I used in this research because older issues were taken way from the archives to be digitally electronized, and it was impossible to get access to them.
Chapter Five

The Colloquial Invasion: The Impact of Colloquial Arabic on Broadsheet Advertising

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis I have been dealing with, MSA which is used in writing and formal speeches, and colloquial Arabic which is used in informal everyday speech. Even though they are two sides of the same coin, and share many features, they have differences in terms of syntax, semantics and phonology. Phonological and semantic differences can also vary regionally in colloquial Arabic.

This chapter looks at these differences in order to be able to distinguish MSA and colloquial Arabic when found by readers in broadsheet advertisements. First by stating the features of MSA and colloquial Arabic, and then by briefly looking at the difference between Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic. However, before commencing stating these differences, I briefly mention the history of the evolution of colloquial Arabic.

This chapter and the following chapters also attempt to answer the research question of, is advertising in Arabic in Jordanian and Egyptian broadsheets newspapers adopting a new style of writing that is different from the conventional usage? One might expect that print advertisements, especially those in broadsheets, to use MSA. However, advertising register includes both MSA and colloquial Arabic. Consequently, it includes diglossic switching. This chapter also attempts to answer the following subsidiary question of what the morpho-syntactic
features of this new style of Arabic are, for example, in terms of phonology, negation, tense, interrogation, and orthographics.

Before looking into this phenomenon, let us have a look into the origins and features of both MSA and colloquial Arabic, and the relevant similarities and differences between them.

5.2 The Emergence of Present Day Arabic

Scholars such as Zwettler (1987), Holes (1995) and Versteegh (1997) argue that the pre-Islamic poetry and, the Quran, are the two major sources of literary Arabic. From the history of these two sources, the scholars divide Arabic into three kinds: Old, Middle and New or Neo-Arabic. However, Based on this classification, other scholars such as Ferguson (1959), Badawi (1973) and Blau (1965), classify Arabic into several kinds that fall between two major kinds: Modern standard Arabic and colloquial Arabic. For the purpose of the present research, my main concern is to distinguish between colloquial and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) that we are going to encounter in the present corpus.

5.2.1. New Arabic or Colloquial Arabic or Dilactal Arabic

Kees Versteegh (1997: 98) defines New Arabic as “The colloquial type of Arabic that was current in the early stages of the conquests and that developed into the Arabic dialects as we know them nowadays”.

The emergence of New Arabic or the colloquial varieties, which are the same as dialectal Arabic, was a result of the introduction of Arabic as a *lingua franca* in the polyglot Islamic Empire.
Many attempts have been made to explain the evolution of the Arabic dialects as we know them today. Of course, dialects existed in pre-Islamic times and the pre-Islamic poems are proof of that. Charles Ferguson (1971: 335) proposed the ‘monogenesis theory’ which states that the present day dialects have one origin. He based his theory on the common features he found in the dialects. He said that the dialects originated in the military camps in Iraq where speakers of various pre-Islamic dialects mingled and as these dialects united, they formed a military coine in which the common features developed. Then he proposed the ‘divergence’ theory to explain the diversity of dialects. He said the differences between the dialects could be as a result of the influence of the languages spoken in the areas before the arrival of Arabic.

Other scholars, such as David Cohen (1970: 105), were sceptical about Ferguson’s monogenesis theory and instead posited that the origin of modern day dialects is polygenetic as a result of convergence. According to Cohen, the Islamic Army consisted of a mixture of different tribes with different dialect which were levelled out. Then there was convergence at a local level, where new dialects in the conquered lands evolved locally and independently. Then a convergence occurred from the prevalent influence of classical Arabic and the spreading of linguistic innovations from one or several cultural or political centres. These innovations from one or several cultures were taken up by speakers accommodating to the language of prestige.

In general, the Arab world can be geographically and regionally divided into five dialectal areas as suggested by Versteegh (1997:145)
a. Dialects of the Arabian peninsula which includes dialects spoken in Saudia Arabia and the Arabian Gulf area

b. Mesopotamian dialects spoken in Iraq

c. Syro-Lebanese dialects spoken in Syria and Lebanon

d. Egyptian dialects spoken in Egypt and Sudan

e. Maghreb dialects spoken in north African countries (Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco)

To be more precise, I would broaden the scale of the Syro-Lebanese dialect to include Jordan and Palestine. The Jordanian and Palestinian dialects are very close to the Syro-Lebanese. Therefore, instead of having specifically a Syro-Lebanese dialect, I suggest to have a Levantine dialect so as to include the Jordanian and Palestinian dialects.

Furthermore, each of these dialectal areas can be divided and subdivided into Bedouin and sedentary. The sedentary, could be further divided into rural and urban. This division is based on the historical settlement in the area as well as language shift and change.

Though the five regional dialects have their differences and may be unintelligible to some, they share some similarities that distinguish them from MSA. For example, they all share the disappearance of the glottal stop for hamzat al-qaṭa‘. For example, رأس [ra’s] literally translated as ‘head’ is realised in the five dialects as رأس [rās] (Versteegh 1997: 107). Another feature that dialects share that distinguishes them from MSA is genitive case in the possessive construction which is replaced by an analytical possessive construction using a possessive marker
that differs in form from one dialectal region to another. For example, in CA or MSA [baytu l-maliki] with a literal translation of House the-king [genitive]

The idiomatic translation would be ‘the house of the king’

In Egyptian Arabic the possessive construction with a genitive case ending will be replaced with the possessive marker, [bita’] بثاع . Therefore, the above sentence would be realised as [il-baita’ il-malik]


The idiomatic translation would be ‘the house of the king’ (Versteegh 1997: 107).

These possessive markers differ in form from one region to another but they are all intelligible to all Arabs. For example, in Egyptian colloquial Arabic the possessive marker used is [bita’] whereas in the Levantine colloquial Arabic [taba’] is used instead. There are other differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Whichever the dialect used among Arabic speakers, when Arab people speak with Arabs from elsewhere, they tend to shift, mix or adjust their dialect to make it more intelligible in order to achieve the communicative process. People use these techniques of shifting and adjusting their speech for several reasons, mainly: the formality of a situation, the need to communicate with people with different dialects, to win social approval, to differentiate oneself from the listener, when citing a written text, to differentiate between personal and professional or general matters, to clarify a point, and to shift to a new topic (Bassiouny 2009: 29)
Let us now consider the contemporary categorization of Arabic, and the new kinds that were manifested as a result of globalisation and technological advances.

### 5.2.2 Contemporary Classification of Arabic

Ferguson (1959), Badawi (1973) Blanc (1960), Meiseles (1980), Mitchell (1986), Holes (1995) and Versteegh (1997) among others describe Arabic as a diglossic language with two major varieties, MSA and colloquial Arabic and others that fall between these two. MSA in the new categorization refers to both classical Arabic, as it is defined in the old categorization, and the evolved version of it (c.f. 5.1.2.1 below). It is exclusively used in written form, and is understood by all Arabs who acquire it through formal education. Colloquial Arabic, on the other hand, is considered the mother tongue which is not acquired through formal education, and can vary from one country to another. It can be intelligible to some Arabs from various regions in the Arab world (c.f. 5.1.2.2 below). Other varieties fall between these two major ones, such as educated spoken Arabic which was suggested by Meiseles (1980) and Mitchell (1986), Meanwhile, Blanc (1960:85) distinguished five varieties in regard to their proximity to either the MSA or the colloquial, and Badawi (1973) speculate five varieties in spoken Egyptian Arabic in reference to the proximity of their linguistic forms to either ends of the continuum (c.f. 2.1)

#### 5.2.2.1 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

MSA is a variety of Arabic that has been created by linguists to narrow the gap between CA and dialects of Arabic. Scholars such as Parkinson (1991:30-33) and Van Mol (2003: 36-38) amongst others differ on how close or far MSA is from CA. Other scholars such as Mitchell (1982:123-4) and Abdulaziz (1986:17) have emphasized on the function of MSA. In their definition, they emphasize the written
character and ignored the fact that it is also used orally in certain settings and situations as stressed by McLoughlin (1972:58) and Ditters (1992: 128). In the Arab world, native speakers do not distinguish between MSA and CA. In fact both CA and MSA are referred to as ‘al-lughah al fusha’ (اللغة الفصحى) literally translated as ‘The most eloquent language’. They share the same syntax and morphology, but have different lexis and stylistics. Ryding (2005: 4) argues that there are few structural inconsistencies between CA and MSA, and that the differences are rather stylistic and lexical rather than grammatical. However, Joshua Blau (1981) argues that because of these differences, MSA should be considered a separate entity rather than a variation of CA (1981:60). I define MSA as a form of CA with a modified and simplified grammar used uniformly across the Arab world. It is flexible, and can adapt to time advances by accepting foreign lexical, phraseological and even syntactic influence. It is used in writing and some speech activity such as formal speeches or lectures. It is the language used in the media, education and academic writing.

Perhaps the quintessential difference in grammar between MSA and CA is the deletion of inflection at the end of a word, which makes it closer to colloquial Arabic. Inflection in CA is used for case, gender, tense/aspect, mood and number (Ryding 2005:51).

Even though, MSA is used largely uniformly across the Arab world, it has its regional differences that range from spoken dialect-influenced vocabulary to the stress of words and pronunciation of some consonants. The term MSA will be used in this thesis to refer to both CA and the MSA.


5.2.2.2 Colloquial Arabic

Ferguson (1959: 228) defines Colloquial Arabic as a low variety of Arabic (L) that is not codified and differs from one country to another, which makes it sometime unintelligible to people from other Arab countries. It is the mother tongue, which is not learned, but acquired at home, and used in daily communication.

Even though colloquial Arabic is a descendant of CA, some varieties of it are closer to CA or MSA than others. Van Mol (1980) investigated the verbs used in colloquial Egyptian Arabic in particular the Cairene dialect and the colloquial Rabati dialect of Morocco. He concludes that verbs used in Cairene Arabic are closer to MSA than the ones used in Rabati colloquial Arabic (Van Mol 1980: 12). However, Van Mol argues that the study of verbs in not sufficient to establish the distance between colloquial Arabic and MSA.


From the definitions above, I define colloquial Arabic as a regionally variant day-to-day spoken and sometimes written variety of Arabic, descendant of CA with some difference in phonology, morphology and syntax. These differences will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.2.3 Arabizi

Another variety that has developed from colloquial Arabic exclusively used by young people in the Arab world and used only in written form is “Arabizi or “Arabish”.
It is a portmanteau word combining the words ‘Arabic’ and ‘English’. Arabizi is a style that consists of Latin letters and numerals and is used by Arabic speakers to communicate informally via cellular phones and on social media sites. Arabizi emerged during the 1990s with the evolution of the telecommunications technology such as texting. This technology provided communication using Latin script only. Consequently, Arabic speakers communicated by transliterating Arabic words into English using Latin letters with approximate phonetic equivalence. English numerals with approximate visual resemblance were used to replace Arabic characters that do not have approximate phonetic equivalence. For example, the numeral ‘3’ is an approximate reflection of the letter ‘ع’ in Arabic, and the numeral ‘7’, is a reflection of the letter ‘ح’. An exception to this visual similarity is the numeral 5 standing for خ. However, the equivalence to numeral five in Arabic is خمسة [khamsa] which begins with the letter خ[kh] and thus 5 was chosen to represent the letter خ (Yaghan 2008:44). The syntax used in it is very basic and does not comply with the grammatical rules of MSA. Arabizi, known also as, ‘Arabic chat language’ (ibid), continue to be popular among Arab texters and chatters even when their electronic devices or systems began to give support to Arabic scripts. It was originally confined to mobile phones and internet chatting. However, it has started to appear in advertisements on billboards and sometimes in magazines. One advertisement in the present corpus employs it, advertisement Ah-27-03-012-105. This was an anti-drugs public awareness campaign that was published in Al-Ahram newspaper. Arabizi was used in the headline only.

Another variety that combines both colloquial Arabic and MSA emerged as a result of the evolution of writing in broadsheets, and influenced by translated material from
the west. This variety is employed in newspaper writing and includes certain features borrowed from both MSA and colloquial Arabic.

### 5.2.2.4 Media Arabic

Media Arabic is a term used for the language employed in the media. Broadcast media employs MSA with influence of colloquial Arabic, whereas print media, especially newspapers, employ MSA. However, the style of presentation of newspapers has changed as a result of literal translation of news reports from English or French news agencies. The influence of these languages is obvious in that new English and French phraseology and neologism have found their way to the MSA through literal loan translation of phrases and idioms that can be opaque to the reader whose experience does not reach western culture.

The features of media Arabic are discussed by Holes (1995:255-274). He was the first to recognize and describe this style of writing as ‘newspaper Arabic’ in Egyptian newspapers. This style started to appear early in the twentieth century distinct from written flowery literary prose, that was common in the nineteenth century. Media Arabic started to develop a separate stylistic genre by using MSA with some structures and vocabulary items that have a ‘taint of colloquialism’ (Holes 1995:255).

Holes presents a number of features of the structural style of media Arabic, and its morpho-semantic development (ibid); these include passivisation which is used in the same way as English in terms of using prepositional phrases to state the agent in the predicate, and the use of nominal sentences instead of short verbal ones. Holes also identifies the negation used in media Arabic which eliminates the use of most negation particles but for [lam] ∨, and how media Arabic prefers to use long nominal sentences instead of short verbal ones in certain texts. However, he adds that the
headline is written in a nominalised verb phrase with SVCOMP order whereas the copy is composed using the verbal phrases with VSCOMP order (Holes 1995:265). He also discusses the morpho-semantic development in Arabic that lacks terms for not only new technology or sciences but also in politics and economics. He says that media Arabic has established equivalent analogues to high-frequency constructions in English and French such as for negative prefixes and the prefix re- (Holes 1995:255-274).

Another scholar who has provided a good source of texts exemplifying media Arabic is El Mustapha Lahlali in his 2008 book.

Having discussed the various classifications of Arabic, and for the purpose of this thesis, in order to be able to identify the characteristics of the new style of Arabic, I discuss quintessential differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic of both countries included in this study as we are going to encounter them in the present corpus.

5.3 Linguistic Differences Between MSA and Colloquial Arabic of Jordan and Egypt

Though colloquial Arabic has developed from CA, which shares the same grammar and syntax as MSA, and they share many linguistic features, colloquial Arabic has evolved a simpler form of syntax, and morphological difference exist between them.
5.3.1 Morpho-Syntactic Differences Between MSA and Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic

In the present corpus, I have found that copywriters use MSA, colloquial Arabic or switch between the two varieties in their copies. These two varieties have their differences especially in the commonly used morpho-syntactic features employed in advertisements. These features include negation, interrogation, sentence structure and tenses. In order to recognize these varieties, I will highlight some of the differences between them in the following sections.

5.3.1.1 Negation in MSA Versus Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

My corpus shows that negation is a common area in which diglossic usage is deployed by advertisement copywriters. In MSA negation is formed by using the particles 

لا [lan], 

ما [lam], 

لم [lā], 

لن [lan] and 

ليس [laysa] with each having a different use after denoting a particular tense. 

\[ Lam \] لُم is used for past tense negation, 

\[ lā \] لَام is used for present time negation and 

\[ lan \] لَان for future tense negation (Eid 1988:62).

Some of these particles are not found in colloquial Arabic. Negation in both Egyptian and Jordanian colloquial Arabic, is formed by using one word مش [Mush or mish] used in both, and مو [mū] and [mā] used in Jordanian colloquial Arabic. Both [mush/mish] مش and مو [mū] are used with nouns, adjectives and adverbs (McLoughlin 1982: 27) and (Eid 1988:62) as follows:

a) Before a noun, e.g. مش مشكلة مو or مشكلة مو مش

[Mush mushkile] or [mū mushkile]

Literal translation: not a problem

b) Before an adjective, e.g. بارد مو or بارد مو بارد

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[Mush bāred] or [mū bāred]

Literal translation: not cold

c) Before an adverb, e.g. مش زمان

[Mush zamān] or [mū zamān]

Literal translation: not long.

[mish] in colloquial Egyptian is also used with verbs in the present and future tenses, while the past tense is negated by the discontinuous variant of [mish] which is [mā + verb suffixed with ish] (Eid 1988:64). For example,

ما ارش الكتاب

[mā 'arāish ik-kitab] PAST TENSE

NEG -read-NEG

Literal translation: He did not read the book (Eid 1988:63)

مش بنيرا الكتاب

[Mish bi-y’ra k-kitāb] PRESENT TENSE

NEG PRES-read

Literal translation: He is not reading the book

مش خينرا الكتاب

[Mish ḫa-y’ra k-kitāb] FUTURE TENSE

NEG FUT- red
Literal translation: He will not read the book and

ما بينراث الكتاب

[mā- bi-y'ra-isha k-kitāb] PRESENT TENSE

NEG-PRES-read-NEG

Literal translation: He is not reading the book, (Eid 1988:64).

In Jordanian colloquial Arabic, verbs are negated with [mā] preceding them (McLoughlin 1982: 27), or with [mā, mush or mū] for imperfect present and future tenses (Holes 1995: 198). For example,

الاولاد ما كتبوا مكاتيب

[Il-awl ād mā kataboo makatīb] PAST TENSE

NEG-write

Literal translation: The boys did not write letters (McLoughlin 1982: 27)

Or by having a split morpheme negation [mā + verb suffixed with ish] (Palva 1994: 462). For example,

ما قلتش

[Mā –gultish] PAST TENSE

NEG-say-NEG

Literal translation: I did not say (Palva 1994: 462)

الاولاد ما بكتوا
[Il-awl ād mā b-kituboo] PRESENT TENSE

NEG PRES-write

Literal translation: The boys don’t write

الأولاد ما يكتبون

[Il-awl ād mā b-kitubooish] PRESENT TENSE

NEG-b-PRES-write-NEG

Literal translation: The boys don’t write

الأولاد ما يكتبوا

[Il-awl ād mā raḥ-yuktiboo] FUTURE TENSE

NEG FUT-write

Literal translation: The boys will not write

The verb following the negation particle in both Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic is marked for tense. The perfect form of verb is used to mark the past tense, the imperfect verb form is prefixed with [b/bi] to mark present tense in both Egyptian and Jordanian colloquial Arabic and the prefix ح [ḥ] or [ḥ] for future tense in Egyptian colloquial Arabic and by preceding the imperfect verb with رح [raḥ] to mark the future tense in Jordanian colloquial Arabic in (c.f. the examples above).

Another negation particle that is commonly used in both MSA and colloquial Arabic is the particle لا [lā]. لا [lā] is used in colloquial Arabic as an independent particle to answer yes/ no questions as a denial of proposition, also one of the ways it is used in MSA. It is equivalent to ‘no’ in English. For example,
بدك تروح؟

[bidak trūḥ]

Literal translation ‘Do you want to go?’

لا

[lā]

‘No’

It is also used in the same way as the MSA when negating the imperative. In this case, both ما [mā] and لا [lā] can be used. The verb following the negating particles ما [mā] and لا [lā] can be suffixed with ش [-sh] For example,

ما تروح or لا تروح (Both equivalent to ‘do not’ in English)

[mā trūḥ] or [lā trūḥ]

NEG PRES-go

Or ما تروحش or لا تروحش

[mā trūḥish] or [lā trūḥish] (Holes 1995:198)

NEG PRES-go NEG

Literal translation ‘Don’t go!’

In colloquial Egyptian Arabic, when negating imperatives, the negative particle is used followed by the verb affixed by the prefix morpheme /ت/ [t] and suffixed with the morpheme /ش/ [sh]. In Jordanian colloquial Arabic the imperative verb is also prefixed with the morpheme ت [t], but not necessarily suffixed [sh].
In Egyptian colloquial Arabic the particle [mā], orthographically, does not stand alone rather it is attached to the verb. For example, instead of writing

[\text{ما تروحش}] as two separate units, it can be written as one unit

[\text{متروحش}].

However when negating a prepositional phrase used to express possession, existence or volition, the negating particle [mā] is used and the preposition is treated like the verb rather than a preposition. It can be either suffixed with or without [sh] (Holes 1995:198). For example, in expressing possession, both the Jordanian dialect and Egyptian dialect, use the preposition في [fī]. When negating the preposition, following structure is used:

Mā+ fī-(sh) + noun

[\text{ما فيش}] or [\text{ما في}]

Literal translation: I don’t have

When negating possession using [‘inda] عند, it is suffixed with either only a pronoun or with a pronoun and [sh]. For example,

Or ما عندي or ما عنديش

[\text{ما ‘ينديش}] or [\text{ما ‘يندي}]

Literal translation: I don’t have

Expressing volition in Jordanian urban dialect is usually formed by bidd- ‘to want’ suffixed by pronouns which is etymologically a prepositional phrase of bi+widd-
which means ‘in the desire of...’ (Holes 1995: 198). Negating volition in Jordanian urban dialect is formed by using the negation particle ما [mā] followed by the prepositional phrase bidd- suffixed by pronouns and again this prepositional phrase can be suffixed with [sh]. For example,

ما بدي اشوف الفيلم

[mā biddī sh ashūf il-filim] (Holes 1995:198)

Or

ما بدي اشوف الفيلم

[mā biddī sh ashūf il-filim]

Literal translation ‘I don’t want to see the film’

In Egyptian colloquial Arabic, volition is expressed by using the word عاوز [‘aweż] ‘to want’, which is an active participle. Therefore negating a volition is formed by using مش [mish] before عاوز [‘aweż] instead of [mā].

Sometimes, when ما [mā] precedes prepositional phrases in colloquial Arabic, it can replace the negation particle ليس [laysa], and the verb following ما [mā] can be suffixed with the morpheme /ش [sh].

The rest of the negation particles, [lam, lan and laysa], they disappear completely in colloquial Egyptian and Jordanian Arabic.

Negation in MSA differs from negation in colloquial Arabic. The negation particles [lam, mā, lan, lā and laysa] have different uses and are used with different tenses. For example, in negating perfect verbs, the particles [mā] and [lam] are used
whereas with imperfect verbs the particle [lā] and [lan] are used instead. For example,

ما ضربَ (past tense indicating completed action in MSA)

Transliteration: māḍaraba

Literal translation: He did not hit

لم ضربَ

Transliteration: lam yaḍrib

Literal translation: He has not hit

لا ضربَ (non-past tense indicating habitual action in MSA)

Transliteration: lāyaḍribu


لن يقبلُ (future negation in MSA)

Transliteration: lan yaqbalā

Literal translation: He will not agree

ليس [laysa] is used to negate an adjectival or a nominal attribute, or to negate the existence of something. ليس [laysa] is not a negation particle but a verb (Holes 1995:
When used to negate an attribute, the attribute is usually governed by the preposition ب [bi] e.g.

(negating a nominal attribute in MSA)

Transliteration: Lastu bi-jundīyin

Literal translation: I am not a soldier

(negating a adjectival attribute in MSA)

Transliteration: Zaydun laysa biḥazīyin

Literal translation: Zayd is not sad

The negative particle لا [lā] is used to negate imperatives and exhortation just like colloquial Arabic. For example,

لا تضربً

Transliteration: Lā taḍrib

Literal translation: Do not hit

[lā] is also used as an equivalent to ‘no’ in English in denial of proposition (Holes 1995:196). For example

هل يريد نقوداً؟

Transliteration: Hal yurīdu nuqūdan?

Literal translation: Does he want money?

لا - [la]
5.3.1.2 Interrogation in MSA Versus Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

Differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic can also be found in other linguistic features such as interrogation. Interrogation in both MSA and colloquial Arabic has quintessential markers that differentiate them.

Ideally, interrogation in MSA is formed in two ways. The yes/no questions are formed by using the interrogative marker هل [hal] which is equivalent to ‘do’ or ‘does’ in English or by using interrogative pronouns to form informative questions. However, in colloquial Arabic a yes/no question is formed by changing the intonation of the sentence (McLoughlin 1982[2003]: 27) and (Bassiouney 2000: 249). Consider the following question first in MSA, followed by the Egyptian Cairene dialect and then the Jordanian urban dialect.

هل كتبوا الرسائل؟ (interrogative form with hal in MSA)

Transliteration: Hal katabooir-rasa’il?

كتبوا المكتوبات؟ (Egyptian colloquial Arabic) and (Jordanian colloquial Arabic)


Literal translation: Did they write the letters? or Have they written the letters?

The interrogative marker هل [hal] disappears completely from colloquial Arabic. However, Bassiouney argues in her research on diglossic switching and blending in Egypt that Egyptians use هل [hal] in colloquial speech when they want to form a yes/no question (Bassiouney 2000:249). In Jordanian colloquial Arabic the use of هل [hal] is rare or non-existent. In fact, the MSA question of هل تريد هل تريد [hal tūrīd?] meaning
"do you want?", is replaced by ٌبدك? [bidak?] in Jordanian colloquial Arabic and ٌعاوز؟ ['awez?] in Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

Questions are also formed in MSA by using interrogative pronouns, each serving a different semantic function. These interrogative pronouns are مَا [mādha]; 'what' كٌف [kayfa] 'how'; أٌنَ [‘ayna] 'where'; متَى [mata] 'when'; أي [‘ayy] 'which one'; مَن [man] 'who'; لِمَا [li mādha] 'why' and كَم [kam] 'how much/many/long’. Some of these are shared with colloquial Arabic, while others are different. The interrogative pronoun كٌف [kayfa], for example, is found in both Jordanian colloquial Arabic and MSA. Though it is orthographically the same in both, phonetically it is different. It is pronounced as [kayfa] in MSA and [kīf] in the Jordanian colloquial Arabic. Other MSA pronouns are not found in the colloquial variety and are replaced by others. (c.f. table 5.1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative pronoun</th>
<th>Arabic Interrogative pronoun</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Cairene dialect</th>
<th>Jordanian urban dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What?</td>
<td>مَا [mādha]</td>
<td>(mā) dhā</td>
<td>‘e:h</td>
<td>shū/‘ish(hū/hī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
<td>لِمَا [li mādha]</td>
<td>(limā) dhā</td>
<td>Lih</td>
<td>Laish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where?</td>
<td>أٌنَ [‘ayna]</td>
<td>‘ayna</td>
<td>Fain</td>
<td>Wain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When?</td>
<td>متَى [mata]</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>‘imta</td>
<td>Aimta or aimtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who?</td>
<td>مَن [man]</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>Mīn</td>
<td>Mīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which (one)?</td>
<td>أي [‘ayy]</td>
<td>‘ayy</td>
<td>‘anhu/hi</td>
<td>‘anhu/hi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table (5.1) the different forms of interrogative pronouns in MSA and the two colloquial dialects, the Cairene dialect and the Jordanian urban dialect.

Table (5.1) shows how some of the interrogative pronouns have diverged markedly in the two dialects. For example, لماذا and لماذا and لماذا have disappeared completely in colloquial Arabic to be replaced by new lexemes. لماذا [limādḥā] for example has been replaced by either لٌه [Lih] in Egyptian colloquial Arabic or لٌش [Lish] in Jordanian colloquial Arabic.

The same thing applies to the interrogative markers متى [mata] which is replaced by [‘imta] in Egyptian colloquial Arabic and [aimta] or [aimtan] in Jordanian urban colloquial. In addition, the marker [‘ayna] is replaced by فٌن [Fain] in Egyptian, and وٌن [wain] in the Jordanian.

5.2.1.3 Sentence Structure

Sentences in MSA can be divided into two kinds, verbal sentences جمل فعلية which begin with a verb and are event or action oriented, and nominal sentences جمل اسمية which begin with a subject and are entity oriented (Holes 1995: 201-227).

The simplest structure of the MSA verbal sentence consists of Verb, Subject and COMPlement

(VSCOMP), for example,

يسكن أخى في باريس


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Howmuch/many</th>
<th>كم</th>
<th>kam</th>
<th>Kam / ‘addih</th>
<th>‘addish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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Literal translation: My brother lives in Paris

Sentences in MSA consist of a subject and a predicate. If the predicate does not contain a verb, the sentence becomes a nominal sentence c.f. example (d). A subject in verbal sentences, may be apparent and can be ‘independent’ standing alone as a separate noun or a pronoun, or it can be ‘dependent’ made up of one or more morphemes attached to the verb (Holes 1995: 204), and in some cases the subject can be implicit (ضمیر مستتر) and refers to a pronoun. Complements can consist of an object, an adjective, an adverb or a prepositional phrase. Complete Arabic sentences come in the following forms:

a) VS(free standing)COMP

ِسِكَنٌ أَخٌ فِي بَارِس


V S COMP

Literal translation: My brother lives in Paris

b) V(with dependent subject indicated by verbal inflection)COMP

اسكَنْ فِي لَندن


V +(S) COMP

Literal translation: I live in London

c) V(with dependent subject indicated by verbal inflection and no complement).

مرضت


V (S)
Literal translation: She fell ill

d) S COMP

أنا إنجليزيَّ

S COMP


Literal translation ‘I am English’

Nominal sentences, on the other hand, consist of a subject and a predicate. The predicate may or may not contain a verb.

MSA and colloquial Arabic differ in their preferences of word order in a sentence. While colloquial Arabic prefers to use SVCOMP, MSA prefers to use both forms of structure VSCOMP and SVCOMP (Suleiman 1985:32),(Holes 1995: 205) and (El-Yasin 1985: 121) depending on the kind of discourse. The verbal sentences with the VSCOMP structure are commonly used in narratives, where the emphasis is on what happened, who did it and how it happened. Meanwhile, the SVCOMP sentence structure is common in expository texts, where the emphasis is on the subject and the rest of the sentence provides information about that particular noun. Sentence structure of advertisements included in the present corpus, mainly follow theSVCOMP structure, as I will discuss in section 5.8.

5.3.1.4 Prepositional Phrases in MSA Versus Jordanian and Egyptian

Colloquial Arabic

Another difference between MSA and colloquial Arabic is found in prepositional phrases. There are seventeen prepositions in MSA that come before nouns and place them in the genitive case. Some of these prepositions stand alone and some can be prefixed to nouns or a pronoun to become part of the same word.
In colloquial Arabic not all seventeen prepositions are in use. Perhaps five or six are in use in daily conversations. The most popular prepositions are من, إلى, عن, على, ل...كب...نف...في, [في, من, إلى, عن, على, في] respectively. In both MSA and colloquial Arabic من, إلى, عن, على, ف...[في, من, إلى, عن, على, في] along with other prepositions found in MSA only stand alone as individual words, but [ل, للى, كا] along with ت...[ت] and و...[و] which are used in MSA only are prefixed to nouns or pronouns.

However in colloquial Arabic some of the stand alone prepositions can be elliptical in speech and prefixed to nouns. Usually these prepositions prefix pronouns but not nouns, for example, عليه, عليه, عليه, عليها. However, there is one preposition in colloquial Arabic that not only prefixes nouns but is also abbreviated is [ال] and this is only apparent in speech only. For example,

عالباب

Transliteration: 'albab

Literal translation: At the door

In the advertisement of the present corpus, the stand alone preposition is treated differently as we will see in section 5.9.

5.3.1.5 Word Agreement in MSA Versus Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

Agreement between the verb (V) and free-standing subject (S) in gender and number in MSA depends on the structure of the sentence in terms of the position of both the subject and the verb as well as the kind of the subject, whether it is a
human or non-human subject. In a verbal sentence with the structure of VSCOMP, the verb has to agree with the subject in gender but not in number. For example,

الولدُ ضحكوا

Transliteration: dāhikāl’awlādu

V (sing.) S (pl.) (Elyasin 1985: 115)

Literal translation: The boys laughed

The subject and the verb are both singular masculine. However, if the sentence is a nominal sentence with a SVCOMP order, the verb has to agree with the subject in both number and gender. For example,

الأولادُ ضحكوا

Transliteration: al’awlādu dāhikū (ibid)

S(pl.) V(pl.)

Literal translation: The boys laughed

Unlike the MSA, the subject /verb agreement in number in colloquial spoken Arabic does not depend on the word order. There is always agreement in number between S and V. For example,

ظحكو لِولد

(Jordanian rural dialect)

Transliteration: zihikūliwlād (ibid)

V(pl.) S(pl.)

Literal translation: The boys laughed
VS agreement in the dual system disappears completely in colloquial Arabic. In fact, the dual system of verbs en bloc disappears in colloquial Arabic. The verb preceding or following a dual( S ) – that is referring to two people - is usually in plural masculine form. For example,

Literal translation: ‘The two girls went’
5.3.1.6 Tenses in MSA and Colloquial Arabic

Time in Arabic is expressed by tense and aspect. One is concerned with when the action happened and the other focuses on the action itself, if it is completed or not. Tense focuses on time, that is, when the action happened. However, it is not as precise as the Indo European languages. Unlike English, for example, Arabic has two tenses, past and non-past (Mitchell 1987: 233), Haywood and Nahmad (1965) state that “Arabic in common with other Semitic Languages, is deficient in tenses and this does not make for ease in learning. Moreover, the tenses do not have accurate time significance as in Indo-European languages. There are two main tenses the perfect الماضي al-maaddii denoting actions completed at the time to which reference is being made; an imperfect المضارع al-muDaarî’ for incompleted actions” Haywood and Nahmad (1965: 95-96)

Aspect, on the other hand focuses on the action whether it is completed or not whether it is “perfect(ive)” or “imperfect(ive)” (Mitchell 1978: 230, Eisele 2002: 41 and Ryding 2010:241). The best comparison of tense and aspect is provided by Ryding who describes tense as the thing that “deals with linear points in time that stretches from the far part into the future in relation to the speaker” (Ryding 2010: 240) whereas aspect, “deals with the degree of completeness of an action or state: is the action completed, partial, ongoing or yet to occur?”(ibid).

The difference between the two terms is subtle since the past tense is inherent in the perfect(ive) and the non-past is inherent in the imperfect(ive).
The non-past or the imperfect(ive) in MSA is formed by ‘circumfixing’ the present stem of the verb. Circumfixing means adding both a prefix and a suffix simultaneously so that these affixes form a circle around the stem (Ryding 2010:441). The prefixes are subject markers of person that is they determine the subject whether it is first, second or third person or whether the subject is feminine or masculine, whereas the suffixes display number and mood.

However, the non-past tense or the imperfect(ive) in Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic is formed by prefixing the verb with the habitual or progressive particle of aspect /bi/ in Egyptian colloquial and /b/ in Jordanian colloquial (Bassiouney 2000:247), (Mitchell 1978:239) followed by the subject marker prefixes which determine the subject whether it is first second or third and the gender whether masculine or feminine and by prefixing the verb with the future tense marker morpheme [ḥa] in Egyptian colloquial Arabic the future tense marker [raḥ] in Jordanian colloquial Arabic to show ‘proximate intent’ (Holes 1995:185). For example,

حنا بيشتري  (Jordanian colloquial)

Transliteration: Hannabyishtari  (Mitchell 1987:237)

S  b-(aspectual particle) yishtri (present tense)

Literal translation: Hanna is buying/ buys

حئرا لكتاب بكره  (Egyptian colloquial)
Transliteration: ḥayi’ra lkitāb bukra] (Holes 1995:185)

ḥa-(aspectual future marker) yi’ra O adverbial

Literal translation: He will read the book tomorrow.

The future aspectual markers [ḥa]and [raḥ] are equivalent to the morpheme [sa] and the future particle [sawfa] used in the MSA to form future actions.

The imperfect(ive) non-past has the same significance as in English, in terms of expressing an action or state that is incomplete or ongoing. But unlike English, colloquial Arabic can be ambiguous in differentiating between the simple present and present continuous with the absence of aspectual devices within the verb phrase (Mitchell 1978 :238). In order to eliminate the ambiguity of reading between habitual or progressive, it is important to include an adverbial time phrase such as كل يوم [kull yoom] ‘every day’ or ‘daily’ for habitual activity and (ala:n), (ḥaliyan) and (fi alwaqt alḥader) ‘now, currently and for the time being’ respectively. In colloquial Arabic, the adverbial هالا [hala’] ‘now’ in Jordanian colloquial and دلواتي [dilwaṭī] ‘now’ in Egyptian colloquial for the ongoing activity. For example,

حنا بيشتري كتاب كل يوم (Jordanian colloquial)

Transliteration: Hanna byishtari kitāb kull yoom (Mitchell 1978:237) (habitual)

Literal translation: Hanna buys a book every day.

The other way for eliminating ambiguity between the habitual and progressive is to precede the verb with the progressive aspect marker ‘ammaal (adj) in the Egyptian
colloquial and ‘am (particle) in the Jordanian colloquial (Mitchell 1978:238). For example,

عمال بيبليس في لنده

Transliteration: ‘ammaal bi yilbas (fi) ilbadla (Egyptian colloquial) (progressive)

Literal translation: He is putting on the suit.

عم(ال) بيلس في لنده

Transliteration: ‘am(maal) b yilbas b ilbadle (Jordanian colloquial) (progressive)

(Mitchell 1978:238).

Literal translation: He is putting on the suit.

However, Mitchell (1978: 2370 and El-Hassan, (1978) argue that in the SVO sentence structure, the number of the object noun, specificity and other characteristics can determine if the aspect is habitual or progressive. Mitchell posits that if the object noun is singular then the tense is progressive, For example,

محمد بياكل نفاحة

Transliteration: Moḥammad biyakul tufaḥa (singular- progressive)

Literal translation: Mohammad is eating an apple

and محمد بياكل نفاح

Transliteration: Moḥammad biyakul tūfaḥ (plural- habitual)

Literal translation: Mohammad eats apples
On the other hand, the past tense or the perfective action refers to an action that was completed in the past. In this matter it corresponds to the English past and past perfect. Unlike the non-past which requires time location and time aspectual and modal distinction (Mitchell 1978:241) the past tense does not need or needs little concomitance.

In MSA, in the SVO sentence structure, the past tense is formed by suffixing person markers which denotes number (singular, dual and plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) to the past tense verbs.

In the VSO sentence structure, the verb in the verb stays in the singular form with the dual and plural subjects. However, in colloquial Arabic the past tense is formed by the same way as the MSA the only difference is that dual form of the verb does not exist and the dual and plural feminine subject is accompanied by plural masculine verb.

To conclude this section, we can say that there is syntactic difference between the MSA and colloquial Arabic in tense, aspect, sentence structure, word order and even in the use of preposition. The difference between the two varieties is not limited to syntactic features, it also include phonological and lexical differences.

5.4. Phonological Difference Between MSA and Colloquial Arabic of Jordan and Egypt

Though many lexical items are shared between MSA and colloquial Arabic, there are salient phonological differences between them. Vowel patterns or the realisation of consonants, for example, may be different between MSA and colloquial Arabic (Bassiouney 2010: 101-106).
The phonological difference is not only between MSA and colloquial Arabic, but also among the different dialectal Arabic within the Arab world act as markers of geographical/social identity and speech style of the users.

The most salient phonetic elements that differ from the MSA are the interdentals, which have been merged with the dentals in some dialectal or colloquial Arabic. The interdental /th/ and /dh/ and /ẓ/ into dental plosives /t/ or /d/ or sometimes /z/ respectively, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Jordanian urban dialect</th>
<th>Cairene dialect</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thalātha</td>
<td>talāte</td>
<td>Talāta</td>
<td>ثلاثه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhāhab</td>
<td>Dahab</td>
<td>Dahab</td>
<td>ذهب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhanb</td>
<td>danb</td>
<td>Zanb/ danab</td>
<td>ذنب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣufr</td>
<td>ḍufur</td>
<td>ḍufr</td>
<td>ظفر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣarf</td>
<td>zarf</td>
<td>zarf</td>
<td>ظرف</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (5.2) the phonological differences between MSA and the Levantine dialect and Cairene dialect (Author)

Sometimes these inter-dental fricatives are realized as dental fricatives depending on the degree of formality, education and gender. Those who realize these as dental fricatives are less educated, less formal and mainly females (Abd El-Jawad 1986: 55-57). As for those who realize them as dental plosives, these people are characterized as being informal and uneducated especially in the Jordanian
colloquial Arabic (Holes 1995:58-59). Table (5.3) shows how the inter-dental fricatives are realised differently

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informal/uneducated</th>
<th>semi-formal</th>
<th>formal/educated</th>
<th>Arabic word</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(dental plosive)</td>
<td>(dental fricative)</td>
<td>(inter-dental fricative)</td>
<td>Mutalat</td>
<td>مثلث triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>musalas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>muthalath</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دَبٍّ</td>
<td>زيّ ب</td>
<td>ذئب</td>
<td>Di’b</td>
<td>fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذَيْل</td>
<td>زِلّ</td>
<td>ظِل      shadow</td>
<td>Dickinson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (5.3) the different realization of inter-dental fricatives

Not all words that have inter-dental fricatives can be ‘dialectalized’ (Holes 1995:59), there are certain words that cannot be realized using dental plosives, e.g. the word ثقافة [thaqāfa] and ثراث [turāth] meaning ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’ respectively cannot be realized as [taqāfa] and [turāt] but they can be done less formal and more colloquial by realizing them as [saqāfa]and [turās].

Conversely, in some dialects, certain phonological forms are not permissible for phonological variation such as the /θ/ realized as /t/ in the adverbial [tāni] in the Cairene dialect meaning again. Here, if this word is to be formed in a more formal way, the/t/cannot be replaced by either/θ/ or /s/. In colloquial Egyptian Arabic, one cannot say instead of [mara tāniya], [mara thānīya] or [mara sānīya] meaning ‘another time’. Again the same thing applies to [sāniya wahdah] meaning ‘one second’ in Cairene Arabic. The /s/ cannot be replaced by either /t/ or /θ/ (ibid).

Another phoneme that is realized differently in colloquial Arabic is the /q/ where in some dialects such as the urban Levantine and Cairene, it has become a glottal stop /ʔ/ while in other cases especially in rural Palestinian areas it has become a /k/
and the original /k/, a /tʃ/ (Holes 1995: 60). In Jordan, and because of the variation in demography, the /q/ is realized in three different ways:

- As a glottal stop /ʔ/ used by urban Palestinian descendants
- As a voiceless stop /k/ used by rural Palestinian descendants
- As a voiced stop /g/ used by indigenous Jordanians (Abd-el-Jawad 1986:55)

Another phoneme that remained the same in both the MSA and the colloquial variation is the /j/ except in the Egyptian dialect where it is pronounced in non-liturgical context as /g/. In the Jordanian colloquial it is pronounced as /dʒ/. However, in MSA [jadīd] is pronounced as [dʒadīd] in Jordanian colloquial (El-Wer 1999: 39).

5.5. Lexical Variation Between MSA and Colloquial Arabic of Jordan and Egypt.

Even though diglossic languages like Arabic with two varieties share lexical features, there are certain lexical items that act as hallmarks of a certain variety of language. The following examples taken from the corpus show the various expressions and vocabulary that are quintessential of either Jordanian or Egyptian vernacular and their totally different counterparts in MSA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>colloquial expression in Egyptian (Egy) and Jordanian (Jor)</th>
<th>MSA</th>
<th>Transliteration of the colloquial expression</th>
<th>English equivalence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>بدن عاوز هل تريد</td>
<td>Bdak (Jor) ‘awiz (Egy)</td>
<td>Do you want?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اختار شو ما بدن اختار الذي تريد</td>
<td>Ikhtār shū mâ</td>
<td>Choose whatever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النص</td>
<td>the text</td>
<td>Lnus (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما تخلي</td>
<td>Don’t let</td>
<td>Mā tkhali (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما تخليش</td>
<td>Mā tkhališ (Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إجعل دع</td>
<td>Make or let</td>
<td>Khalī (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>صوبة دفاعة</td>
<td>heater</td>
<td>šūba (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اكسب اربح</td>
<td>win</td>
<td>Iksab (Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فز</td>
<td></td>
<td>irbāḥ (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نقودك</td>
<td></td>
<td>Flūsak (Egy)</td>
<td>Your money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مجانا</td>
<td>free</td>
<td>bibalash (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أيضا</td>
<td>also</td>
<td>kaman (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ترى</td>
<td></td>
<td>tshūf (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اوعي</td>
<td>Be careful</td>
<td>‘iw’a (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حساء</td>
<td>soup</td>
<td>shūraba (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مبسوط</td>
<td>happy</td>
<td>mabṣūt (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ملياني</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>Milyane (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شرب</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>Shūb (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هنا</td>
<td></td>
<td>hayna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هننا</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عازمك</td>
<td>We are inviting you</td>
<td>‘āzmīnak (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هادي ده</td>
<td>This</td>
<td>Da (Mas. Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هادي دي</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>Di (fem. Egy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadī (fem. Jor)</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كوبري</td>
<td>Kubrī (Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جسر</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خلصان</td>
<td>Khalsan (Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مَتَنَهَى</td>
<td>Expired or finished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ما الو</td>
<td>Mā ilū (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ليس له</td>
<td>It doesn’t have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أكثر</td>
<td>aktar(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أكثر</td>
<td>more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بس</td>
<td>bas(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فقط</td>
<td>only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سوف</td>
<td>raḥ(Jor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will (modal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>علَشان</td>
<td>‘alashān(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لإِن</td>
<td>because</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاٌد</td>
<td>Ild(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاٌد</td>
<td>The hand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دلوقتي حتَلاقي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>رَهَالا رُح تَلاَيِ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الآن سَتَجد</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يَلا نُحوُت</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مش زي أي حد</td>
<td>Mish zay ‘ay ḥad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ليست كاحد</td>
<td>Not like any other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طازة</td>
<td>ṭaza(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طازج</td>
<td>fresh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كاش</td>
<td>kash(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نفذا</td>
<td>cash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بكره</td>
<td>bukra(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غذا</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حشة</td>
<td>shantāor shanta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حشية</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إلي، يلي</td>
<td>Illī(Jor&amp;Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الذي</td>
<td>That (relative pronoun)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحكَم</td>
<td>Iḥakī (Jor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الكلام</td>
<td>The speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شَتاء</td>
<td>Shīta (jor)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شَتاء</td>
<td>winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>برتقالي</td>
<td>Burtu’anī(Egy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>برتقالي</td>
<td>orangy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is some vocabulary shared between the two varieties with a slight difference in phonology. For example, the adjective اكتر [aktar] meaning ‘more’ in the Egyptian and Jordanian urban dialect and اكثر [akthar] in the MSA are the same except for the consonant ت [t] and ث [th]. c.f. advertisement Ra-28-10-011-55.

However there are colloquial words that are derived from MSA but with a different connotation. They are usually ephemeral and get replaced by other words or terms. For example the word فٌع [fī'], as in advertisement Ra-01-07-013-237 is a popular term used among young people to refer to a person who is ‘outgoing and be liberal from all the rules and strains’ ‘modern’. To many people, this word is considered as a colloquial word that is not linked to MSA. In fact, and looking at the etymology of the word on ‘Lesan al Arab’ Arabic dictionary, this word is derived from the verb فوع [fawa’a] which means ‘diffuse’ and ‘spread’. However, in the social context, this word is interpreted differently. It has replaced another word which was popular in colloquial Egyptian and Jordanian Arabic which is صٌع [ṣī'] which has more or less the same meaning as فٌع but with a negative connotation. Another word that entered the colloquial Jordanian is the verbشملت [shamalat] which means ‘heading’ north derived from the noun شمال , which is again unconventional deriviation in MSA (c.f. Ra-23-05-013-223 in Appendix 1). Other colloquial words exist but have no equivalence in the MSA such as the word نوته [nūta]Ah-25-01-013-190 which does not have equivalence in MSA. نوته [nūta] means the debit notebook where things
bought on credit are recorded to be paid later. Other words that do not sound Arabic but are used in colloquial Arabic include words such as روقاتجي [rawa’anjy], [kalamanjy], [nitawy] which they literally mean calm and peacefull, talkative, and a person who surfs the net’, c.f. advertisement Ah-29-12-013-269. In fact تناوي is transliterated from English and then suffixed with -اوي /-awiy/ to mean ‘a person who belongs to something’. Whereas، [rawa’anjy] and كلامنجي [kalamanjy] are both suffixed with جي /jy/. This suffix is borrowed from the Turkish language to mean a person with a profession. These words of course are not found in MSA.

Colloquial Arabic has been used recently in print advertisements in Al-Ahram and Al-Rai newspapers. The evidence can be found throughout the corpus. So far in this thesis, I have introduced a general of both MSA and colloquial Arabic, in the next section I discuss how these two varieties are used in advertisement and how the reader can recognize them.

5.6 The Colloquial Style of Negation Used in the Advertisements in Both Al-Rai and Al-Ahram

Negation in colloquial Egyptian and Jordanian Arabic is formed in one of two ways, either by using [mush] or [mish] to negate nouns and djectives, or by using the negation particle لما [mâ] and لا [lâ]with imperfective verbs (c.f. 5.2.1.1). The total number of advertisements with negation in my corpus is 50 forming 20% of the advertisements.

The colloquial style of negation using [mush] or [mish] to negate nouns and adjectives was found occurring in ten advertisements in Al-Rai and ten advertisements in Al-Ahram. For example, in the following advertisements, [mush]
is used to negate an adjective in the first one followed by an example negating a noun.

Example (8)

Advertisement Ra-12-12-011-69, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 12/12/2011

الإشارة عالية! والأسعار مش غالية (negating an adjective)

Transliteration: alʾishāra ′alie! Wi al asʾār mish ghālie

Literal translation: The signal is high and the prices are not expensive

Idiomatic translation: High signal with a low price

Example (9)

Advertisement Ah-27-12-011-75, which was published in Al—Ahram newspaper on 27/12/2011

علشان حكايات السهر مش كلام وبس... (negating a noun)

Transliteration: ′alashān ḥikāyāt alsahar mish kalām wi bas

Literal translation: Because late-night tales are not just talk,...

Idiomatic translation: Late night stories are more than just talk,...

Negating nouns and adjectives using [mush] or [mish] was also found in further nine advertisements in Al-Rai and seven in Al—Ahram (c.f appendix (3) ).

[mish] was also used in Al—Ahram newspaper to negate an imperfective verb featuring future tense, a quintessential marker of Egyptian colloquial Arabic that is
absent from the Jordanian colloquial. This feature was found in two advertisements (Ah-21-01-012-83 and Ah-22-02-012-91).

Example (10)

Advertisement Ah-22-02-012-92, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 22/02/2012

موباٌلن مش هاٌطلب حد ! (negating a future tense)

Transliteration: Mūbialak mish hayutlub ḥad

Literal translation: Your mobile will not call anyone!

Idiomatic translation: You won’t be able to make calls with your mobile phone!

Negating verbs in colloquial Arabic is achieved by using the negation particles لاـ[mā] and لا [lā] with imperfective verbs especially with imperatives. For example,

Example (11)

Advertisement Ra-3-10-011-31, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 03/10/2011

لا تخلي عرض سانیو يفوتک (though in this example, the verb تخلي marks the sentence as colloquial)

Transliteration: Lā tkhalī ′arḍ Sanyo yfūtak

Literal translation: Don’t let Sanyo’s offer be missed by you

Idiomatic translation: Don’t miss out on Sanyo’s offer

Example (12)
Advertisement Ra-17-2-013-203, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 17/02/2011

ما تخلي العرض يفوتك

Transliteration: mā tkhalī il’ard yūfūtak

Literal translation: Don’t let the offer be missed by you

Idiomatic translation: Don’t miss out on the offer

The negation particle [lā] appeared, in colloquial usage in eight advertisements in the corpus. [lā] was found in another six adverts in Al-Rai, and once in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 3).

The negation particle [mā] used as an independent particle, standing alone, was found in a total of ten advertisements, nine adverts in Al-Rai and only one in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 3). The other form of [mā], which is exclusive to Egyptian colloquial Arabic, [mā] precedes the verb that has been suffixed with [sh]. [mā] in this case can be written in two ways, either attached to the verb so they appear as one word, such as [matḥamilish] ‘not to load’ in advertisement Ah-15-01-012-80, or it stands alone followed by the verb suffixed with [sh] such as, [mā’adaltish] ‘don’t adjust’ in advertisement Ah-22-02-012-92. These two forms were found in a total of twelve advertisements; ten of them were in Al-Ahram and two in Al-Rai (c.f. Appendix 3). The reason Al-Rai used the form mā+ verb(sh) in advertisement (Ra-10-04-011-3) is that it addresses the Egyptian expatriates living in Jordan and consequently, uses their colloquial Arabic to make the advert more personal.

However, there are two advertisements in the corpus that use the negation particle [lam]. Though they are not written in colloquial Arabic, one is written in MSA (Ra-18-
11-012-161) found in Al-Rai and the other one is found in Al-Ahram, advertisement (Ah-25-10-011-51). In this advertisement, elements of both varieties are present, a phenomenon that I will discuss in the following chapter.

5.7 Interrogation in Colloquial Arabic Used in Advertisements in Al-Rai and Al-Ahram

Interrogation in colloquial Arabic is formed in the following ways; a yes/ no question is formed by either changing the intonation of the sentence (McLoughlin 1982[2003]: 27; Bassiouney 2000: 249), or by using the colloquial interrogative markers بدن [bidak] in Jordanian colloquial Arabic, and عاز [‘āwez] in Egyptian colloquial (c.f. section 5.2.1.2).

The other way of forming interrogation in colloquial Arabic is by using interrogative markers. There are many interrogative markers in colloquial Arabic, each serving certain semantic function. (c.f. table 5.1).

Interrogative sentences formed in colloquial Arabic were found in twenty two advertisements in the corpus, forming eight per cent of the total advertisements. The interrogation sentences were found either in the headline or the copy; thirteen questions were formed from implicit change of intonation, where the reader unconsciously alters the intonation of his voice to make a question. For example,

Example (13)

Advertisement Ra-18-10-011-48, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 18/10/2011

بتفكر وين بدق تسافر عالعيد
Transliteration: bitfakir wian bidak tsāfir ‘al‘īd (interrogation through change of intonation). In this example, the presence of the colloquial interrogative particles وٌن [wian] and بدك [bidak] give the reader that this sentence should be read as a question.

Literal translation: Are you thinking of where do you want to travel for the Eid

Idiomatic translation: Where would you like to travel for Eid

Example (14)

Advertisement Ah-23-02-012-97, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 23/2/2012

بتحلم تعيش في بارك... دلوقتي تقدر تحقق حلمك...

Transliteration: btiḥlam ti‘īsh fī bark... dilwaqtī tiqdar tiḥaqaq ḥilmak] (interrogation through implicit change of intonation)

Literal translation: Do you dream to live in a park... now you are able to fulfil your dream...

Idiomatic translation: Do you ever dream of living in a park....now your dream can come true...

This feature of forming questions by implicit change of intonation was found twelve advertisements; seven were found in Al-Rai and five in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 3).

Another way of forming questions is by using the colloquial marker [bidak] or [‘awez] such as in the following example,

Example 15
Advertisement Ra-12-10-011-44, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 12/10/2011

بديك تشتري أو تبيع سيارة...؟

Transliteration: Bidak tishtarī aw tbī’ syara? (Colloquial interrogation using [bidak])

Literal translation: Do you want to buy or sell a car...?

Idiomatic translation: Do you want to buy or sell a car...?

Forming questions this way was found in three advertisements in Al-Rai (Ra-12-10-011-44; Ra-12-08-012-122; Ra-18-08-013-251), and none was found in Al-Ahram.

Questions in colloquial Arabic can be also formed by using colloquial interrogative markers. These markers are different from MSA and can vary from one dialect to another. For example, example 16 and 17 illustrate this

Advertisement Ra-02-09-012-126, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 2/9/012

لش تستنى حظك؟

Transliteration: Laish tistanā ḥazāk?

Literal translation: Why wait your luck?

Idiomatic translation: why do you have to wait for your luck?

Example 17

Advertisement Ah-21-10-011-51, which was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 21/10/2011
Transliteration: lih byasira (Piasira is the name of a coastal area in Egypt)

Literal translation: why Piasira?

Idiomatic translation: why Piasira?

In the above two examples (4) and (5), both interrogative markers [Laish] and [lieh] have the same function. The former is used in Jordanian colloquial Arabic and the latter in Egyptian colloquial Arabic. Both have the same function as the MSA interrogative pronoun [limādhā]. Questions formed from colloquial interrogative markers were found in a total of seven advertisements in the corpus, five advertisements in Al-Rai and two in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 3).

5.8 Colloquial Arabic Sentence Structure Used in the Advertisements of Al-Rai and Al-Ahram

Another interesting linguistic feature found in consumer advertisements in Al-Ahram and Al-Rai newspapers is sentence structure.

Sentence structure in MSA depends on the text genre. In narrative texts, which are event oriented (Holes 1995: 205) VSCOMP structure is common. This structure is intensively used in newspaper reports, since reports are event oriented. However, that does not exempt newspapers from sometimes using the SVCOMP structure which is usually used in expository texts that are known to be entity oriented. They introduce the object and specify in detail what the object is like. In order to classify the genre of advertisements, we, first, need to determine the function of advertisements. Advertisements tend to introduce products or services, describe
what they do or how they work and entice the prospective customer to buy these products. Therefore, the text type to which advertisements belong, especially consumer advertisements, is expository. The product is the centre of focus and needs to be described, and so should come first (Holes 1995: 205-208). In my corpus, I have found that 165 out of 275 or what forms as sixty one per cent of the total advertisements use nominal sentences with either the SVCOMP or SCOMP structure in the headline. The nominal sentence structure was found in fifty one advertisements in Al-Ahram with SCOMP and SVCOMP structure. For example, examples 18 and 19 illustrate this,

Example 18

Advertisement Ah-04-10-012-139, which was published in Al –Ahram newspaper on 04/10/2012

خبر عاجل

Transliteration: khabar ‘ājil

S COMP

Literal translation: Quick news

Idiomatic translation: Breaking news

And

Example 19

Advertisement Ah-04-02-012-84, which was published in Al –Ahram newspaper on 04/02/2012
Transliteration: dafayablash

S   COMP

Literal translation: Heater for free

Idiomatic translation: Heater for free or Free heaters

SVCOMP structure is illustrated in examples 20 and 21,

Example 20

Advertisement Ah-11-01-013- 192, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 11/01/2013

Transliteration: ţūdafūnghayaratlbiznis

S   V   COMP

Literal translation: Vodaphone changed the business

Idiomatic translation: Vodaphone has changed the business

And,

Example 21

Advertisement Ah-27-12-011-74, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 27/12/2011
التلفون ممكن يكسب لابتوب

Transliteration: Italifûnmumkin ykasibakl奢侈

S V COMP

Literal translation: The telephone can win you a laptop

Idiomatic translation: You can win a laptop when you purchase a phone

The nominal sentence structure of SCOMP and SVCOMP was also found in a total of 110 advertisements in Al-Rai. The SCOMP structure, as featured in examples 22 and 23, was found in the headlines of 90 adverts.

Example 22

Advertisement Ra-09-12-012-177, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 09/12/2012

شتان دافي

Transliteration: shitâkdâfî

S COMP

Literal translation: Your winter is warm

Idiomatic translation: Your winter is warm

Example 23

Advertisement Ra-20-10-011-49, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 20/10/2011

عروض حصرية بسعار قوية

193
Transliteration: ‘ūrūḍ ḥasīhbās‘ar qawiyeh

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{Literal translation: Exclusive offers with strong prices} \\
\text{Idiomatic translation: Exclusive offers, good prices} \\
\text{Nominal sentences with the SVCOMP were found in the headline of twenty} \\
\text{advertisements in Al-Rai. Examples 24 and 25 illustrate this structure,}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 24

Advertisement Ra-1-8-012-121, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/08/2011

هم عملوا واجبهم

Transliteration: Hūme ‘ilmūwājibhum

\[
\begin{align*}
S(\text{pro.}) & \quad \text{V} & \quad \text{COMP} \\
\text{Literal translation: They did their duty} \\
\text{Idiomatic translation: They did their homework} \\
\text{Example 25}
\end{align*}
\]

Advertisement Ah-27-12-011-74, which was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 27/12/2011

التلفون ممكن يكسبك لابتوب
Transliteration: il-talīfū mumkīn yasībbaklabtob

S    V    COMP

Literal translation: The telephone may give you a laptop

Idiomatic translation: You may win a laptop when you purchase a mobile phone

However, not all headlines in consumer advertisements are structured in nominal sentences with the above mentioned structure. Some are composed with verbal sentences with a structure of VSCOMP. Examples 26 and 27 illustrate that

Example 26

Advertisement Ra-23-12-012-184, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 23/12/2012

ادفع فاتورتك بدون تأخير، بتحمي حالك من غرامات كثير

Transliteration: ‘idfa’fat ūrtak bdūn ta’khir, btihmīhālak min gharamāt kthīr

V + (S )  COMP    V    COMP

Literal translation: Pay your bill without delay, you’ll protect yourself from many fines

Idiomatic translation: Pay your bill without delay, you will save yourself from many fines

Example (27)

Advertisement Ra-06-01-013-190, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 06/01/2012
Shaghilkhatak min jdīd, wiksabha‘alakīd

Transliteration: Shaghilkhatak min jdīd, wiksabha‘alakīd

V+(S) COMP V+S COMP

Literal translation: Activate your line again, and win this year definitely

Idiomatic translation: Reactivate your Simcard and you will definitely benefit this year

There are seventy four headlines composed in a VS\ COMP structure found in my corpus, fifty two in Al-Rai and twenty two in Al-Ahram. The verbs used are mostly imperative with subject being absent.

Example 28

Advertisement Ah-19-01-012-81, which was published in Al -Ahram newspaper on 19/01/2012

Ashtrī šikقب الصيف باسعار الشتا

Transliteration: ‘ishtarītakīf ḫṣaif bas‘ār ḫṣita

V(S) COMP

(the subject is a dependent subject indicated by the enclitic morpheme suffixed to the verb)

Literal translation: Buy the summer air-conditioner with winter prices

Idiomatic translation: Buy air-conditioner for summer with winter prices

Example 29
Advertisement Ah-15-01-012-80, which was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 15/01/2012

متحملش من بعيد "المسلح"... جنب الإيد

Transliteration: mathmilshmin b'īd “ilmisalah” ganb līd

Neg V(S) COMP

Literal translation: Don't load from far, “ilmisalah” is near the hand

Idiomatic translation: Don't go far to load, “ilmisalah” is near

The VSCOPM structure with the imperative verb form was also found in the subhead and body of some adverts in my corpus. This feature was found in a total of fifty adverts in Al-Rai and twenty in Al-Ahram. Advertisers use the imperative form, to invite the prospective customer to consult his self-interest by complying to demands which others have the power to enforce (Leech 1966: 80). For example,

In example 26 above, Ra-23-12-012-184, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 23/12/2012

ادفع فاتورتك بدون تأخير، بتحمي حالك من غرامات كثير

Transliteration: ‗idfa‘fāt ūrtak bdūn ta‘khīr,btihmīḥālak min gharamāt kthīr

V +(S ) COMP V COMP

Literal translation: Pay your bill without delay, you'll protect yourself from many fines

Idiomatic translation: Pay your bill without delay, you will save yourself from many fines.
The customer has to balance the consequences of paying on time or not paying on time. However, it is in the customer’s best interest to comply with the exhortation expressed by the use of the imperative form.

Another use of the imperative form is when certain items can only be obtained with the acquisition of the designated advertised product. This case is usually expressed using verbs such as اشتري [‘ishtarī], اكسب [iksab],..... For example, example 30 illustrates this

Example 30

Advertisement Ra-4-11-011-63 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 04/11/2011

اشتري الوجبة الالتصادٌة واحصل على 6 تندر مجانيَّا

Transliteration: ‘ishtarī lwajbe liqiṣādyeh wiḥsul ‘alā 6 tindr mjānan

Literal translation: Buy the economic meal and get 6 tenders for free

Idiomatic translation: Buy the economic meal and get 6 tenders for free.

So the buyer cannot get the six tenders for free if s/he does not obtain the meal.

The VSCOMP structure used in the headlines of advertisements is not confined to the imperative form. In my corpus, I found that thirteen out of the seventy four VSCOMP structure headlines use the past and future tenses. The future tense in Egyptian colloquial Arabic is formed by prefixing the verb with the proclitic mood – marking system of (ha-) or (rah-) in Jordanian colloquial Arabic or by zero prefix (Holes 1995: 184). For example,

Example 31
Advertisement Ah-16-11-012-163, which was published in Al –Ahram newspaper on 16/11/2012

( ha- prefix marking future time)

Transliteration: Hanshilma’k ... ihtyagatak

ha+V COMP

Literal translation: We will carry with you your needs

Idiomatic translation: We will take care of your needs

Example 32

Advertisement Ra-25-06-013-236, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 25/06/2013

( zero prefix)

Transliteration: jayykum ‘ajabal bukra

V COMP

( Amman is built of seven mountains, and here the Jabal refers to the most populated area in Amman which is Jabal Hussien).

Literal translation: Coming to the mountain tomorrow

Idiomatic translation: Coming to Jabal Hussien tomorrow

The use of future tense implies proximate intent with stronger commitment on the part of the speaker (Holes 1995: 185). The future tense used in headlines was found
in one advertisement in Al-Rai Ra-25-06-013-236 and in the following adverts in Al-Ahram (Ah-20-12-011-72; Ah-16-11-012-163; Ah-12-03-013-214).

The past tense is sometimes used in headlines. However, using the past tense in advertisements does not indicate a perfective action rather reference to the present. For example,

Example 33

Advertisement Ra-29-7-012-115 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 29/7/2012

رجع شهر رمضان... ورجعت عروضنا كمان...

Transliteration: Rij' shahr ramaḍan... wrij'at ‘urūḍna kmān

Literal translation: Month of Ramadan came back... and our offers came back too

Idiomatic translation: Ramadan returns and so do our offers

The use of past tense does not indicate the action is completed rather, it is a habit that happens regularly and the advertiser does not need to state that since it is implicitly known to everyone. For example, the advertiser does not need to say,

رجع شهر رمضان (كعادته) ورجعت عروضنا كمان كعادتها

Transliteration: Rij' shahr ramaḍan (k'ādatihi)wrij'at ‘urūḍna kmān (k'ādatiha)

Literal translation: Ramadan returns as usual, and so do our offers

The second clause is also in the past tense to indicate that the activity is temporary and takes place during that period. Past tense is also used to make an implied comparison between the past and the present. For example,
Example 34

Advertisement Ra-09-06-013-234 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 9/6/2013

قسمئالك العالم لمنطقتين لما تتجول دولي

Transliteration: Qsamnalak l‘ālam limantiqtain Imā titjwal duwali]

Literal translation: We divided the world for you to two areas when you wonder internationally.

Idiomatic translation: We divided the world for you into two areas when you roam internationally.

The advertiser in the above advert is implicitly making a comparison between ‘now’ and ‘before’. Hence instead of stating that this service is now provided and it was not provided before. The comparison is implied especially when the second clause is in the simple present. The past tense in headlines was found in nine adverts in my corpus all in Al-Rai (c.f.Appendix 3) and none in the Al-Ahram. Of course the VSCOMP structure with past and future tenses is also used in the copy body.

5.9 Prepositions in Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic as used in the Advertisements of Both Al-Ahram and Al-Rai

Prepositions in Arabic are of two kinds, those that stand alone as independent words and others that prefix nouns or pronouns. (c.f. 5.2.1.4). [fī, min(a), īlā, ‘an, ‘ālā], are the most common prepositions that stand alone. However, in colloquial Arabic [‘ālā] is abbreviated when uttered to [‘al] but never in writing. In my corpus, I
have found that [‘ālā] is abbreviated and written either as a prefix attached to a noun or it is written as one morpheme. For example,

Example 35

Advertisement Ra-16-08-011-22 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 16/8/2011

dق دق ...

من عالباب؟

[Duq duq... mīn ‘albāb?] (prefixes a noun)

Literal translation: Knock knock... who is on the door?

Idiomatic translation: knock knock... who is at the door?

Example 36

Advertisement Ra-09-05-011-10 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 9/5/2011

العصٌر رلم 1 فً العالم عَلٌَْمون ونعنع

Transliteration: L’aṣīr raqam 1 fī l’ālam ‘a laymūn una’na’ (written as a morpheme)

Literal translation: The juice that is number 1 in the world on lemon and mint

Idiomatic translation: The number 1 juice in the world with lemon and mint flavour

This feature of having a proclitic [‘a] was found in the headlines of seventeen advertisements. In eleven, it prefixed nouns and in six, it stood as an independent
morpheme. The advertisements with this feature were found mainly in Al-Rai with fifteen advertisements, and two in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 3).

5.10 Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Presentation of Sounds in the advertisements of Al-Ahram and Al-Rai

The differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic used in advertising goes beyond syntax. Written advertisements have employed graphological presentations of sounds and semantic markers exclusive of orality to be used in print.

There are obvious phonological differences between MSA and colloquial Arabic in some consonants. The most obvious ones that have witnessed drastic change are the inter-dentals. They are realised differently not only from MSA, but also among the various dialectal regions of the Arab world. They act as markers of region, social identity and speech style of the users and sometimes gender. They are realised differently in the formal register from the informal, and the between the more educated and less educated. The inter-dentals in colloquial Arabic have become dental plosives. The inter-dental /th/ and /dh/ and /z/ into dental plosives /t/، /d/ or sometimes /z/، /d/ or /z/ respectively (c.f. 5.3).

In my corpus the graphological presentation of the two inter-dentals sounds used in the headlines /th/ and /dh/, are /t/ and /d/ respectively. For example,

Example 37

Advertisement Ra-28-10-011-59 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 28/10/2011

‘كثر بسعر اوفر apps’
I have found six advertisements in the corpus that replace the presentation of interdentals with dental plosives in their headlines. The /th/ was replaced with /ta/ in four headlines divided equally between Al-Rai and Al–Ahram (Ra-28-10-011-59; Ah-27-12-011-75; Ah-06-09-013-252; Ra-20-10-013-256). In two advertisements the presentation of interdental /dh/ sound was replaced by /d/, one was found in Al-Rai and the other one was found in Al -Ahram (Ah-21-10-011-52; Ra-19-1-013-194). Another phonological variable that has a different realisation in colloquial Arabic is
/q/. /q/ can be realised in three different ways in Jordanian colloquial Arabic. It is realised as either /g/, /k/ or the glottal stop/'/ (c.f. 5.3).

Unlike the /th/ and /dh/ which are sometimes written the way they are realised orally, the /q/ maintains its orthographic feature in writing. In my corpus I found one hundred and forty two advertisements contain the variable /q/ in its text. One hundred and one advertisements were in Al-Rai and forty one in Al-Ahram. It is written as ق /q/ and the way it is realised is left to the reader. Usually what determines how it should be realised is the beginning of the sentence; if the sentence begins with a colloquial word that is a hallmark of a certain social or demographic group, then the ق /q/ will be realized according to that group. For example, in example 39, the sentence begins with عزوتنا [‘izwitnā] which is used by Jordanians descending from Bedouin origins, who live in the governorates. Therefore, the q in قوتنا [qūwitnā] will be realised as /g/ and not /q/.

Example 39

Advertisement Ra-01-12-011-65 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 1/12/2011

عزوتنا قوتنا.. والمحافظات جماعتنا

Transliteration: ‘izwitnā qūwitnā.. wlmuḥāfażāt jmā‘ītnā (realised as /g/)

Literal translation: Our tribe is our strength ... and the governorates are our group

Idiomatic translation: Our strength is in our tribe and in the governorates is where we are
Since Arabic does not have letters representing non-Arabic letters which is found in some dialects like /g/ چ, it is sounder for the writer to present the variable as it is used in the MSA, and leaves the realisation of it to the reader according to his/ her dialect. For example, in some texts /q/ can only be realised as a glottal stop ′/ as illustrated in example 40,

Example 40

Advertisement Ra-16-09-012-129 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 16/9/2012

غذوكم Mix

Transliteration: mix ‘a zū`ak (realised as ′/)

Literal translation: Mix on your taste

Idiomatic translation: Mix as you wish

In the above advertisement, it is obvious the prospective addressee is a modern urban young person with fair knowledge of English since the sentence begins with an English word. Therefore, an urban youth would not realise /ق/ as /g/ nor as /k/ but rather as a glottal stop.

/ق/ is only realised as /q/ if the word is marked as only used in MSA such as [faqat] فقط or if the whole text is written in MSA. For example, in example 2 above, advertisement Ra-13-07-011-18, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper, on 13/7/2011

البنات نعمة من الله لا فرق بين ذكر وانثى
Transliteration: Albanatu ni’matun minā ‘alāhī, lā farqa bayna dhakarin waunthā
(realised as /q/)

Literal translation: Girls are a gift from God no difference between male and a female

Idiomatic translation: Girls are blessing from God. Boys and girls are equal

The headline is written in MSA and has a religious flavour. Even though it lacks
inflection, the reader whose mother tongue is Arabic would read it with inflection and
would realise the /ق/ as it is used in MSA.

In the following advertisement, the /ق/ is realised in the three different ways
according to the reader’s social background, gender and age. Though it is
orthographically written as ١, it cannot be realised as /q/ since the register is
colloquial having, salient markers of colloquial Arabic. For example, in example 35
above advertisement,Ra-16-08-011-22, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on
16/8/2011:

دق دق...

مین عالباب؟

Transliteration: du’ du’ or dug dug or duk duk

Transliteration: mīn ‘albāb?

Literal translation: Knock ...Knock, Who is on the door?

Idiomatic translation: Knock ...Knock – Who is it?

There are one hundred and six advertisements in the corpus that have words
containing the letter /ق/ in them, either in the headline or the body.
Another variable that is realised differently in colloquial Arabic is the glottal stop /ء/. It is replaced in some positions by /y/, and in some by /w/; sometimes it disappears completely (Holes 1995: 59). In my corpus, I have found the glottal stop being replaced by /y/ or disappearing completely as in the following advertisements. Example 41 illustrates this:

Example 41

Advertisement Ra-10-04-011-3 which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 10/4/2011

كلّم ومسّج الحباٌب وما تعدّش الدلا

Transliteration: kal lim wmassij lhaba bb wa t'idsh lda'ay (Glottal stop replaced with y)

Literal translation: talk and text the loved ones and don’t count the minutes

Idiomatic translation: Unlimited calls and texts to loved ones. Another example can be found in advertisement Ah-19-01-012-81, which was published in Al-Ahram on 19/1/2012 in example 28 above.

اشتري تكييف الصٌف باسعار الشتا

Transliteration: Ishtirī takīīf lṣaif b'ās'ar Ishitā’ (Disappearance of glottal stop)

Here the copywriter wrote the word لشتاء (al-shitā’) it is realized in colloquial Arabic by omitting the glottal stop.

Literal translation: Buy air conditioner for the summer in the prices of winter

Idiomatic translation: Get a cool summer for winter prices
There are seven advertisements in my corpus where the glottal stop is either replaced by /y/ or omitted completely. Six of them are found in Al-Rai newspaper and one in Al-Ahram.

5.11 Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Lexical Markers Used in The Advertisements of Al-Ahram and Al-Rai

There are many lexical items used in print advertisements that are typical hallmarks of colloquial Arabic. The use of these lexical items in print advertisements gives the reader the feeling of informality and friendliness. In the two hundred and seventy five advertisements that I have studied, ninety eight contain one of these colloquial hallmarks either in the headline or the body. Some of these words or phrases have been discussed previously in this chapter (c.f.5.4).

Out of the ninety eight advertisements, I found seventy in Al-Rai and twenty eight in Al-Ahram. Some of them were used in more than one advertisement. Table (5.3) presents the words and phrases used in the advertisements that are hallmarks of Jordanian and Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

5.12 Unconventional Orthography Used in Advertisements in Al-Rai and Al-Ahram Reflecting Jordanian and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

Another manifestation of colloquial Arabic used in advertising in broadsheets is unconventional orthography. There are many words that are written in the advertisement copy that do not follow the orthographic conventions of MSA. This includes the repetition of the long vowels [‘alif] و and [waw] و, or any consonant. In MSA, you cannot have the letter [‘alif] و repeated in the middle of the word as presented in example 42 below where the letter [‘alif] و is repeated five times in each
word. The only case where the glottal stop is repeated, is when forming interrogation (Ibraheem 1975: 44) and (El-Dahdah 1992: 14-19). In this case, it is called the interrogative glottal stop and prefixes imperfective verbs. For example,

أحضر غداً؟

(Ibraheem 1975: 44)

Transliteration: ‘a’aharu ghadan?

Literal translation: Shall I be present tomorrow?

Idiomatic translation: Shall I come tomorrow?

In my corpus I have found seven examples of unconventional orthography. Five of them were found in Al-Rai and two in Al-Ahram. Examples 42 & 43 illustrate this feature.

Example 42

Advertisement Ah-30-03-012-102, which was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 30/3/2012

خبر هاااااام وعااااااجل

Transliteration: khbar haaam wa’aaajil

Literal translation: Important and urgent news

Idiomatic translation: Breaking news

Example (44)

Advertisement Ra-01-12-013-260, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 1/12/2013
مع سامح مول كل اشي معقودووووول

Transliteration: ma‘ sāmḥ mul kul ishy ma‘ūūūūūūl

Literal translation: With Sameh Mall everything is possible

Idiomatic translation: Everything is possible with Sameh Mall

In example 44 above, the repetition of the long vowel [wāw] is unconventional. The only case where the long vowel [wāw] is repeated is when it performs as a carrier to the glottal stop [‘]. The glottal stop [‘] is written over a [wāw] if the consonant preceding it has a short vowel of /u/ and followed by the vowel [wāw] such as in the case of [ru‘ūs] and [ku‘ūs] (Ibraheem 1975: 121). The repetition of [wāw] was also found in my corpus in the following three advertisements all in Al-Rai Ra-01-12-013-261; Ra-16-08-011-24; Ra-10-04-011-4.

Repetition of letters is not confined to long vowels. Copy writers used this technique with consonants too. My corpus shows two advertisements where the letters [m] and [sh] are repeated at the end of the word. For example,

Example 45

Advertisement Ah-16-10-012-144 which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 16/10/2012

بتسلممم

Transliteration: btsalimmm

Literal translation: delivering

Idiomatic translation: Handing out
Example 46

Advertisement Ra-23-9-012-132, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 23/9/2012

ما يفوتش

Transliteration: mā ytfawatsh

Literal translation: Cannot be missed

Idiomatic translation: Cannot be beaten

Copywriters choose to use these unconventional orthographies to create speech effect since in these advertisements, the advertiser is talking to the reader in an informal way.

5.13 The Increase in popularity of Using Colloquial Features in Broadsheets

Advertisements

The use of colloquial words, shifting between MSA and colloquial Arabic has increased considerably since the 1980s. I searched the archives for previous issues of Al-Rai from May 1975 –April 1999 and Al-Ahram from May 1975- August 1998 (due to availability in the library of The University of Jordan) to investigate if the phenomenon of using colloquial had been used before 2011 in consumer advertisements. I chose different issues randomly and according to availability. I chose different months, mainly June, July or August and October, in order to compare the amount of advertisements printed in the two papers. My choice was based on two criteria. I chose the available first Saturday of the month since Saturday was the start of the week and usually most advertisers place their
advertisements on the first day of the week. As for the first Saturday of the month is when employees get paid and can afford to spend money. The second criteria of my choice was to pick summer months where people have no extra expenses as schools are over and they are willing to purchase things. I found a total of thirty eight adverts from the two broadsheets, sixteen adverts from Al-Ahram and twenty two from Al-Rai. I have found that in the 1970s in particular 1975, colloquial Arabic was rarely used in the advertisements. It was confined to one or two words only, and was used in Al-Ahram but not in Alrai. For example, in advertisement Ah-31-05-1975-1-as exhibited in Example 47, one colloquial word is used in the advertisement, which is بوٌات [būūyat] the plural of بوٌة [būya] meaning ‘paint’ in Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

Example 47

Advertisement Ah-31-05-1975-1, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 31/5/1975

بوٌات سنتٌن و بلاستٌن و فلانتج (būūyat is the colloquial word, and the rest are transliteration of borrowed words from English).

Transliteration: būūyat sintatik wa blasstik wa flatng

Literal translation: Synthetic paints and plastic and flatting

Idiomatic translation: Synthetic paints, plastic and flatting paint materials

In example 47 above, the colloquial feature is not only demonstrated by the use of a colloquial word but also by writing the transliterated word as it is realised in the Egyptian dialect. The adjective ‘synthetic’ is written the way it is realised in the
spoken Egyptian colloquial way where the /th/ is realised as /t/ rather than /th/. This can also be found in advertisement Ah-02-06-1975-4- where the brand name ‘Brother’ is transliterated as it is realised in the spoken Egyptian colloquial Arabic where /th/ is pronounced as /z/.

Example 48

Advertisement Ah-02-06-1975-4-, which was published in Al –Ahram newspaper on 2/6/1975

برزر

Transliteration: brazr

Literal translation: Brother

However, the commonly used style in composing consumer advertisements in the 1970s was to use MSA. However, English was used in certain cases. If the advertiser is an international company, the use of transliteration of the brand name as in example 48 or having it written in both English and transliterated into Arabic was used as in example 49.

Example 49

Advertisement Ra-2-6-1975-6, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 2/6/1975

جنرال إليكتريك

Transliteration: jnral īlktrk

Literal translation: General Electric
Writing brand names in both Arabic and English can be also found in most of the adverts in both papers. Transliteration of brand names, and even transliteration of product names, was used perhaps to introduce the brand to the public to familiarize them with it especially that in those days the acquisition of English was limited to a small segment of people. For example, advertisement Ra- 04-06-1988-11- in example 51 shows how a new product and a new brand is introduced to the Jordanian public by transliterating both the name of the brand and the product from English using Arabic alphabets.

Example 51

Advertisement Ra- 04-06-1988-11- , which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 4/6/1988

مینن لیدی سبید ستیک دیودورانت

Transliteration: mīnn ladī sbīd stik diyodurant

Literal translation: Mennen lady speed stick deodorant

Here the producer decided to write the brand name ‘Mennen’ and the product name ‘Lady speed stick deodorant’ in Arabic so as to introduce them to the Jordanian public.
In the 1980s, MSA was still used as the language of writing advertisement in both Egypt and Jordan. English was confined to public tenders, hotel announcements, international company jobs, property for rent for foreigners and some brand names. In my corpus I found one consumer advertisement which was written in English. It was for ‘Lee Cooper’ jeans published in Al-Rai newspaper in 1982. (c.f. advertisement Ra-05-06-1982-8- in appendix 2).

Colloquial Arabic during that era was still alien to Jordanian print consumer advertisements.

Example 52

Advertisement Ah- 04-06-1988-5-, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 4/6/1988

اخر شباكة

Transliteration: ākhir shyaka

Literal translation: Last elegance

Idiomatic translation: The utmost elegance

The earliest citing of the use of colloquial Arabic in Al-Rai newspaper I found in my corpora was on the 1st of July 1995, nearly two decades after their appearance in Al-Ahram. The advertisement was for Samsung air conditioning, where only the slogan was written in colloquial Arabic, just like Egyptian advertisements.

Example 53

Advertisement Ra- 01-07-1995-13-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 1/7/1995
سامسونج نوم الهنا في الصيف والشتاء

Transliteration: Samsūng nūm lhanā fī lṣaif wlshitā

Literal translation: A comfortable sleep in summer and winter

Idiomatic translation: Sound sleep in summer and winter

Example 54

Advertisement Ah- 05-04-1995-12-, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 4/5/1995

توتنجً اسم ما يخرش المية

Transliteration: Tūtangī ism mā ykhurish lmaya

Literal translation: Tutangy a watertight name

Idiomatic translation: Tutangy a powerful name

By the early 1990s, the number of advertisements using colloquial Arabic was limited to one or two in a single issue in most of the times, and was confined mainly to slogans like examples 53 and 54. However, the first advertisement I came across in my selection to be completely composed in colloquial Arabic was in Al-ahrm in June 1996 (c.f. example 55). A year later, in 1997, Al-Rai adopted this unprecedented style of writing and composed a whole advertisement in Jordanian colloquial Arabic example 56.

Example 54

Advertisement Ah- 01-06-1996-15-, which was published in Al–Ahram newspaper on 1/6/1996
كل عمال المصنع رهن اشارتك

Transliteration: kul 'umāl Imaṣna' rahn ishartak

كفاية كده ولا نسمعها كمان

Transliteration: kifaya kida wila nisa'aha kmān

لما بتشتري تكيف فيلكو..بتشتري مصنع وجيش عمال

Transliteration: lamā btishtrī filko.. btishtrī maṣna' wigaish 'umāl

Literal translation: All the factory workers are waiting for your sign. Is it enough like this or we make it colder. When you buy an air conditioning .. you buy a factory and an army of workers.

Idiomatic translation: All the factory workers are at your disposal. It is enough like this or shall we increase the cooling temperature? When you buy a Phico...you don’t only buy the air-conditioning unit, but also an army of workers for after sale service.

In Al-Rai, the following advert was completely composed in colloquial Arabic.

Example 55

Advertisement Ra- 31-05-1997-16-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 31/5/1997

بتشترٌها [btishtarīha]

بتسمع فيها... [btsma’ fiha...]

فكر فيها... [fakir fiha...]

اتمعن فيها... [tma’an fiha...]

بتشتريها [btishtariha]
Literal translation: you hear about her, you think about her, you look closely in her, you buy her

Idiomatic translation: You hear about it, you think about it, you consider it and you will definitely buy it

Copywriters at that time employed some of the techniques used by present day copywriters including the use of unconventional rules of writing such as the repetition of some consonents. For example,

Example (56)

Advertisement Ra- 08-06-1997-17 -, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 8/6/1997

معاك مجال من اليوم ليوم الأربعة، اختار انت؟!
واعلن تقترب تختار مؤسسة المجال بتقدملك خط خلوي مفغي من رسوم الاشتراك
وكمان
خدمة ظهور الرقم
وكمان
هاتف خلوي
[Ma’ āk majāl min lyūm layūm larbiʾā’ tikhtar]
[w’ashan tiqdar tikhtār, mū’asassat Imajal btqadimlak khat khalāwī ma’fī min rusūm lishtirak]
[wkamān]
Literal translation: you have a chance from today to Wednesday to choose, and in order to choose, Al-Majal corporation offers a mobile line exempted from the 70 dinars of joining fees and caller ID service and a mobile phone.

Idiomatic translation: An offer for you from now till Wednesday. Al-Majal offers you the following: a sim card with no 70 JDs connecting fees, a caller ID service and a mobile phone.

In this advertisement the use of unconventional orthography presented with the repetition of /r/ was used.

Another example of using an unconventional way of writing in the 1990s was the writing of the preposition على [‘alā]. In one advertisement, the preposition على [‘alā] was shortened to only one consonant غ and written as an independent morpheme as illustrated in example 57.

Advertisement Ra-04-07-1998-29-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 4/7/1998.

Example 57

دالي غ قلبي غالي

Transliteration: Dalī ‘a ‘albī ghalī]

Literal translation: Dali is dear to my heart.
Idiomatic Translation: Dali is so precious to me

In the above example, the way قلبي is written differs from the way it is realized. Since modern urban women are the prospective readers for this advert, the most likely realization of this word would be [‘albi] rather than [galbi] or [Kalbi] realised by Bedouin or rural Jordanians or by rural Palestinians respectively.

The use of colloquial Arabic became more popular with the years. In one issue in 1997, I found two examples where Jordanian colloquial Arabic was employed in the slogan, as illustrated in examples 58, 59 and 60.

Example 58

Advertisement Ra-02-08-1997-24-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 2/8/1997

يا هيك بتكون الشروات يا عمرها ما تكون

Transliteration: Ya haik btkūn lsharwat ya ‗umrha mā tkūn

Literal translation: You either do a purchase like this or you never do

Idiomatic translation: The best purchase you can ever make

Example 59

Advertisement Ra-02-08-1997-25-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 2/8/1997

لش تشتري ريسفر عادي وتعقلب

Transliteration: Laish tishtarī rīsīfr ‗ādī wttglab
Literal translation: Why you buy a normal receiver and have trouble?

Idiomatic translation: Why bother with an ordinary receiver?

Example 60

Advertisement Ra-02-08-1997-26-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 2/8/1997

بلا وجع راس ... خلي جمشيد يريح بالك

Transliteration: Bla waja rās... khalī jamshīd yraiḥ bālak

Literal translation: without headaches... let Jamsheed give you a piece of mind

Idiomatic translation: Save yourself from headaches and let Jamsheed give you peace of mind.

In 1998 and 1999 the use of colloquial Arabic in consumer advertisements became more common. In 1998, the average number of advertisements employing colloquial Arabic in Al-Ahram was three advertisements but was less in Al-Rai. In 1999, I found that the number of advertisements containing colloquial Arabic increased. In the issue of 24/4/1999, four advertisements employed colloquial Arabic. Three of them used it in the slogan and one in a narrative-style advertisement where a child is talking to his parents. This can be found on page three of Ai-Rai 24/4/1999. The slogans were the following.

Example 61
Advertisement Ra-24-04-1999-38, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 24/4/1999

السعر على قد ايدك

Transliteration: Lsi‘ir ‘alā gād ‘īdak

The word قد can be realised in three different ways in Jordanian colloquial Arabic.

The way I realised it here is in the Jordanian Bedouin or rural dialect since the prospective customer, most probably, has a rural background.

Literal translation: The price fits your hand

Idiomatic translation: it is affordable

Example 62

Advertisement Ra-24-04-1999-36-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 24/4/1999

شكودتك ببلاش هالشهر بس

Shkūdatak bbalāsh halshahir bas

Literal translation: Your Shkouda is for free this month only

Idiomatic translation: Only this month, Shkouda is yours for free

Example (63)

Advertisement Ra-24-04-1999-37-, which was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 24/4/1999

ملح اللي نفتت فيه قبل ما يخلصوا
Mliḥ illī nafadht fīh gabil mā ykhlasū

Mūkayyfat Bitra wbās

Literal translation: It is good that I got away with it before they finish. Petra air conditioners and that is all.

Idiomatic translation: It is good to grab one while stock lasts. The one and only...Petra air conditioners.

In advertisement Ra- 24-04-1999, which was published in Al-Rai on 24/4/1999, the copywriter chose a narrative style where a child talks to his parent. As the child finishes addressing his parents, the advertisement switches to MSA.

I did not investigate the period following 1999 because of the paucity of issues in the archives of Jordan University and I believe the period from 2000 until the period investigated in this thesis, did not vary much.

5.15 Summary

This chapter attempts to answer the research question of what are the morpho-syntactic and phonological features of this novel register. In order to do that, this chapter, mentions the various features of both the MSA and colloquial Arabic. Though colloquial Arabic stems from MSA, they differ linguistically, semantically, phonologically and orthographically. Linguistically, there is difference in negation, interrogation, sentence structure and the use of prepositions. Semantically, there are words that disappear totally from colloquial Arabic and replaced by new words. Of course these words can vary between the five dialectal regions in the Arab world. Phonologically variation can also differ according to the region and even within the
same Arab country. The realization of certain variables in Arabic varies according to geographical, social and gender factors. Orthographic variation between MSA and colloquial Arabic is limited. Certain alphabets are repeated against the rules of writing. Even though MSA is the writing form of Arabic, yet colloquial Arabic with its regional variations managed to breach this rule and has appeared in some consumer advertisements. A style that was alien to broadsheets writing style, since only good writing is published in them. This style, according to the data available to me, started in Al-Ahram two decades prior to Al-Rai. The earliest citing of the use of colloquial language in advertisements in Al-Ahrm was in 1975 and in Al-Rai in 1995. In order to be able to understand and recognize how and why diglossic switching is used in the advertisement copy, this chapter paves the way to the next chapter where diglossia is explained according to various theories, and how and where does it take place within the advertisement copy.
Chapter six

Diglossia and Diglossic Switching Employed in the Language of Broadsheet Advertisements

6.1 Introduction

Diglossic switching, has been of interest to Arabic linguists (c.f. chapter 3). In Arabic such switching has traditionally taken place in speech and in very limited literary texts, particularly in novels. By the virtue of Arabic possessing two varieties, one used for writing and one for informal speech, Arab readers consider using the ‘āmmiyya, or colloquial Arabic, in writing to be unorthodox (as discussed in chapter two). Nevertheless, this phenomenon has become common recently. Scholars such as Ferguson, Balnc, Badawi amongst others discuss the use of ‘āmmiyya in speech and have set theories to explain shifting between MSA and ‘āmmiyya the ‘high’ and ‘low’ varieties, but none, has attempted to explain this phenomenon in writing especially in non-literary broadsheets sections such as advertisements. In this chapter I attempt to explain the use of diglossia in writing advertisement copy. Several theories of diglossia have been postulated by scholars in an attempt to define and explain the phenomenon of switching in speech, and several scholars, discussed below, have studied it within the framework of code switching. Code switching refers to switching between languages, whereas diglossic switching refers to switching between varieties in a single language.

Following Ferguson, many researchers such Blanc (1960),Badawi (1973) and Meiseles(1980) have studied the mixed forms of Arabic produced in semi-formal situations, giving more specific description to the oral situation in the Arab world.
They have identified intermediate levels along a continuum, rather than the two varieties of Arabic proposed by Ferguson, that people achieve as they shift between them. Blanc (1960:85) identified five varieties of spoken Arabic in respect to their proximity to either the classical or the colloquial. His classification is based on the Baghdadí dialects which include what he calls classical, modified classical, elevated colloquial, kioneised colloquial and plain colloquial Arabic. Badawi in 1973 identified five varieties of spoken Arabic in Egypt (c.f 2.1), *fuṣḥa al-turath*, ‘heritage classical’ or ‘Classical Arabic’, *fuṣḥa al-‘aṣr*, ‘Modern Standard Arabic’, *‘āmmiyat al-muthaqqaфин*, ‘colloquial of the intellectuals’, *‘āmmiyat al–mutanawwi린* ‘colloquial of the literate’ and *‘āmmiyat al-ummiyyین* ‘colloquial of the illiterate’. His classification is based on sociolinguistic analysis of Egypt. He argues that people usually shift between these levels as they speak as they have more than one level at their disposal. However, he argues that the less educated and illiterate people have fewer options of shifting since they only control one or two levels (Badawi 1973:93). Meiseles (1980), meanwhile, identifies four varieties of spoken Arabic: literary or standard Arabic, oral literary Arabic, educated spoken Arabic and plain vernacular. Though these scholars identify ‘semi-informal’ varieties of Arabic, they do not explore the reasons for shifting between them. In 1953, Ureil Weinreich posited explanations for code switching. Although he explains shifting between two languages or two codes, his explanation can equally be applied to diglossic switching. He argues that the situation and the environment within which the speech is taking place, what he labelled as ‘speech event’, determines which variety people use and when they switch between two languages. In other words, the situation and the interlocutors involved in the conversation determine the variety (Weinreich 1953:73). Gumperz (1976, 1982) refutes Weinreich’s assumption of a ‘speech event’
by arguing that there is another factor that determines code-switching, and that
factor is the speaker. In other words, the speaker determines which variety to use to
present herself/himself the way s/he desires. Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish
between two kinds of code-switching: situational and metaphoric. Situational code-
switching is similar to Weinreich’s ‘speech event’ where the speaker’s decision to
switch codes is influenced by external factors such as the setting, topic or change of
social situation, whereas metaphoric code switching is motivated by the speakers’
perception of themselves and how they would like to represent themselves in relation
to external factors such as the setting, topic and social situation (Blom and Gumperz
Wernberg-Moller (1999) propose functions of and purposes for code switching, in
addition to exploring when people switch. Gumperz’s list of functions of code
switching includes the use of quotations either reported or direct. The second is to
specify the addressee as the recipient of the message. He gives an example of a
group of Hindi-speaking graduate students discussing the subject of Hindi-English
code-switching: students A and B speak in English, then student B turns to a third
participant who has just returned from answering the doorbell and asks him in Hindi
who was at the door (Gumperz 1977: 16). A third function for code switching is to
interject or use as a sentence filler. People use sentence fillers when they fall short
of providing the right expression in the other language. Gumperz provides an
example of Spanish-English code-switching, where two Chicano (Mexican-
American) professionals saying goodbye after being introduced by a third participant,
talking briefly:

A: Well, I am glad I met you. (in English)
B: ‘Andale pues (O.K AS WELL) and do come again. Mm? (The italicized words are in Spanish and the capitalized words are the translation (Gumperz 1977: 16). The forth function on Gumperz’s list includes clarifying or emphasizing a message by reiterating or repeating the message in the other code. A message is usually repeated in the other code either literally or in a modified form to either clarify, simplify or emphasize a message. Gumperz gives several examples including this example of a Puerto Rican mother in New York calling to her children who are playing on the street:

A: Ven aca COME HERE
Ven aca COME HERE

Come here, you. (Gumperz 1977: 17).

So here the mother changed to English to emphasize the message.

The fifth function of code-switching on Gumperz’s list is to qualify a construction as sentence and verb complements or as a predicate. That is the sentence is incomplete and the speaker completes it by changing the code. Gumperz gives an example of a person who begins his/her sentence in English and completes it in Spanish:

English- Spanish.

A: The oldest one, la grande la de once anos THE BIG ONE WHO IS ELEVEN YEARS OLD. (Gumperz 1977: 18).

In the above example, the subject is in English and the predicate is in Spanish.

The last function, according to Gumperz is to differentiate between what is general and what is personal, that is to talk about action and to talk as action; the degree of
how much the speaker is involved or distant from the message, whether a statement reflects a personal opinion or knowledge, refers to specific instances or whether it has the authority of generally known fact (Gumperz 1977: 18). Gumperz gives an example of two Chicano professionals. Speaker A talks about her attempt to cut down on smoking, she uses English to talk about her problem and uses Spanish to act out her problem. (The italicized words are in Spanish and the capitalized words are the translation)

*English- Spanish.*

“A: ...I’d smoke the rest of the pack myself in the other two weeks.

B: That’s all you smoke?

A: That’s all I smoked.

B: An how about now?

A: *estos ... me los halle... estos Pall Malls me los hallaron* (THESE...)

FOUND THESE

PALL MALLS I THEY WERE FOUND FOR ME No, I mean that’s all the cigarettes...

That’s all. They’re the ones I buy.

[ Later in the same conversation]

A: ... they tell me ‘How did you quit, Mary?’ I didn’t quit I...I just stopped. I mean it

Wasn’t an effort that I made *que voy a dejar de fumar por que me hace dano* o THAT
I'M GOING TO STOP SMOKING BECAUSE IT'S HARMFUL TO ME OR this or that uh-uh.

It’s just that I used to pull butt out of the waste paper basket, yeah. I used to go look

In the ... se me acababan los cigarros en la noche MY CIGARETTES WOULD RUN OUT ON ME AT NIGHT I’d get desperate y ahi voy al basurero a buscar a sacar, AND THERE I GO TO THE WASTEBASKET TO LOOK FOR SOME, you know”. (Gumperz 1977: 19-20).

In the example above, the Spanish statements are personalized while the English ones reflect more distance.

Romanaine seconds Gumperz’s list of functions of code switching and outlines a similar list of functions, but adds that people shift between codes to change the topic, mark the type of discourse and to specify the social arena (Romaine 1995: 161-163).

Building on Gumperz’ s model of functions, Safi (1992: 75) and Wernberg-Moller (1999: 238) conclude that members of Arab communities living outside their homeland tend to shift to Arabic if they are at home or when discussing religious and spiritual feelings. Safi (1992: 75) used Gumprez ‘s model of function of code switching to study code switching between English and Saudi colloquial Arabic in the speech of Saudi students in the United States. She finds that the Saudi students in her study switched from English to Saudi colloquial Arabic when they arouse religious or spiritual feelings or when the referents do not have an exact equivalence in English. Wernberg-Moller analyses the speech of Moroccans living in Edinburgh and concludes that there is a discourse function for code-switching. She concludes
that Arabic is used in religious activities and when speaking about personal things, whereas English is used to express authority and factuality Wernberg-Moller (1999: 245).

Gumperz (1982a), Romanaine (1995), Safi (1992) and Wernberg- Moller’s (1999) analysis is highly specific and should not be generalised. They studied certain bilingual speech communities. By virtue of specifying their speech community, what works for one may not work for the other. For example, Safi’s findings that Saudi students living in the US shift to Arabic as they converse when they arouse religious or spiritual feelings (Safi 1999: 75) cannot be generalised to include, for example, Spanish people living in the US.

Giles et al (1987), Scotton & Ury (1977) and Myers-Scotton (1993) propose models to explain the social motivation for code switching. Giles et al (1987) propose a communicative theory that explains why people shift between varieties. They call this theory the ‘communication accommodation theory’ (CAT). It consists of two processes, convergence and divergence. Convergence is the process whereby people adapt their speech to the addressing person in order to gain social acceptance, so they ‘converge’ their speech in the direction of the person being addressed. Divergence is the process where of the speaker tries to accentuate himself or herself from the listener by choosing a certain code (Giles et al 1987: 13-48).

Another model to explain the social motivation for code switching is propounded by Scotton and Ury (1977) which they call ‘social arena’. Social arena theory states that people switch codes in order to define the interaction between them. This may be to either stress solidarity within the identity arena or to stress power differences within the power arena or switch code, depending on the situation and the purpose of the
speech which falls within the transactional arena (Scotton and Ury 1977: 9-11). Subsequently in (1993), Myers-Scotton asserted that people may use a certain variety without having a social motivation, however as interlocutors switch between varieties, only then they have a social motivation. She suggested the ‘markedness theory’, which states that ‘…an explicit set of constructs which are linked together in such a way as to give special significance to certain concepts and variables” (Myers-Scotton 1993: 113). What Myers–Scotton means is that both the speaker and the audience know that a choice of one linguistic variety over another possess certain social significance. These linguistic choices can be either ‘unmarked’ or ‘marked’. An unmarked linguistic variety is what both the speaker and the audience expect to be employed in an interaction as conventionalized by the norms of the community they belong to. It does not have any effect or discourse function, but rather is used as a normal linguistic behavior that is unmarked by social motivation within the members of a certain social community since this is the social norm. The unmarked choices are predictable, more frequent and with no specific motivation in mind, meanwhile, marked choices are unusual, unpredictable with a specific motivation in mind (Myers-Scotton 1998b:5). In other words when people switch to the marked choices, they have a specific social motivation. People who choose the marked choice usually do so to project themselves as people with identities associated with two languages or to show authority or express anger. To explain the markedness and social arena theories, Myers-Scotton provides an example from Kenya of an interaction between a passenger on a bus to Nairobi and a bus conductor, where the speakers switch between English and Swahili. Swahili is the unmarked choice (what is expected and normally used) and English is the marked choice. Therefore switching to English has a discourse function with a social message. The interaction
begins with Swahili, then the conductor asks the passenger to wait for his change. Then the interaction is switched to English as the passenger starts to get worried that he will not get his change before he reaches his destination. Swahili is italicized, English translation is capitalized and English used as a marked choice is underlined (Scotton and Ury 1977: 12-13).

―Passenger: ‘Nataka kwenda posta’

‘I WANT TO GO TO THE POST OFFICE’

Conductor: ‘Kutoka hapa mpaka posta nauli ni senti hamsini’

FROM HER TO THE POST OFFICE, THE FARE IS 50 CENTS’

(Passenger gives the conductor a shilling, from which he should get 50 cent in change)

Conductor: Ngojeachangeyako

‘WAIT FOR YOUR CHANGE’

(The passenger says nothing until some minutes have passed and the bus is nearing the post office where the passenger plans to get off.)

Passenger: ‘Nattaka change yangu’

‘I WANT MY CHANGE’

Conductor: ‘Change utapa, Bwana’

‘YOU’LL GET YOUR CHANGE’

Passenger: ‘I am nearing my destination’

Conductor: ‘Do you think I could run away with your change?’” (Scotton and Ury 1977: 12-13).

In the above example, the passenger switches to English to show the conductor that he possesses the necessary educational level to have a position of authority and to express his annoyance and anger. The conductor also replies in English to show
also that his educational level is not less of that of the passenger and to show that he has authority and power. So the interlocutors moved from the transactional arena where the unmarked variety is used, to the power arena where the marked variety, English, is used by both the passenger and the conductor.

Myers-Scotton’s theory of markedness and Myers-Scotton and Ury’s theory of social arena are among the theories I shall be employing in this chapter to explain code switching employed in the composition of print advertisements. That is when the copywriter switches from H to L, s/he does that for a specific purpose.

In order to understand the motivation and discourse function of diglossic switching employed in the composition of broadsheet advertisements in the two countries involved in this research, it is worth exploring the findings of scholars who have specifically studied the diglossic situation in the Arab world. Bassiouney (2006, 2009; 2010) studies diglossic switching within the framework of code switching. Abu-Melhim (1991), Holes (1993), Mazraani (1997), Mejdell (1999), Bassiouney (2010), Boussofara-Omar (2006), seek to explain its motivation and discourse functions in speech without examining its functions or purposes. Abedl-Malek (1972), Rosenbaum (2000) and Kindt et al (2016), on the other hand, have been interested in diglossia in literary written texts. Abedl-Malek (1972) studies the influence of diglossia in literary texts, in particular the novels of Yūsuf al-Sibā‘ī, who developed a new style of literary writing by employing both MSA and Egyptian colloquial Arabic in his novels. Abedl-Malek explains that al-Sibā‘ī’s style of switching in writing especially when there is a dialogue, from MSA to Egyptian spoken Arabic is done to depict the real life situation where MSA would never be used and that this shifting is acceptable. He adds that al-Sibā‘ī employs linguistic devices such as borrowing, mainly from English and French and the use of “low-standard” vocabulary, that is
words, that are used in colloquial Arabic that have a correspondence in MSA. Other devices used by al-Sibā’ī include reshaping of the Cairene Egyptian Arabic (CEA) expressions and finally elimination of case contrasts from some nouns and adjectives. These linguistic devices are employed by al-Sibā’ī to bridge the gap between MSA and Egyptian spoken Arabic (Abed-Malek 1972: 141). However, Abed-Malek identified the style but does not provide a definition for it. Al-Sibā’ī’s style that was identified by Abed-Malek can be used to explain why copywriters compose some advertisements in colloquial Arabic; they mainly want to depict the real life situation. When people converse with each other they do not use MSA, therefore, the use of colloquial Arabic in advertisements more lively.

Rosenbaum (2000) studies the occurrence of diglossic switching in texts written by Egyptian writers and concludes that shifting between H and L breaks the rules of writing of old and new which does not encounter a serious opposition in Egyptian culture since Egyptian readers have become used to finding ECA in print (Rosenbaum 2000: 82). A more recent study was conducted by Kindt et al (2016), who investigate the writing practices of ordinary literate Egyptians in Greater Cairo. They find that the majority of Egyptians think that ‘āmmiyas suitable for writing (Kindt et al 2016: 326). Advertisements copywriters want to empower the use of ‘āmmiya in writing and to make it more common. For Egyptians, this causes no problem, since they are used to seeing this style in writing. For Jordanians, this is something new and they only find colloquial Arabic in writing employed included in novels.

As for diglossia in speech, Abu-Melhim (1991:231-50) argues that when Arabic speakers converse with each other, they employ a variety of accommodation strategies that may include switching from one dialect to another to facilitate conversation, switching from one language to another, especially English, for
clarification purposes, or switching to MSA when quoting someone or to emphasize a certain issue. Abu-Melhim’s explanation for code switching between Arabic and English can be used to explain why copywriters do this in advertisements especially when the product advertised is related to technology and explaining the features of the product require the use of English for clarification. This approach is very common in advertisements of smart phones and computers. As for Abu-Melhim’s posit that switching to MSA is done to emphasize a certain issues; this is employed by copywriters especially in public announcements composed in colloquial Arabic, but at the end they switch to MSA to emphasize this issue.

Boussofara-Omar (2006) concludes in her study of intra-sentential Arabic diglossic switching that is, switching within the same sentence, diglossic switching is a “non-random, systematic and predictable” process (Boussofara-Omar 2006: 77). Bassiouney (2010) concludes in her study of code choice among educated women and men in Egypt in talk shows that people in Egypt switch to MSA to assert their superior identity and to show their authority and sophistication Bassouney (2010: 119).

Holes (1993), Mazraani (1997) and Mejdell (1996) study the relation between language variation and function. Holes (1993) examined the relationship between the form and function of Gamal Abdel Nasser’s political speeches, Mazraani (1997) study language variation in the speeches of political figures in Egypt, Libya and Iraq and concludes that the three leaders, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Saddam Hussein and Muammar Al Gaddafi, consciously switch between varieties, or choose one variety over the other in accordance to what they perceive to be appropriate requirement for that moment. He argues there are two factors that determine the choice of language variation, ‘intentions and strategies’ (Holes 1993:13-25). In the same vein, Mazraani
concludes that the political leaders in the three countries switch between language varieties as a technique for rhetorical purposes (Mazraani 1997:25). Mazraani’s assumption that diglossic switching is employed for rhetorical purposes is adopted by copywriters, especially in headlines to make the headline more interesting and memorable.

Mejdell (1996, 1999), on the other hand, tries to explain the motivation of stylistic choices by matching the discourse function with the choice of a certain variety rather than the other. Her findings are in concord with those of Holes and Mazraani’s, that people often switch from MSA to ECA consciously and intentionally. They move between the two varieties when conversing in order to give examples, explain, rephrase or to comment on a previous statement in MSA. She adds that people choose their language variation or code in relation to how other people perceive them as well how they perceive their audience (Mejdell 1999:231).

Bassiouney (2009) examines the relationship between code choice and choice of role made by the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in his speech on Labour Day in 1999. She identifies the change of code as use of either MSA or ECA, and change of role as the role the speaker reflects as he chooses which code to use in his speech. Bassiouney concludes that when the president uses MSA, he is taking up the role of an authority, of being a president, and when he uses the ECA, he is taking the role of a normal Egyptian person chatting to his friends. She adds that the persuasive nature of political speeches permits the speaker to change code from MSA to ECA or vice-a-versa as he changes his role. The speaker chooses a certain code to convey his aim, to express his intention, or simply for rhetoric purposes. She adds that the speaker rather than the situation influences language choice (Bassiouney 2009:72-85).
Building on the theories of the scholars mentioned above, I demonstrate, using the present corpora that the theories which apply to code and diglossic switching in speech can also apply to copywriting of advertisements in broadsheets. Code switching in general and diglossic switching in particular support the claim of Weinreich’s speech event, Gumperz’s metaphoric code switching, Giles et al’s communication accommodation theory (CAT), Scotton and Ury ‘s social arena theory, Boussofora-Omar, Holes, Mazraani, Mejdell, and Bassiouney’s theories of motivations for code switching.

Before further elaboration on these models, I would like to identify the varieties in Arabic I shall be considering in substantiating my argument. For the purpose of this thesis, perhaps the most appropriate classification of varieties used in written Arabic is Ferguson’s bipartite classification of high (H) and a low (L). Though Meiseles (1980), Mitchell (1986), Blanc (1960) and Badawi (1973) speculate intermediate varieties, as we have seen, these intermediate varieties are not applicable to written Arabic in particular to composing advertisements, because they are very specific of certain countries and cannot be generalised to all the countries in the Arab world. In the following sections, I look into the linguistic levels on which diglossic switching takes place, before I explain how advertisements are composed by utilising the different theories mentioned above.

6.1.1 Diglossic switching on sentential level

Diglossic switching takes place on two levels: either sentential or word. There are two forms of diglossic switching on sentential level: intra and inter-sentential levels. Inter-sentential switching is where the user of the language switches between the varieties across sentences, whereas intra-sentential is where the user
of the language shifts from one variety to another within the same sentence. Diglossic switching on word level is when a sentence is juxtaposed in a variety and only one word from the other variety is used.

In the present corpus, most advertisements that employ diglossic switching begin with the low variety, then switch to the high variety in the following sentence. However, as we will see later in this chapter, there are also advertisements that begin with an H variety sentence followed by another in the L variety. For example advertisement Ra-9-05-011-7 in example (63) begins with the H variety followed by the L variety in the headline followed by the condition in the H variety. Finally the slogan is written in the L variety.

Example (63)

Advertisement for Burger King fast food restaurant, Ra-9-05-011-7

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 09/05/2011
Transliteration: Faqaṭ mā‘ khidmat al-tawṣī,  
Literal translation: Only with delivery  
Idiomatic translation: With delivery only  

Transliteration: Wafr ‘ajabeh wṭa’amī il-‘ileh,  
Literal translation: Save your pocket and feed your family  
Idiomatic translation: Save money and feed your family  

Transliteration: Al ‘arḍ lifatra maḥdūda  
Literal translation: This offer is for a limited period only  
Idiomatic translation: This offer is for a limited period only  

Transliteration: Birgr king ‘ala mzājak  
Literal translation: Burger King is to your mood  
Idiomatic translation: Burger King is up to your liking  

Another example that illustrates diglossic switching on intra-sentential level is found in example (64) below.
Example (64)

Advertisement for advertising in Al-Rai newspaper, Ra-12-10-011-44

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 12/10/2011

بدك تشتري او تبيع سيارة؟ (L)
Transliteration: bidak tishtarī aw tbī’ syāra
Literal translation: Do you want to buy or sell a car?
Idiomatic translation: Are you trying to buy or sell a car?

سوق السيارات في الرأي هو ما تبحث عنه (H)
Transliteration: Sūq al- sayārat fī al-Ra‘ī hūwa mā tabḥth ‘anhu
Literal translation:The car market in Al –Rai is what you are looking for
Idiomatic translation: Alrai car market is what you are looking for

والإعلان بس 6 دنانير (L)
Transliteration: Wil-i‘lān bas 6 danānīr
Literal translation: And the advertisement is for 6 dinars only
Idiomatic translation: and for 6 dinars only

السعر شامل ضرٌبة المبيعات (H)

Transliteration: Alsi‘r shāmil ḏārībit almabī‘āt

Literal translation: The price includes the sales tax

Idiomatic translation: inclusive of the sales tax

However, this pattern of H, L, H or L, H, L does not always occur. In other words, it is not a rule to follow a certain pattern in an advertisement that employs diglossic switching. Sometimes one sentence will be presented in the bodycopy in the L variety followed by the rest of the bodycopy in the H variety, advertisement Ra-02-10-011-32 in example (74) below features this. This again is determined by the social motivation of the producer of the product or service, that is, in which arena s/he would like to be. Usually the part of the advertisement that deals with terms and conditions should, according to the social arena and CAT theories, be written in the H variety even if the advertisement begins with the L. Terms and conditions have a legal character which make them formal and by default have power over the prospect customer. In the same vein is the listing of features of the product or service; being written in the H variety will give certain products more credibility.

Example (65) and (66) below illustrate this feature. Example (66) illustrates the terms and conditions are written in MSA, while example (65) illustrates that the specifications of the product are written in MSA.

Example (65)

Advertisement for York split units, Ra-30-06-013-239
This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 30/06/2013

مَكَّفٌ؟ إِزَا بَدَكْ تَكَّفَ صَح، كَيْفٌ مَعْ يُوركٍ

Transliteration: Mkaīīf? Izā bidak tkaīīf ṣaḥ, kaīīf ma‘ York

Literal translation: Are you happy? If you really want to be happy, get happy with York

Idiomatic translation: Are you jolly? If you really want to be jolly, get York.

أجهزة التكَّف ذات كفاءة عالية (Class A) لتوفير الطاقة وتعمل على غاز R410a الصديق للبيئة

Transliteration: Ajhizat altakīīf dhāt kafā‘a ‘āliya (class A) litawfīr alṭaqa wata‘mal alā ghāz R410a alṣadīq lilbī‘a]

Literal translation: The high efficiency split units with (class A) for power saving and works on the environment friendly R410a gas

Idiomatic translation: A (class A) power saving split unit that operates on the environment friendly gas R410a.
The intra-sentential diglossic switching is when switching from one variety to another takes place within the same sentence. Example (66) illustrates this feature.

Example (66)

Advertisement for Orange Telecommunication, Ra-11-09-011-28

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on

11/09/2011
Transliteration: Khalīk bil-jaw ma' intrnit ‘agiatan internet that previously paid for 5.99 dinars only and enjoy free browsing on Facebook and Twitter.

Literal translation: Stay in the air with ‘agiatan internet that previously paid for 5.99 dinars only and enjoy free browsing on Facebook and Twitter.

Idiomatic translation: Stay connected with the prepaid ‘agiatan internet for 5.99 dinars only and enjoy the free browsing of Facebook and Twitter.

The headline begins with the L variety then changes to the H variety within the same sentence. Another example of intra-sentential diglossic switching is found in the second item of the list of offers of the plan.

Transliteration: 200 gigabyte زیاده کمک کسانی که تنزیل انتزاع اینترنت شهری بررسی عرض

(H) (L)

Literal translation: Additional 200 gigabyte also as a download capacity when you commit yourself to paying the offer fees monthly.

Idiomatic translation: The monthly subscription to this plan will give you extra an 200 gigabyte download capacity.

Again the advertiser begins with the L variety and switches to the H variety in the second part of the sentence. The reason for switching from one variety to another will be explained according to the theories postulated by scholars who have investigated this phenomenon in speech.
6.1.2 Diglossic Switching on Word Level

Diglossic switching on word level is identified when a whole sentence written in one variety and intermitted by a word from the other variety as illustrated in example 67 for advertisement Ah-25-10-011-55.

Example 67

Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones, Ah-25-10-011-55

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 25/10/2011
Transliteration: Ahlanbīkī fī ‘ālam sāmsūng galāksī SII al anīiq waalrafī’ washashthihi almūtatawirahhaywafirlākaā’lä jūdah lilgīrā’a...

Literal translation: Welcome to Samsung Galaxcy SII world, the smart phone with its sleek elegant style and its high-tech screen which will provide you the best quality for reading...

Idiomatic translation: Welcome to Samsung Galaxcy SII world, the next generation smart phone with its sleek elegant style and high-tech screen that will give you the best screen quality for reading ...

In the above example, the H variety sentence is intermitted twice by one word

Transliteration: washāshatih almūtatawirahhaywafirlāka ā’lä jūdah lilgīrā’a...

الأنيق والرفيع العالم سامسونج جلاكسي SII

Transliteration: Ahlanbīkī ‘ālam sāmsūng galāksī SII al anīiq waalrafī’

The copy writer breaks down the H variety sentence by using a colloquial word. So instead of saying سعوفر [sayūwafir] he used the colloquial form of it by replacing the س/ with ـه/ which is one of the quintessential markers of Egyptian colloquial morphemes used to form future imperfective verbs. The same thing is used at the beginning of the sentence where the copywriter begins with اهلاً بيك.
[Ahlan bīk] Instead of اهلاً بك [Ahlan bika].

Another example where diglossic switching is employed on word level can be found in advertisement Ah-20-12-011-72 in example 68

Example 68

Advertisement for Samsung washing machine, Ah-20-12-011-72

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 20/12/2011

Transliteration: hatikfilghasālāh alāfḍal siʿran. Ghasālāt altāhmīl alʿilī...
Literal translation: It will be enough. The best priced washing machine. The uploading washing machine....

In this advertisement [hatikff], the L variety word is written in bold typography with large font to attract the attention of the reader. Then the copywriter switches to the H variety to state the features of the washing machine.

Another example can be found in advertisement Ah-21-10-011-52 in example 38, mentioned earlier, within the terms and conditions of the company, which are usually written in the H variety. Though the copywriter adheres to writing the terms and conditions in MSA, s/he switches between the varieties with one word only and then continues with MSA.

Example 38

Advertisement for Mobinil Telecommunication, Ah-21-10-011-52

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram newspaper on 21/10/2011
اتصل الآن بأي رقم موبينيل وستجد ساعةً بلاش واكدًا بموجبها يمكن الحصول على ساعة أخرى كل يوم مقابل 50 قرش.

Transliteration: itāṣlālā'n bia'y rāqām mūbinil wasatājid sā'a'bībālāshwa ba'dāha yūmkinaka alḥūsūl ālā sā'a' ūkhrā kūl yaūm mūgābil 50 qirshan].

Literal translation: Call any Mobinil number and you will get one hour free and you can get extra hour daily for 50 piasters.

In advertisement Ra-22-7-012-109 in example 69, the copywriter begins with the L variety and then switches to H. But, the copywriter intermits the H variety sentence with a word from L.

Example 69

Advertisement for Popeyes fastfood, Ra-22-7-012-109
This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 22/07/2012

 بشهر الخير بنعطيك كل الخير

(L)

Transliteration: Bishahr ilkhair bna’tik kül ilkhair

(Ł)

احصل على تمر، ماء، شربة المجانا عند شرايين اي وجبة...

(H) (Ł) (H)

Transliteration: ṭūḥsūl ‘ālā tamir, mā’, shūrahmayjanan ‘indā shīr‘a’kā āy wajbih...

(H) (Ł) (H)

Literal translation: In the month of good well, we offer you all the goodness. Get free dates, water, and soup when you buy any meal...
The same thing was repeated using the same word [shūrabah] in advertisement Ra-29-7-012-112 for a meal offer where the copywriter uses the L variety word in a sentence composed in H. The copywriter should use [ḥisā’] instead of [shūrabah] to avoid diglossic switching.

From the examples above, it seems that the copywriter is either unaware that these words are not used in H or because they are commonly used, s/he thinks that they have become part of the H repertoire. Another word that is commonly used in advertisement and by most people, is the word كاش [kāsh] which is derived from English. Example 70 illustrates how it is used in a sentence where by the writing rules should be written in the H variety.

Example 70

Advertisement for Abu khader motors, Ra-04-11-012-156

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 04/11/2012
This part of the advertisement is the terms and conditions

أبو خضر للسيارات المستبديلة تؤمن لك الوسيلة المثلى لبيع سيارتك وتضمن لك دفع قيمتها المستحقة كاش

(L)

Transliteration: _abū khādir _Ilsyarāt almūstabdalih tūʿāmin lākā alwasīlah almūthlā lībayʿ syaratik wataḍman lākā daf qīmatha almūstahiqahkāsh_

(H)

(L)

Literal and idiomatic translation: Abu Khader trade in cars guarantees the best way to sell your car and pays you in cash

In the advertisement above, the word _كاش/kāsh/ is transliterated from English even though it has an equivalence in Arabic, but this word is very common and is understood by all people.

After discussing diglossic switching on both sentence and word level in advertisements. I look in the next sections into the social motivation for employing this phenomenon in composing advertisements, building on applicable theories. Later in this chapter, I analyse some of the advertisements to highlight the theories mentioned above and how they are related.

6.2 Weinreich’s Speech Event

Weinreich’s ‘speech event’ states that switching between two languages in speech is made only when there is appropriate change in the speech situation, that is in the interlocutors and topic, but not in an unchanged situation and certainly not within a single sentence (Weinreich 1953:73). According to Weinreich, two factors determine switching: the topic and the participants in the speech process. This model can be applied to the composition of advertisements in broadsheets.
However, instead of switching only between two languages, which was Weinreich’s sole concern, switching also takes place between the H and L varieties of Arabic as well as between Arabic and English. The switch made by the copywriter in this case is determined by the nature of the product and the presumed prospective reader.

From the data I have collected, and building on Weinreich’s speech event theory” I have found two factors that control which variety is to be used and when to switch. These are the nature of the product or service being advertised and target audience or prospective reader.

6.2.1 Nature of The Product or Service Being Advertised.

After examining my data, I have found that the nature of the product or service being advertised determines the variety or code employed in composing the advertisement. For example, expensive cars as demonstrated in example 71 below, bank services, high-tech products, such as smart TVs and computers, are mostly written in MSA. This is because the brands of these products are well established and known but they are introducing a new line or a new service. More importantly, these brands expect their prospective customers to be at a high social, financial and educational level and hence writing an advertisement in MSA would be intelligible to them (c.f. appendix 4). Some public announcements are also composed in MSA to attain a more official and formal flavour, as in example (2) mentioned earlier and discussed below.

Meanwhile, advertisements that offer products and services on certain occasions considered as culturally intrusive such as Valentine’s Day, Christmas or New Year’s Eve are usually composed in English to give that occasion a sense of foreignness (c.f. advertisements Ra 14-02-011-1 advertising a Valentine’s Day offer and Ra-22-
advertising a Christmas offer). This will be discussed in chapter 7. Others are either composed in colloquial Arabic or in both MSA and colloquial. All the consumer advertisements found in my corpus written in MSA with no colloquial elements are collected from Al-Rai newspaper with a total number of thirteen: six advertisements are written purely in MSA, while the remaining advertisements may have mirror ads in English or include some borrowed words from English (c.f. Appendix 4b). Advertisement Ra-26-05-013-232 in example 71 illustrates the use of MSA in composing an advertisement for high-end company which is well established and has its loyal customers who tend to be of a high social and financial level, and hence using MSA is intelligible to them.

Example 71

Advertisement for Mercedes Benz cars, Ra-26-05-013-232

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 26/05/2013
مثال دون جدال

Transliteration: Mīthāl dūn gidāl

( headline)

تعزف على الفئة E الجديدة

Transliteration: Ta‘arraf ‘alā alfi‘a E aljadīda

واكتشف مع الفئة الجديدة التناغم بين الراحة المصوى والتصميم الرياضي

Transliteration: wa iktashīf ma‘ alfi‘a E aljadīda altanāghhum bayna alraḥa alquṣwa walṭāsmīm ilriyaḍī

المتحدي والرؤية الطموحة والأسلوب المتميز

Transliteration: ilmutaḥadī wailrū‘ya iṯāmūha wailislūb almutamayīz
ودعها تعبير عنك بأسلوب جريء وتدعم حضورك الفوري

wada’ha tu‘abr ‘anka bilslūb jarī’ watad’am ḥuḍuraka alqaway

احجز لِادتن التجرِبِة الٌوم وجرب بنفسك متعة المٌادة المثالٌة

Transliteration: ihgiz qiyadataka iltajribiya ilyawm wajarib binafsika mūt‘at alqiyada amlithāliya.

Literal translation: An example without argument, meet the new E class and discover with the new E class the harmony between the great comfort and the challenging sports design and the ambitious vision and the distinguished style and let her express you with a bold way and support your strong presence. Book your test drive and try yourself the pleasure of the ideal driving.

Idiomatic translation: Ideal without doubt. Discover the harmony between the utmost comfort with the challenging sports design and the ambitious vision with the distinguished style in the new E class. Let the new E class represent you in a bold way to enhance your presence. Book your test drive to experience the pleasure of the ideal driving.

This feature of an advertisement being written in pure MSA was also found in Al-Rai in advertisement Ra-04-07-011-12. Another example, where MSA is used in advertisements that are not consumer products, is found in example (2) mentioned earlier which is a public announcement for family planning.

Example (2)

Advertisement for Family planning awareness, Ra-13-07-011-18
This advertisement was published in Al-rai newspaper on 13/07/2011
البنات نعمة من الله، لا فرق بين ذكر وأثاث

Transliteration: albannât ni ‘mā minā allāh, lā farq bayna dhakrin wa‘ūnthā

Literal translation: girls are a gift from God, no difference between a male and a female

Idiomatic translation: both boys and girls are a gift from God, there is no difference between them.

The use of MSA in examples 2 and 71 can also be explained according to Abu Melhim (1991) and Romani (1995). Abu Melhim (1991: 231-50) argues that MSA is used to emphasise a certain issue as it is used in example 2 where the public announcement is stressing the having girls is something that is blessed by God and people should not defy God’s will by desiring to have a son instead of a daughter. In this same example, the use of MSA can be explained according to Romani (1995: 161-163) to mark the type of discourse; this advertisement has a religious flavour and therefore the H variety should be used. In example 71 the use of MSA in the entire advertisements marks it to be of formal.
In contrast, advertisements for some more affordable cars, supermarket and hypermarket offers, smart phones, some telecommunication offers, beverages, fast food restaurants and property, especially in Egyptian newspapers, are composed entirely in colloquial Arabic. This feature was found in a total of fifty advertisements; twenty-five in Al-Rai and twenty-five in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix (4) 3).

Example (72)

Advertisement for Vodaphone, Ah-13-07-011-14

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 13/07/2014
مع فودافون حكاوي

Transliteration: ma' ſūdafūn ḥakāwī

حكايتكم جيب اخرها ببلاش اختار اللى يناسبك من انظمة حكاوي الستة واتكلم براحتك

Transliteration: ḥikaítak gīb ākhrha biblāsh khtār illī ynāsbak min anzīmt ḥakāwī is-stā witkalm braḥtak

القوة بين اديك

(H)

Transliteration: il-ūwa bain idaik.

Literal translation: With vodaphone stories, your story brings its end free. Choose what suits you from the six stories and talk freely. Power is in your hands.

Idiomatic translation: With Vodaphone Talk options, you can end up talking for free. Choose from the six Talk options and talk freely. You have got the power.

Even though in example 72 some elements are shared between, the H and L varieties, these are realized in the L variety. This is because people unconsciously read the shared elements between the L and H in the low variety, especially if the sentence begins with L. I illustrate this issue in example 72 below, where S stands for shared elements.

مع فودافون حكاوي

(L)      (S)

ma’ ſūdafūn ḥakāwī

حكايتكم جيب اخرها ببلاش اختار اللى يناسبك من انظمة حكاوي الستة واتكلم براحتك

(S) (L) (S) (L) (S) (S) (L) (S) (L) (S) (S) (L) (S) (S) (L) (S) (S)
Transliteration: ḥikaītak gīb ākhrha biblāsh kḥtār illī ynāsbak min anzimt ḥakāwī is-stā witkalm braḥtak.

القوة بين اديك
(L) (S) (S)

Transliteration: il-ūwa bain idaik.

Example (73)

Advertisement for Spinny’s supermarket ,Ra-01-12-011-66

This adertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/12/2011

سمعت الأسود لابسهم لبس سرته على كل لسان... بعمان
(L) (L) (S) (S)

Transliteration: smi‘t il-a’swād lābishum libis

سيرته على كل لسان... بعمان (L)
(S) (S) (S) (S) (S)

Transliteration: Sīrūh ‘alā kul lisān... bi‘amān

Literal translation: I heard they are wearing black. His story is on every tongue in Amman
Idiomatic translation: I have heard they are wearing black. It is the talk of the town in Amman.

Like example 72, example 73 includes shared elements between the L and H varieties, again given the presence of other L words or a colloquial sentence structure, people unconsciously read the entire advertisement in colloquial Arabic.

Advertisements for mobile and network offers, technology products, supermarket offers, fast-food restaurants and some affordable cars are not always composed entirely in colloquial Arabic. However, some are composed using diglossic switching. This is not only determined by the nature of the product, but also by the target audience, a factor that will be discussed in the next section.

Example 74

Advertisement for Zain telecommunication, Ra-02-10-011-32

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 02/10/2011

اختار شو ما بدن ولسط عَ راحتن

(L)

Transliteration: ikhtār shū mā bdak wa qaṣit ‘ā raḥtak

Literal translation: Choose whatever you want and pay by instalments at your own ease
Transliteration: Qum bzyart áy min m‘āriḥ Zain wikhtr áy jihāz khal āw āw kumbūtar maḥmūl āw lawḥ alīktrūnī

Literal translation: visit any of Zains showrooms and choose any mobile phone or a laptop or a tablet

Transliteration: waqaṣīṭ adaf‘āt ‘alā 12 āw 24 shahr min khilāl albank alurdunī alkūwaytī.

Literal translation: and pay by instalment over 12 or 24 months through the Jordan-Kuwit bank.

Idiomatic translation: Buy whatever you want with easy- installment- payment plan.

Visit any of Zain’s showrooms and choose any mobile, laptop or tablet on a 12 or 24 instalment payment plans through the Jordan-Kuwaiti bank.

In the above example, the headline is composed in the L variety while the rest in H variety. While in example 75, the headline is composed in the H variety followed by the body in the L variety.

Example (75)
Advertisement for HTC mobile phones, Ah-08-10-011-41
This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on
08/10/2011
There are 156 advertisements in my corpora that employ diglossic switching between MSA and colloquial Arabic. 119 advertisements were found in Al-Rai and 38 advertisements in Al-Ahram (c.f appendix (4) 4).
Some products are advertised entirely in English. These include expensive watches, high-tech products, and some international companies' services, household products and fashion brands (c.f. appendix (4) 5). Makers of expensive watches usually use global advertising campaigns, with the same advertisement used all over the world. Advertisements for high-tech products such as smart phones, computers and television sets are usually composed either completely in English or switching between Arabic and English. In this case the two factors that determine the variety used in composing the advertisement, i.e. nature of the product and the target audience overlap, since people who are interested in high-tech products are young or middle aged and well educated in technology. In advertisements with code switching, the technical features of the advertised product are mentioned in English while the producer or the distributor is mentioned in both languages, such as in advertisement Ra-23-12-012-187 (c.f. Appendix 1) for Sony television sets. The reason for code switching in these cases is related to the paucity of technological terms in Arabic. There are nine advertisements in total in the two papers that use code switching between English and Arabic in computer, mobile phones and television sets advertisements. five are found in Al-Rai and four in Al-Ahram. All the examples mentioned so far where switching between H and L can be explained according to Weinreich’s speech event theory (1953:73), which posits that two factors determine switching: the topic and the participants. The switch made by the copywriter in this case is determined by the nature of the product and the presumed prospective reader.

6.2.2 The Target Audience or the prospective reader

The second factor I have found in my analysis of the data gathered that determines which variety to use when composing an advertisement is the target
audience. If the advertisement is targeting the younger generation, the most appealing variety to be used in the advertisement is colloquial Arabic, as in the following example,

Example (76)
Advertisement for Orange Telecommunication, Ra-08-05-011-5
This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 08/05/2011

يا شباب ... جايكم عرض من الآخر
(L)
Transliteration: Yā shabāb ... jāyykum ‘arḍ min ilākhr
Literal translation: Guys an offer is on its way to you
Idiomatic translation: Great offer just for you guys

مزايا الشباب تتغير مع Orange
Transliteration: Mazāya ishabāb ttghayar ma‘ ūranj
Literal translation: Youth benefits change with Orange
Idiomatic translation: your offers gets better with Orange

الحياة تتغير مع Orange
Transliteration: ilḥaya ttghayar maʿ ūranj

Literal translation Life changes with Orange.

Idiomatic translation: Life gets better with Orange.

There are twelve advertisements in the corpus that employ colloquial Arabic to address young people. Nine were found in Al-Rai and three in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix (4) 5)

However, the use of colloquial Arabic in advertisements is not confined to addressing the younger generation. I have also found advertisements addressing people in general without having a particular social or age group as their target audience. These include mobile phones offers in general, supermarkets, and fast food restaurants offers, such as in the following example:

Example (77)

Advertisement for Sameh Mall, Ra-22-09-011-29

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 22/09/2011
Transliteration: ṭāza wyā bllāsh
Literal translation: Fresh and nearly free
Idiomatic translation: Fresh and for a fraction of the price.

Transliteration: Fī minu halḥkī bas bsāmiḥ mūl
Literal translation: This thing can only be found in Sameh mall
Idiomatic translation: This can only be found at Sameh Mall.

According to Weinreich, not only the product determines which variety to use, but the copywriter has to take into consideration the target audience. If a product targets a certain ethnic group, the advertisement employs colloquial language that is exclusive to that group. For example, advertisement Ra-10-04-011-3 by the Jordanian Telecommunication company Zain advertising an offer to call Egypt. This advertisement is targeting Egyptian expatriats in Jordan, who form about sixty eight per cent of the labour force, according to the Department of Statistics and Census in Jordan and based on the telephone enquiry I made to the department on the 11th of February 2016, here the copywriter chose to compose the headline and subhead in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, and the rest of the information in MSA

Example (78)

Advertisement for Zain Telecommunication, Ra-10-04-011-3

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 10/04/2011
روحٌ فِنِّيّة مَصْر

Transliteration: Rūḥī fīkī yā maṣr

Literal translation: My soul lies in you Egypt,

Idiomatic translation: I left my heart in Egypt

دَلَّوَتْ مَعَ خطّ "أنا مصري" كَلَّم وَمَسَّ الحِبَّابَ وَما تَعَدّش الدِّقَّائِق

Transliteration: Dilwaṭī ma’ khaṭ “ānā maṣrī” kalim wmasīj ḥabāyb wma t‘iddish Ida‘a‘ī

Literal translation: now with “I am Egyptian” talk and send messages to your loved ones and don’t count the minutes.

Idiomatic translation: Now with “I am Egyptian” offer, you can talk and text endlessly.

The use of دَلَّوَتْ [dilwaṭī], كَلَّم [kalim] and تَعَدُّش [t‘iddish] gives the advertisement the Egyptian identity. They are hallmarks of Egyptian colloquial Arabic. The MSA equivalents to these are الأَن [al-ān], تَحْدِثُ [taḥḍīth] and لا تَحْسِب [lā taḥṣīb].

The Jordanian colloquial Arabic equivalent to it is هَالَا [hala‘], كَلَّم [kalim] is also not used in Jordanian colloquial Arabic, where اَحْكَي [iḥkī] is used instead. The use of ما [mā] followed by a verb suffixed by تَشْ [tish] to form negation is also a feature of Egyptian colloquial Arabic, though negation in Jordanian colloquial Arabic can be
formed in this way. If this advertisement were to be written in Jordanian colloquial Arabic, then it would read as follows:

روحً فيك يا مصّر (Jordanian colloquial Arabic)

Transliteration: Rūḥī fīkī yā maṣīr

هالاً مع خط "أنا مصري" إحكي ومستن الحبايب وما تغّد الدفايق (Jordanian colloquial Arabic)

Transliteration: hala’ ma’ khaṭ “ānā maṣrī” iḥkī wmasij lḥabāyb wmā t‘īd ĩda‘āi’

or il-daqāīq.

The underlined words show the difference in either how the words are realized in Jordanian colloquial Arabic or how different words are used in Jordanian Arabic instead. The point illustrated in this example is that even though the advertisement is found in a Jordanian broadsheet, the target audience determines which variety or dialect is to be used in it.

Another Jordanian Telecommunications company, Orange, followed suit when it advertised offers for Syrian refugees in Jordan (c.f. example 79 below, advertisement Ra-30-06-013-237). The copywriter used Syrian colloquial Arabic. Again, just like what was done in example 78 advertisement Ra-10-04-011-3, the headline and subhead are in colloquial Arabic while the small print is in MSA.

Example (79)

Advertisement for Orange Telecommunications, Ra-30-06-013-237

sThis advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 30/06/2013
الحوار تتفق مع "خط سوريا" أحكى مع صاحبك في الأردن مجاني واتطمن على أهلك بسوريا ب11 قرش

Transliteration: Ma′ khāṣ sūrya ihkī ma′ šhabak fī ilūrdūn majānan wīṭamīn ‘alā ahlak bi sūra b11 qirsh

Literal translation: With "Syria line" talk to your friends in Jordan for free and contact your family in Syria to see if they are fine with 11 piasters

Idiomatic translation: With "Syria offer" talk to your friends in Jordan for free and call your family in Syria for 11 piasters only

Orange "طمئننا عنكم" تتغير مع (L)

Transliteration: ṭamnūna ‘ankum tataghayr ma′ ūranj]

Literal translation: "Assure us you are safe and sound " changes with Orange.

Idiomatic translation: "keep in touch with family and friends" changes with Orange.

The use of the word صاحب [šeḩābak] gives this advertisement a Syrian identity. Even though Jordanian and Syrian dialects are very close, there are slight differences in that some words do not exist in the other dialect, or the same word is realized
differently, for example, the word صحابك [ṣeḥābak]. If this word was to be written in Jordanian colloquial Arabic, it would be written as أصحابك [a’sḥābak].

The same company also used the Jordanian Bedouin dialect to advertise its services to parts of the country inhabited by people of Jordanian origins. In example 80, advertisement Ra-01-09-013-251, the entire copy is written in the Bedouin dialect, whereas advertisement Ra-01-12-011-63 only the headline is written in Jordanian rural dialect and the rest of the copy is in MSA.

Example (80)

Advertisement for Orange Telecommunication, Ra-01-09-013-251

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/09/2013

حياكم.. بنستنّا ملتماكم

Transliteration: ḥayyakum.. bnistnna malgākum

Literal translation: Welcome.. We are waiting to meet you

بفروعنا الجديدة في معان ووجيل النصر
With our new branches in Ma'an and Jabal Al-Nassir, we added two new branches to the 61 Orange branches spread in the kingdom, two new branches.

In order to provide you with a better service, we have added two more branches to the 61 Orange branches in the kingdom to be closer to you at our disposal. Welcome, we look forward to seeing you.

In this advertisement, the use of حٌّاكم [ḥayyakum] and ملقاكم [malgākum] are hallmarks of Jordanian colloquial Arabic.

Some advertisements employ both diglossic and code switching at the same time. Being composed in colloquial Arabic, English and MSA, means that their target audience is anyone who can read either Arabic or English. The products are usually illustrated by pictures with captions in both Arabic and English. The producer assumes that other non-Arab readers may be interested in his products and it is his duty and in his own interest to offer his products to this segment of the population. Products or services belonging to this category include fast food restaurants, high-end retailers and supermarket offers. However, advertisements for computers, television sets or mobile phones that employ both diglossic and code switching usually change to English to discuss the features of the product, to clarify them (Abue Melhim 1991: 231-50). For example, advertisement Ah-04-10-011-39 has both code switching and diglossic switching.

Example (81)
Advertisement for Samsung Laptops, Ah-04-10-011-39

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on 04/10/2011

Transliteration: ishtarī lāb tob sāmsūngšūl alā shanta hadya

Literal translation: Buy a Samsung laptop and get a bag as a present

Idiomatic translation: Buy any Samsung laptop and get a laptop case for free

The headline shows diglossic switching within the same sentence. It consists of two clauses. The first clause is composed completely in the L form, while the second begins with a verb in the H variety, but continues in the L form. Then the copywriter switches codes to give the specification of the laptop in English.

RV509:
Processor: Intel Pentium Dual Core Processor Pb(200)
RAM: 2GB DDR3
MOD: 250GB
DDD: Super multi dual layer
Display: 15.6" LED HD
Graphics: INTEL GMA HD shared memory
Connectivity: Gigabit LAN 802
Operating System: DOS
Webcam

Then he changes codes again to Arabic in the H variety to close up the advertisement with the slogan.

حرية التنقل وقوة الأداء  

Transliteration: ḥurīat altanaqul waqūwwat al-adā'

Literal translation: Freedom of movement and strength in performance

Example (82)

Advertisement for Sameh Mall, Ra-01-12-013-261

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/12/2013
The headline, as it is read in Arabic from right to left, consists of the following three sentences:

[mā fī ḥaż awfar] ما في حظ اوفر

[ma’ sāmiḥ múl kūl shī ma’gūūūūl] or [ma’ ‘ūūūūl] مع سامح مول كل شي معفوفووووول

(depending on the reader).

[ikshat wrbāh milyūn ja’iza fawrīeh] اكشط واربح مليون جائزة فورية

The subhead consist of one sentence,

[taza wyā blāš] طازة ويا بلاش

Literal translation: *There is no better luck. With Sameh Mall everything is possible.*

*Scratch and win from our one million prizes. Fresh and almost free.*
Idiomatic translation: There is no such hard luck. With Sameh Mall everything is possible. Scratch and win immediately. Fresh, and for the fraction of the price.

In this advertisement, the copywriter employs both diglossic and code switching. Diglossic switching is done within the headline. The copy writer begins with the L variety in the first two sentences and switches to the H in the last sentence of the headline. Then as he moves to the subhead, he switches again to L variety. The subhead is written in the L variety then the code is switched to English to write the slogan. The body copy consists of listing the items in both English and Arabic, as I have mentioned before, to cater for those who know or do not know Arabic. The copywriter then closes the advertisement with the H variety informing the readers where these offers can be obtained. The text proceeds as follows:

طازة ويا بلالش

Transliteration: ṭaza wyā bllāsh (L)

This is followed by the slogan in English which is “Always fresh...always pay less” Followed by

العروض تشمل جميع فروع سامح مول (H)

Transliteration: Al-ʿūrūḍ tashmal jamīʿ frūʿ sāmiḥ mūl

Literal translation: The offers are found at all Sameh Mall branches.

Idiomatic translation: Offers are available at all Sameh Mall branches.

18 advertisements in the present corpus belong to this category, 13 in Al-Rai, and five in Al-Ahram (c.f. Appendix 4 b-2).
6. 3 Metaphoric Code Switching

The diglossic and code switching utilized in advertisements in the present corpus also illustrate Bloom and Gumperz metaphoric code switching theory. Metaphoric code switching can explain the motivation behind using diglossic and code switching when composing print advertisements. It is motivated by the speakers’ perception of themselves and how they would like to represent themselves in relation to external factors such as the setting, topic and social situation (Blom and Gumperz 1972 : 434). In advertisement copy, this is manifested as how the producer would like to be perceived by the prospective consumer in relation to the nature of the product or service. For example, the Jordanian Telecommunication Company, Orange, usually targets young people as their prospective customers by providing them with various tempting offers and services, assuming that they are continuously using the phone; either talking, using the social media or playing games. Most of their advertisements contain code and diglossic switching which can be explained using the Blom and Gumperz metaphoric code switching model. Orange likes to represent itself as a company that caters for young people and introduces the latest offers and plans either in phone sets or in plans for social media. For that reason it uses colloquial Arabic in most of its advertising campaigns, especially in the headline. For example, in example 83, advertisement Ra-31-3-013-219, the headline is written in colloquial Arabic, as is the rest of the advertisement except for the terms and conditions, which are written in MSA.

Example 83
Advertisement Orange telecommunication, Ra-31-3-013-219

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 31/03/2013
مع خط "درش" إحكى قد ما بذك بدون ما يطير

نحن في Orange نقدمكم عرض مامت في مثله وبدون رسوم اشتراك تحكى:

- مكالمات غير محدودة على شبكة Orange خلولما تشحن ب 5 دنانير أو أكثر في الشهر
- مكالمات دولية بأفضل الأسعار

تحقيق الشروط والاحكام.

للتحویل لهذا الخط إتصل ب Orange "عراحتي تتغير" مع ما ‘ک hat “dardish” ihki gad mā bidak bdūn mā yțfīr

Transliteration: ma‘ khat “dardish” ihkī gād mā bīdak bdūn mā yīfar
With “Chat” offer, you can talk for as long as you wish without getting out of credit.

We, at Orange, are presenting a one-of-a-kind offer and without any subscription fees to make:

Unlimited calls to Orange mobile numbers when you charge your phone with 5 dinars or more a month,

International calls with the best prices

2 piasters to other local networks

Terms and conditions apply. To change to this line, call...

“My own comfort changes with Orange”
Idiomatic translation: With “Chat” plan, you get unlimited calls Orange without upfront cost to make unlimited calls to Orange numbers when you top up your phone with 5 dinars or more monthly. To make international calls with the best prices, and to call other Jordanian standard networks with the cost of 2 piasters/minute.

Terms and conditions apply

To switch to this plan call....

“left to my own devices” changes with Orange

According to Bloom and Gumperz’s metaphoric code switching theory, the motivation for Orange to switch between the L and H varieties can be explained as follows. Orange likes to represent itself as a modern company that provides services for young people. That is why it uses colloquial Arabic in order to talk to young people in a way they can understand. This approach is similar to Weineirch’s speech event model in that the target audience determines which variety a copywriter should use.

The headline is written in L, followed by the copy which is also written L. But as the copywriter reaches the third offer, s/he employs diglossic switching. S/he begins with the L variety and finishes the sentence with H. The use of the word [il-‘ūkhrā] gives this part of the sentence the H character. However, this sentence is not grammatically correct in either of the varieties. I believe the copywriter has left out a word or a preposition. Instead of writing,

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{2 girsh ‘a lā ilashabakāt il-mahalīh il-‘ūkhrā} \\
\text{(L) (H)} 
\end{align*} \]
S/he should have included the preposition بِ [b] to make it a complete sentence. As for the diglossic switching from L to H within this offer can be explained in that the advertiser wants to entice the reader by including the price first, using the L variety and then completing the sentence with H variety. The advertiser is certain that when the reader sees the price, he will not carry on reading. The price is what matters to him/ her most.

As the advertisement proceeds to the terms and conditions of the call plan, it shifts to H to show some authority and formality. Again the advertiser shifts to the L variety to close up the advertisement with their slogan.

Code –switching between English and Arabic is also used in some of Orange advertisements not because there is no equivalence to the word used, but because it attracts the attention of the reader. For example, advertisement Ra-16-08-011-22, in example (35) mentioned earlier, has both codeswitching and diglossic switching

Example (35)

Advertisement for Orange telecommunication, Ra-16-08-011-22

This advertisement was published in Al-rai newspaper on 16/08/2011
Literal translation: knock knock who is at the door?
Idiomatic translation: Knock knock, who is at the door?

اتا انā Samsung gālaksī tāb Samsung Galaxcy tab(CS)

Literal and idiomatic translation: I am Samsung Galaxy tab

حصريا من Orange ووب 40 دينار

Literal and idiomatic translation: Exclusive from Orange and for 40 dinars

مع عرض للاشتراكات الشهرية unlimited

Literal translation: With the unlimited offer for monthly subscription

Idiomatic translation: With the Unlimited plan for the monthly contracts

استمتع بالميزات الفريدة التي تتضمن:

Literal translation: Enjoy the unique benefits which include:

Idiomatic translation: Enjoy the outstanding benefits which include:

نظام مؤتمرات الفيديو

Video conferencing

تصفح الانترنت والبريد الالكتروني

Browsing the internet and e-mails

البقاء على اتصال مع الجميع وفي كل مكان

Browsing the internet and staying connected with everyone everywhere
almaktaba al-alktronîya, andreuyd maʁk tɔ tætbiqat mjänan

Literal and idiomatic translation: Free use of the e-library, android market and other free applications

al ‘ard mashrût biltizäm Imudit sanatayn (H)

Literal translation: The offer is conditioned for two-years commitment

Idiomatic translation: The plan is for a two-year contract.

In the above advertisement the headline is written in the L variety and then the rest is written in the H variety except for the main features to which the advertiser wants to attract the prospective reader’s attention, such as ‘unlimited’, ‘video conferencing’ and ‘Galaxy Tab’, which are all written in English. The terms and conditions are written in small print in the H variety to show authority and formality.

Most advertisements that deploy code-switching or diglossic switching use the same method. Copywriters write the headline in the (L) variety along with the body, then when they reach the terms and conditions, they always write them in the (H) variety. If new technical words are mentioned, they are usually written in English. In the present corpora, I have found thirty-seven advertisements that contain both code and diglossic switching, twenty-four were found in Al-rai and thirteen in Al-ahram (c.f. Appendix (5)). Bloom and Gumperz agree with Weinreich that diglossic switching depends on the topic and the social situation, however they add that there is another factor that should considered when switching which is how does speaker, and for the purpose of this thesis, the advertiser wants to be perceived and presented in relation to the product and the target audience. Therefore, according to them, if the advertiser wants to be presented as modern and achieves social acceptance if
targeting young, educated prospective readers, s/he uses the L variety but switches to H when s/he wants to show formality and authority.

6.4 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Another model that can explain code and diglossic switching in print advertisement is Gils et al’s communication accommodation theory. Gils et al’s (CAT) bipartite model is very similar to Bloom and Gumperz metaphoric code switching theory, but does not deal with how the speaker wants to be perceived. The CAT states that people converge or adapt their speech to the addressed person in order to gain social acceptance, and they diverge their speech to accentuate the difference between themselves and the listener by choosing a certain code (Giles et al 1987: 13-48). The same explanation can be applied to diglossic switching in print advertisements. When the copywriter uses colloquial Arabic in his/her copy, they aim to converge in order to win social acceptance from their target audience and hence entice the prospective customer to read the advertisement. When the advertiser uses the H variety, s/he actually diverges to show authority over his/her reader. For that reason, in an advertisement that has diglossic switching, the headline, and sometimes the subhead are written in the L variety, whereas the terms and conditions of the plan or offer are written in the H variety. Advertisement Ra-01-07-013-243 in example 84 supports the CAT analysis.

Example (84)

Advertisement for Kia motors, Ra-01-07-013-243

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 01/07/2013.
Get out and about with Pikanto or Rio

Be the coolest with Pikanto or Rio

In the headline, the advertiser converges and employs words that are popular among the young so as to persuade the prospective reader from that demographic segment that the car suits him/her. By using the same words young people use when they converse with their peers, the advertiser is convincing them that s/he belong to their league.

Enjoy this summer and get moving to a world of benefits starting from 55 dinars/day

Enjoy the summer with array of benefits starting from 55 dinars/day
The advertiser switches varieties to the H to accentuate himself/herself from the addressed reader that s/he has authority over the reader and therefore lists the benefits also in the H variety.

[majānan: khadmāt šiyāna liawal 25000 km] مجاناً: خدمات صيانة لأول 25000كم

Literal and idiomatic translation: Free: maintenance for the first 25000km

Galaxy Tab [majānan: jihāz galaxcy tab] (H) مجاناً: جهاز

Literal and idiomatic translation: Free: Galaxy Tab

[majānan: rusūm tasjīl wa tarkhīṣ] (H) مجاناً: رسوم تسجيل وترخيص

Literal and idiomatic translation: Free: registration

[majānan: biṭāqa i’timānya biraṣīd naqādi lighāyat 400 dīnār(llḥuṣūl a’lā hadhā al’ard yushtaraṭ alḥuṣūl a’lā müwafaqat tamwīl min bank ‘ūdh)]

Literal translation: Free: credit card with 400 dinars credit ( to get this offer you need to get a financing plan approval from Odeh Bank)

Idiomatic translation: Free: credit card with 400 dinars credit ( to be ineligible for this offer, an approval for a financing plan from Odeh Bank is required).

[majānan: ishtirāk li 3 ashur fī nādī Intensity al-riyaḍī]

Literal and idiomatic translation: Free: 3 months membership in Intensity 180 gym

Most of the advertisements that contain diglossic switching support Giles et al’s theory of CAT that the copywriter switches varieties or codes either to attain social
acceptance or to express superiority over the addressed reader. It is concerned with relationship between the advertiser and the prospective customer unlike Weinreich’s model that the topic, or in this case the product, determines which variety to be used. It also differs from Bloom and Gumperz metaphoric code switching in that it does pay attention to how it is being perceived, rather than to show solidarity or superiority.

6.5 Social Arena Theory

Another theory that can explain diglossic and code switching in print advertisement is Scotton and Ury’s ‘social arena’ theory (c.f 6.1). It explains why people switch between varieties of the same language or between codes when conversing and this can equally be applied to composing print advertisements. As we have seen, ‘social arena’ theory postulates that the social motivation for choosing of a variety is determined by three social arenas: identity, power and transaction. They argue that the speaker switches between codes or varieties when s/he wants to redefine the interaction to a different social arena (c.f. section 6.1).

When speakers define their interaction within the identity arena, they use the informal L variety, basically because they are equal and the interlocutors within this arena share some factors that make up their identity. The participants in the interaction might share, for example, the same occupation, educational or social background, or age group. Conversations between family members or friends takes place within this arena. When a speaker switches codes or switches between varieties s/he redefines the arena where he wants to be. For example, if a person, interacting within the identity arena, switches from L to H, s/he redefines his/ her arena from identity to power by this switch, since H is associated with authority and
formality and L with more personal and informality. In a conversation outside the
identity arena, interlocutors may not possess the same amount of power. One
speaker may invoke more power than others. A professor lecturing at a university is
an example of a speaker operating within the power arena. As s/he lectures s/he
uses the high variety, but outside the lecture room s/he might switch to the low
variety as s/he talks to her/his students. In this case s/he redefines his /her arena
from the power to the transaction arena where s/he has to consider the transaction
or the situation and purpose of the speech. For example, in the same situation,
where the professor is talking to his/her students using the L variety outside the
lecture room, the student may be asking for a permission to skip the next lecture for
personal reasons, or this student is related by kinship to the professor.

Scotton and Ury’s social arena theory can be deployed to explain the choice of a
copywriter of a certain variety when composing a print advertisement. Example 85
below, is an example of the identity arena, where the copywriter uses colloquial
Arabic in the whole advertisement without switching. Here the service provider is
talking to its prospective customer to make them feel equal and to break any social
barrier.

Example (85)

Advertisement for Orange communication, Ra-22-12-013-264

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 22/012/2013
أحدث وأسرع إنترنت بسرعة بتوصل لـ 100 ميجابت/ثانية (L)
من الأسباب لتكونوا معنا (L)

اتصالك بالعالم وتواصلك مع أحبائك وأصحابك في كل مكان مهم كثير لك. لهيك بنقدملك ولأول مرة في الأردن إنترنت بسرعة بتوصل لـ 80 ميجابت/ثانية واتترنت Fiber to the home بسرعة بتوصل لـ 100 ميجابت/ثانية واتترنت ميجابت/ثانية بجودة عالياً لتشبك قد ما بكذب وتتنزل براحتكم (L)

Transliteration: aḥdath wasra’ intrnt bisur’a bitwašl li 100 migābīt/ thanīh
Min ilāsbāb iltkūnū ma’na. itišālk bil’ālam wtwašulk ma’ aḥbabak wasḥabak fī kul makan muhīm ktīr ilak. Lahaik bin’adimlā wilawal mara fī alurdun VDSL bisur’a bitwašil li 80 migābit/ thanīh waintrnt Fiber to the home bisur’a bitwašl li 100 migābīt/ thanīh bijūdeh ‘ālīh Itišbik ‘ad mā bidak wtnazzil birāḥtak]

Literal translation: The latest and fastest internet with a 100 megabit/second speed

The reasons that make you join us is that we know it is important for you to connect to the world and communicate with your family and friends everywhere. That’s why we offer you and for the first time in Jordan a good quality VDSL internet with a
speed of 80 megabit / second and Fiber to the home internet with a speed of 100 megabit/second so that you can connect and download whatever you want. 

Idiomatic translation: A breakthrough in internet technology in Jordan. Because we know it is important for you to stay in touch with your family and friends around the world, we at Orange offer you a new internet with VDSL internet with a speed of 80 megabit / second, and fiber to the home internet with a speed of 100 megabit/second so you can connect, browse and download freely.

Social arena theory can also be used to explain diglossic switching in print advertisement. Looking back at example 84, the use of the identity arena is obvious in the headline and the body. In the headline the advertiser identifies the product and the prospective customer as having similar interests and therefore they both should be speaking the same language. The advertised car is a small, budget, convenient and good-looking car and the prospective customer, according to the words selected, is expected to be a young person with limited budget. By using the word "فٌعَّ" an urban expression to indicate ‘coolness’ in the L variety, the advertiser is seeking to draw the young reader’s attention to the advertisement. As the advertiser moves to the body copy, he/she switches to the H variety to state the benefits and the terms and conditions. Here the copywriter switches to a more formal style of language to show authority and power by giving more information, and so the advertisement redefines the arena from identity to power.

Another example that shows redefinition of social arenas by diglossic switching can be found in example 86
Advertisement for LG appliances, Ra-20-10-013-256

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 20/10/2013

Come and visit the Modern Vision showrooms, the only agent for LG, to benefit from our strongest offers and discounts on all electric appliances from LG for two weeks only.

Idiomatic translation: Exceptional offers on our second anniversary

Visit Modern Vision showroom, the exclusive agent for LG in Jordan to benefit from the most amazing offers and discounts on all electric appliances from LG for 2 weeks only.
The headline is written in the L variety within the identity arena where the copywriter is taking up the role of a friend communicating with people with similar shared factors. The copywriter then takes on the role of information giver, and switches to the H variety in the body copy. By doing so, the copywriter redefines his/her arena from the identity arena to the transactional where the situation and the topic require the use of the H variety. All advertisements in the corpus that contain diglossic switching from L to H are motivated by the same reason according to Scotton and Ury’s social arena theory. However, not all advertisements switch from L to H, some advertisements switch from H to L. When the copywriter does this s/he moves from the transactional arena to the identity arena, as in example 87.

In this advertisement, there is no salient power arena. The advertiser is not offering new services or trying to sell products. S/he is reminding people of his/her existence and show solidarity in a special time of the year, Ramadan, the holy month of fasting for Muslims. Hence, the copy writer begins the advertisement with the H variety, because the situation and timing of the advertisement requires it. The proper variety of language to be used is the H variety since it is associated with classical Arabic, the variety of Arabic associated with religious liturgy. When the copywriter switches from H to L, s/he moves from the transactional to the identity arena.

Example 87

Advertisement for umniah telecommunication, Ra-14-7-013-245.

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on 14/07/2013
من لم يشكر القليل، لم يشكر الكثير ومن لم يشكر الناس لم يشكر الله.

واتت قاعد وتعبان تذكر في رمضان انه كل يوم في انسان خباز أو عجان عشان لقتمك صاحي من بدري أو سهران هو واحد من الفرسان وبطل كل الازمان الله يخلله الهمة وله منا كلمة شكرأ.

Transliteration: man lam yashkur alqalîl lam yashkur alkathîr waman lam yashkur alnâs lam yashkur Allâh

Winta gâ‘id wta‘bân tdhakar fî ramaḍân inuh fî inssân khabbâz aw ‘ajjân ‘ashâān lugmitak

šâhî min badrî aw sahrân huweh wâhîd min ilfursân wabaţal kul ilazmân. Allâh ykhalîluh ilhimme w illuh minâ kilmit shukran]

Literal translation: Those who are not thankful for little things, will never be thankful for many things and those who do not thank people do not thank God. As you sit tired in Ramadan in your house remember that every day, a person, a baker who is still awake or woke up early to bake your bread. He is one of the cavaliers and a hero of all times. May God give him strength and he deserves thank you from us
Idiomatic translation: Those who are unthankful for small things cannot be thankful for big things, and those who do not thank people do not thank God. Remember as you sit at home in Ramadan feeling tired for just doing nothing that there is a person like a baker who did not go home or woke up early to prepare your bread for you. He is truly a knight, a hero who deserves to be thanked.

In example 87, the copywriter not only redefines his/her social arena when s/he shifts from H to L, but he does so to emphasise a point (Abu-Melhim 1991: 231-50) that in this month people should appreciate others.

In my corpus, I found three advertisements only in al-Rai that have diglossic switching from H to L. (c.f. appendix 1 advertisements Ra-14-10-012-145, Ra-14-7-013-245 and Ra-9-05-011-7). No advertisement was found in Al-ahram that switches from H to L.

Other reasons, I have found in the present corpus that make copywriters switch between varieties and codes can be explained employing Bassiouney’s (2009), Mejdell’s (1996), Holes’ (1993), Mazraani’s (1999) and abu- Melhim’s (1991) theories of motivations for diglossic switching in speech. The reason I do not employ their theories so intensively to explain diglossic switching is because some of them are similar to Weireich, Gumperz, Scotton and Ury’s theories.

When an advertising company is commissioned to create an advertisement campaign for a new product or even an existing one, their main objective is the memorability of the product. Their main objective is to create an interesting advertisement with considerable cost. In audio and visual media, making an interesting advertising is easier than in print. In order to make the advertisement interesting on television or the radio, linguistic and paralinguistic elements can be
easily deployed such as music and dancing. However, in print advertisements, the challenge surfaces in employing linguistic elements to make them interesting. Diglossic switching is one linguistic method employed to achieve this.

Bassiouney (2009: 273-284) argues that broadcast advertisers, especially on television, employ more stylistic devices, whether linguistic or non-linguistic, when they use one variety of language than when they use two. In her study of 30 TV commercials on Egyptian national TV, (Bassiouney 2009: 283) concludes that if switching is not used in advertisements, then advertisers use devices such as singing and dancing with advertisements composed in ECA. She adds that TV and radio advertisements employing one linguistic variety, especially MSA, use repetition and rhyming schemes to enhance the advertiser’s massage and attract the attention of the prospective customer.

In print advertisements, the memorability objective is more challenging since the paralinguistic elements are limited to colour and images. Therefore, the copywriter has to employ linguistic techniques to make a effective advertisement. For the commissioner, an effective advertisement is the one that “minimises cost and maximises rewards”, that is, using fewer words to give the intentional meaning (Myers-Scotton 1993: 110). This can be achieved by employing rhetorical devices. Hence, copywriters opt for diglossic and code switching as a technique for rhetorical purposes (Mazraani 1997: 25) in order to entice prospective customers and make the advertisement more memorable (c.f. 3.11).
6.6 Analysing a Sample Advertisement According to The Social Motivation Theories for Diglossic Switching.

The above mentioned theories related to the motivation for diglossic and code switching, are interconnected. When a copywriter embarks on composing an advertisement, I am sure s/he takes into account these theories. In this section, I analyse some of the advertisements to highlight the theories mentioned above and how they are related.

Example (88)

Advertisement for Orange telecommunication, Ra-09-05-011-9

This advertisement was published in Al-rai newspaper on the 09/05/2011
خط ما إلى آخر لشباب من الآخر وبس بـ 1.5 دينار أسبوعياً

Transliteration: khaṭ mā ‘īlū ākhīr Lshabāb min āLākhīr ū bas bi 1.5 dīnār usbu‘īn

Literal translation: A line that does not have an end to the young who are cool and only for 1.5 dinars weekly

Idiomatic translation: A SIM plan with no limits for cool people for 1.5 dinars weekly
نحن في Orange نعرف أنتم الشباب بتحب كل شيء من الآخر عن طريق خط مع خط من الآخر المدفوع مسبقاً

Transliteration: niḥnā fī orange bni’raf inū intū ilshabāb bitḥibū kūl shī min ilākhīr ‘ashān haik mā’ khaṭ min ilākhīr Ilmadfū’ mūsbqa‘ān.

Literal translation: We at Orange know that you young people like to get cool things for that reason with the prepaid Cool Line

Idiomatic translation: We at Orange know that cool people like you love to get cool things. The prepaid Cool plan

رح بطلعلكممجانا مزايا متعددة كل أسبوع

Transliteration: rāḥ yitlā’ilkūm majānan māzāyā mūta’adidih kūl ūsbū‘

Literal translation: you will get free various free benefits every week

Idiomatic translation: will give you free cool benefits every week.

الخط مشحون برصيد مجاني بقيمة درايين تشمل اشتراك الأسبوع الأول

Transliteration:Al-khaṭ mashḥūn biraṣīd majjāni biqīmat dinārayn tashmal ishtirāk alūṣbu‘ al-awwal
Literal translation: The line has a credit of 2 dinars which include the subscription of the first week,

Idiomatic translation: The SIM includes a 2 dinars credit inclusive of the first week subscription,

تعرفة المكالمات بعد الدلائك المجانية 3 قروش

Transliteration: ta’rifat al mūkālamāt ba‘d al-daqā‘q al-majjānīa 3 qurūsh

Literal translation: The tariff for calls after using up the free minutes is 3 Piasters per minute for all local networks

Idiomatic translation: The tariff for calls after using up the free minutes is 3 Piasters per minute for all local networks

يمكنك التحويل إلى خط من الآخر بالضغط على #200*

Transliteration: yūmkinaka altahwil ila khāṭ min āLākhir bilḍaghāṭ ‘ala *200*

Literal translation: You can change to min āLākhir offer by pressing *200*.

The change will cost 4 dinars including the first week subscription.

Idiomatic translation: You can switch to ‘Min āLākhir’ plan by dialling *200*. Cost of switching is 4 dinars inclusive of the first week subscription.

Example (88) is made up of three parts:

1- The headline, written in the (L) variety

2- The body copy which consists also of three parts
a. Introduction to the offer, which includes diglossic switching following a pattern of L, H, L, H.

b. Terms and conditions, written in the H variety

c. The offer written inside circles written employing both diglossic and code switching

3- The slogan, written in the H variety.

Example (88) illustrates Holes, Mazraani, and Medjel theories that diglossic switching is intentional.

The overall composition of the advertisement using the linguistic and paralinguistic elements in the advertisement support Medjel’s theory of motivation for diglossic switching which is similar to Bloom and Gumperz’s ‘Metaphoric code switching’ theory where the copywriter uses the L variety to present the company as a youthful one that caters for young people’s needs since they are the prospective customers.

According to Medjel, the choice of the variety to be used depends on how the company wants to present itself or be perceived by others.

Writing the headline in the L variety accords with Weinreich’s speech event theory, Giles et al’s CAT theory, Bloom and Gumperz’s metaphoric code switching, and Scotton and Ury’s social arena theory.

According to Weinreich’s ‘speech event’ theory, the advertiser has to consider his target audience, which in this case is young people who would find an advertisement written in the (H) variety boring and would not give their attention to read it.

Therefore, the headline should be written in the L variety to achieve its objective.

This also supports Gils et al’s (CAT) theory where the copywriter converges the language s/he uses to suit and be intelligible to the prospective customer. According
to social arena theory, the copywriter is interacting within the identity arena where the service provider is actually conversing with the age group s/he is targeting. This is done by the use of the phrase [Lshbāb min āLākhir], in the headline.

[āLākhir] is used by young people to mean ‘cool’ or ‘stylish’ young person. People who do not belong to this age group would not capture the meaning of this ‘term’ which most probably is unintelligible to them. The copywriter has also used the rhetorical device of punning to make the headline more appealing to the reader. Playing with words [L] and [āLākhir] is used to achieve rhyme and aid in the memorability process.

Transliteration: khaṭ mā ‘iLū ākhir Lshabāb min āLākhir ū bas bi 1.5 dīnār usbu‘īan.

As the copywriter moves to the body, s/he continues with the L variety, supporting Abu Melhim’s and the (CAT) theories that switching is used to explain an issue or for clarification and hence continues with using the L variety. In this advertisement, the copywriter is giving more information about the plan on offer. However, at the end of the introduction to the body, the copywriter switches varieties. Consider the following treatment for example (88)where L stands for the low variety H for the high variety, S for shared and E for English:

Introduction of the body

[ṇiḥnā fi orange bni‘raf inū intū ilshabāb bithibū kūl shī min ilākhir ‘ashān haik mā’]

(Headline) خط ما إلو آخر لشباب من الآخر وبس ب 1.5 دينار أسبوعياً
The shared words used here are in fact in the L variety, since the copywriter adopts the urban colloquial Arabic spoken in Amman and the way it is read will be the same way it is spoken. The explanation for why the copywriter switches to H variety in المدفوع مسبما\(\text{almadfū'}\ mūsbaqān\) literally translated as “previously paid” and idiomatically translated “prepaid”, instead of continuing with the L variety is that it is more economic for the advertiser to use two words instead of six. To give the same meaning of المدفوع مسبما\(\text{almadfū'}\ mūsbaqān\) in colloquial Arabic, the writer has to write

\begin{align*}
yallī lāzm tidfa'uh abil mā tistakhdimuh
\end{align*}

Transliteration: yallī lāzm tidfa'uh abil mā tistakhdimuh

Literal translation: The thing you have to pay for before you use it

Idiomatic translation: Prepaid

By switching varieties the copywriter is supporting Myers-Scotton’s notion of ‘minimising cost and increasing rewards’ (1993: 110). Furthermore, the service provider is entering the power arena but then converges, according to CAT and switches to the L variety in رح يطلعلكم [rāḥ yittā'ilkūm] literally translated as “you'll
get to address the prospective customer. At the end of the sentence, the copywriter switches varieties once more, from L to H in [majānan māzāyā mūta‘addīh kūl ūsbū’]. By doing this, the advertiser is taking the role of authority and redefining his/her social arena; from identity to power. Following the introduction of the body copy, the copywriter writes the terms and conditions of this plan in small print in the H variety, so remaining in the power arena.

الخط مشحون برصيد مجاني بمسمى دينارين تشمل اشتراك الأسبوع الأول

تعرفة الدقائق المجانية 3 فروش

يمكنك التحويل إلى خات من الآخر بالضغط على #200

Transliteration: khaṭ mā ‘iLū ākhīr Lshabāb min āLākhir ū bas bi 1.5 dīnār usbu’ iān

Transliteration: niḥnā fī orange bnī‘raf inū intū ilshabāb bitḥibū kūl shī min ilākhir
‘ashān haik mā’ khaṭ min ilākhir Ilmadfū’ mūsbaqān rāḥ yilā‘īlkūm majānan māzāyā mūta‘addīh kūl ūsbū’

alkhaṭ mashḥūn birāṣīd majjānī biqīmit dīnārayn tashmal ishtirār alūsbu’ alawwāl
ta‘rifat al mūkālamāt ba’d aldaqā‘q almajjānīa 3 qurūsh

yūmkinaka altaḥwīl ila khaṭ min āLākhir bildaghaṭ ‘ala *200*

The advertisement continues with the body by listing the offer in circles scattered throughout the advertisement. Here again the advertiser is redefining his/her social arena from power to identity this time by code switching rather than diglossic switching.
Transliteration: 25 MB litaṣaḥūf twitter wā facebook kūl ūsbū’

Literal translation: 25MB every week to browse Facebook and Twitter

The reason for switching between Arabic and English here is that Facebook and Twitter are widely used by young people who are familiar with their terms in English and again the advertiser wants to stay within the identity arena.

Advertisements that employ diglossic or code switching can be analyzed in the same way they are analyzed in speech.

6.5 Summary

This chapter continues to answer the research question of what the features of the register of composing advertising are, in particular diglossic switching between the H and L varieties of Arabic. Scholars and theorists have tried to explain the phenomenon of diglossic and code switching in speech. However, very few have tried to explain this phenomenon in written texts. Abedl-Malek (1972), Rosenbaum (2000) and Kindt et al (2016) are among the few who have been interested in diglossia in Egyptian written texts. They conclude that it is perfectly normal in Egypt to use Egyptian colloquial Arabic (ECA) in writing. However, they do not state the motivation that makes writers employ diglossic switching in their literary work. Since this phenomenon has been appearing extensively in print advertisements in Jordanian broadsheets, I sought to explore theories of switching in spoken context that can explain the motivation for the copywriter employing this technique when composing an advertisement. This chapter tries to explain the social motivation of the copywriter when employing diglossic switching building on the theories of Gumperz’s Metaphoric code switching theory (1982a), CAT, postulated by Giles et al (1987), and the ‘Social arena’ theory proposed by Scotton and Ury (1977).
The present corpus illustrates that diglossic switching in print advertisements corresponds to most theories including Gumper’s metaphoric code switching, and that the issue of diglossic switching depends on how the producer of the product or service wants to be perceived by his/her prospective reader. Hence, not all products’ advertisements employ diglossic switching. The nature of the product and the prospective customers determine that.

Another theory that can be applied to explaining the social motivation for diglossic switching in print advertisement is Giles et al’s (CAT) theory where copywriters converge or diverge in the language they use but again the nature of the product and prospective customer determines when to change varieties.

Scotton and Ury’s theory of social arena can also explain the diglossic switching that takes place in print advertisements. Applying the social arena to advertisement, the copywriter determines which variety s/he intends to use depends on which arena s/he wants to be identified with. If s/he wants to define themselves within the identity arena, then the language used should be suitable for that prospective reader. In other words the copywriter has to use the L variety if his/her prospective customers belong to a young age group. It is easier to compose an advertisement in the low variety or the colloquial language since it is intelligible to all people from various backgrounds and different age group. The high variety, on the other hand, might be challenging to some. If the copywriter defines himself or herself within the power arena, s/he shifts to the H variety which is associated with formal issues and authority. For that reason the rule is no matter in which variety the advertisement is being composed in, when it comes to stating terms and conditions, they should be written in the H variety.
Diglossic switching can happen in print advertisement on two levels, the sentential level and the word level. If it happens on the sentential level, it usually takes place across following sentences. This again is determined by the commissioned copywriter in which social arena s/he wants the producer to be in. However employing diglossic switching on word level could be explained as either Arabic like any language evolves and import words from other varieties and other codes and add them to its repertoire, or the writer wants to emphasise a point by using a word that is very common to all people.
Chapter seven

The Influence of English on Broadsheet Advertisements

7.1 Introduction

English has recently come to be regarded as a *lingua franca*, not particularly because of the number of its speakers as a mother tongue, but for its political, economic and cultural status that gave it such prestige. It gained its niche as an important language after WWII and after the League of Nations made it one of its two official languages along with the French (Crystal 2012: 87). English established itself in the world through British military control and economic supremacy since the seventeenth century. Britain’s political control through colonization had reached most of the globe, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain had become the most powerful country in trade and industry (Crystal 2012: 10). English then has remained supreme language during the twentieth century as the British imperial control was replaced by the political and economic strength of the new American superpower (ibid). This has also been enhanced by the advances in technology and globalization. English established itself in Arab countries, particularly Transjordan then, currently known as Jordan, Iraq and Palestine which were subject to a long mandate after the Allied victory in WWII over the Ottomans who had occupied the Middle East for nearly 600 years.

The two countries in this study have been under the influence of the British control, either by being under the British protectorate as it is the case of Egypt, or being under the British mandate as the case of Jordan. However, unlike France who tried
to eradicate Arabic by making French the official language in its colonies in all domains, the British administration did not establish its language in the colonies, rather “English established itself” (Bassiouney 2009: 216-254). Because of the political, military and economic power of the British government then, English has become an international language and is the most widely taught as a chief foreign language in schools worldwide (Crystal 2012: 5). It is taught in over 100 countries, and in some cases it has replaced another formerly dominant foreign language taught at schools, such as the case of Algeria, which was a French colony and French was the language of instruction there before it was replaced by English (Crystal 2012: 5-13). The medium of communication in Egypt among foreigners and foreigners and Egyptians during the British protectorate was French (Lanver 2012: 87). However, English then surpassed French and became the obligatory foreign language to be taught at schools in Egypt (ibid). Similarly, both the British and American powers are obvious in Jordan. English is taught from grade one in state-run schools and is the language of instruction at universities for most subjects especially the sciences.

For these reasons, English can be spoken by most people in both countries with various levels of proficiency, depending on socio-economic factors. Fishman (1967: 32) categorises Jordan and Egypt as countries of “stable diglossia co-occurring with wide spread bilingualism, which use classical and vernacular Arabic and, not infrequently, also a western language (French or English most usually) for the purposes of intra-group scientific or technological communication”. Of course since this article has been published, Arabic language has witnessed lots of evolution. The use of ‘classical Arabic’ is limited to certain domains and MSA is used instead, as has been discussed earlier in this thesis.
This chapter investigates the use of English words, loanwords, transliteration and the Arabizi style, in print advertising in the two countries involved in this study. But first, it outlines the factors that make people acquire an additional language, the definition of bilingualism, the personal motivation to become bilingual, borrowing and interference.

**7.2 What Makes People acquire an additional language?**

People usually learn another language to be able to communicate with other people whose mother tongue is different from theirs. There are other, socio-economic, reasons for this. Ralph Fasold (1984:20) states four factors that cause bilingualism: *migration, imperialism, federation* and *border areas*. Not all four factors can be applied to the spread of bilingualism in Jordan, only two of them explain the spread of English in both Jordan and Egypt. These are migration and imperialism. Fasold identifies two kinds of migration; the first is when a large group expands its territories by moving to neighbouring lands. In this case two things may happen. Either the small group will linguistically succumb to the larger or they may maintain their own identity. The other is when a small ethnic group moves into a territory that is under the control of another nationality. These immigrants arrive speaking their own language and will only add to the host nation multilingualism. In the case of the two countries in this study, small groups have migrated to the United States, mainly for socio-economic reasons or for education. These groups have succumbed to English and those who returned occasionally use it in their speech.

Within his ‘imperialism’ category, Fasold identifies three types. The first is colonisation where a small group of people from a controlling nationality move to a new area and take charge of it. The second is annexation, where one powerful
country seizes and takes control of one or more smaller ones, for example, the absorption of the Baltic republics into the Soviet Union after the Second World War. Economic imperialism is when a foreign language ‘invades’ a country without the associated nationality ever taking political control over the country because of the economic advantage associated with it. An example of economic imperialism is the spread of English in Thailand, a country that has never been colonized by an English-speaking country. In these three types of imperialism, the language of the imperialist countries is introduced into the colonized societies even few people from the imperialist countries reside there. Their language gains great power and importance. In annexation and colonization, the language of the imperialist is used as the language of instruction in education and as the official language of the government. However, in economic imperialism, the imperialist language becomes essential for international commerce and diplomacy (Fasold 1984:10).

Imperialism including colonization and economic imperialism has contributed to the spread of English in both Jordan and Egypt. First, as I have mentioned earlier, through British military power and then through the American economic and technological power.

Myers-Scotton (2010) suggests similar factors to those suggested by Fasold for bilingualism but added education and the spread of international languages. She identifies six factors that contribute to bilingualism, however only four of these can apply to the spread of English in both countries.

1. Military invasion and subsequent colonization. In such situation, the colonized population find themselves under the control of people who speak a language they do not understand and hence find themselves inclined to learn the
language of the colonizing power. This explains the situation with Jordan and Egypt. These were under the British control for some time and it was inevitable for educated Jordanians and Egyptians to learn English to be able to communicate with the administration.

2. Migration for social and economic reasons. Most people, who choose to voluntarily migrate, do so to improve their economic conditions. In order to be able to mingle socially, carry on daily tasks and work, they need to learn the language of the host country. Some people migrate involuntarily to other countries because of wars or unstable political conditions of their home land, when they get to the host country, they may be offered language classes by the host country and they learn the language through contact with the speakers of the new language.

3. Education as a factor in bilingualism. Certain languages act as hallmarks of educated people. For example, in the past Latin was considered as the language of educated people. However in the present time English is considered the language of science and education and hence it is taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries in most of these countries, English is taught as a second language (Crystal 2012: 5).

4. Spread of international languages. As the economic value of a certain language increases, this leads to an increase in the number of people speaking it and this will eventually make it a lingua franca. Therefore people who do not speak this language find themselves under pressure to learn it even if their interaction patterns are unchanged (Myers –Scotton 2010: 32). However there are other reasons that make individual speakers voluntarily
want to speak a second language. These reasons are discussed in the following section.

7.3. The Principal motivations for Gaining a Foreign Language in Egypt and Jordan.

Building on the findings of both Fasold (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1993b), I believe that the factors that have helped English to become the major foreign language in both Egypt and Jordan can be summarized as follows: colonisation, globalisation, voluntary migration, education and technology.

- **Colonisation**: Though both countries were directly or indirectly under the British, yet English was not imposed on these two countries. However people who needed to communicate with officials at that time needed to learn English. But English was confined to a certain social stratum.

- **Globalisation**: as these two countries have gained independence from British rule, they started building their economies and opened up their markets to international businesses. Therefore, in order to communicate with producers who do not speak Arabic, they needed to find an international language that is spoken and understood by all, and of course this language is English. A person with proficiency in a dominant business language such as English will have better chances for work and closing business deals and hence economic mobility than those who do not speak the language.

- **Voluntary migration**: A lot of people in these two countries migrate to the United States or the United Kingdom to work and hence improve their social and economic status. For this reason, they need to acquire the language of
these countries in order to communicate with others socially and carry on with their daily life and work.

- **Education and technology:** It is known that English is the language of science and technology. For that reason, English has been legislated in the two countries to be taught in schools from the first grade and to be the language of instruction in universities for various topics especially the sciences. The internet and advances in telecommunications form a major factor in acquiring English. According to Crystal (2012), eighty percent of the world’s electronically saved information is in English (Crystal 2012: 115). This includes materials either privately stored information by individual companies and businesses; and information made available through the internet (ibid). Hence, if a person wants to look up any kind of information on the World Wide Web, s/he needs some knowledge of English.

English has also a social power. The social power of any language is achieved if it is treated as an ‘elite closure’ (Myers–Scotton 2010: 35): that is by using this language, a person will be identified as elite and he/she uses it as a contrivance to draw boundaries between himself/herself and the non-elite. Myers–Scotton (1993b: 149) defines elite closure as “a type of social mobilization strategy by which those persons in power establish or maintain their powers and privileges via linguistic choices” By elite, she (2010:35) refers to policy-makers, which include politicians, government administrators, educators and non-governmental professionals (Myers–Scotton 2010:35). Therefore, learning a second language that has both social and economic power encodes the social identity of the speaker and how they want to be presented and perceived (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1996:572). Therefore, people associate English with modernization,
urbanization and intellectualism. In Jordan and Egypt, people associate English with the upper and educated middle classes who have attended private schools and pursued their university education abroad in particularly in the United States and United Kingdom. This cultural contact has not only affected the bilingual person, but also it has enriched the Arabic language and added new words to its repertoire. This influence is seen in print advertisements, where English is transliterated or English loan words are used.

7.4 The Use of English Loan Words in Arabic

Most, if not all, languages have lexical elements that come from other languages as a result of cultural contact. The enlistment of new words across languages is a process coined by scholars and linguists as ‘borrowing’ words. Even though there is no borrowing action in this process, since words cannot be ‘returned’, the expression is used metaphorically to indicate that the words do not originally belong to this language but were added to its repertoire as a result of cultural contact. Borrowing lexical elements is an asymmetric process. Speakers of a certain language, considered less prestigious in terms of socioeconomic power criteria, take lexical items into their (recipient) language words from a more prestigious (donor) language, and these words are enlisted in their lexical repertoire. Another process that results from individual bilingualism is code switching, which also involves the use of two languages and eventually results in word-borrowing. Loan words cannot become part of the recipient language repertoire if they are introduced into the recipient language through code switching. However, as they reoccur they gain status there.
Scholars such as Weinreich (1967), Poplack et al (1988), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Haugen (1950b,1989), Poplack and Vanniarajan (1990) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 2010) have discussed borrowing and code switching and have identified various types of loan words that people sometimes confuse them for transliterated words.

Code switching was discussed in general within the framework of diglossic switching in chapter six of this thesis. In this chapter, I discuss loan words in general and how they are utilized in print advertisement in the two broadsheets involved in this study. But first I look into the definition of loan words.

7.4.1 What are Loan Words?

Building on the definitions of the scholars above, I define ‘borrowing’ as a process whereby the speaker of one language borrows a lexical element from another prestigious language and incorporates it into his native language to sometimes fill a semantic gap when no equivalent is found.

Perhaps the most prominent scholar to have defined and categorized loan words is Einar Haugen, who, in his seminal and yet controversial 1950 article defines borrowing as a process whereby:

“If he [the speaker] reproduces the new linguistic pattern, not in the context of the language in which he learned them, but in the context of another, he may be said to have ‘borrowed’ them from one language to another. The heart of our definition of borrowing is then the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another” (Haugen 1950b: 212).
In other words, Haugen is saying that a loan word is the attempt to reproduce in one language a lexical element not found in that language but found in another.

He goes on to distinguish between ‘importing’ and ‘substituting’ linguistic elements.

“If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have imported the model into his language,… But insofar as he[the speaker] has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally substituted a similar pattern from his own language” (Haugen 1950b: 212).

To Haugen, an import is a word that is taken from another language and is spelled exactly or near exactly similar to the word in the original language, that the native speaker of the original language would accept as his own; for example, the French word café borrowed into English from French. Substitution, meanwhile, is an inadequate production of the word in another language; that is, a native speaker of the origin language would fail to recognize it. In other words, ‘imports’ are not phonologically integrated, whereas substitutions are.

Haugen (1950b: 212-214) also distinguishes three kinds of borrowing: loanword, loanblends and loanshifts (Haugen 1950b: 212-214). Loanwords show morphemic importation without substitution. That is, loanwords occur when the word is transferred both in meaning and in form, for example, café borrowed from French. Loanblends, known also as hybrids words, involve a combination of language 1 (L1) material with language 2 (L2) material. That is part of the native morpheme may be used in the borrowed item. In other words, the stem of the native word is transferred but the derivative affixes used are from the host language Haugen cites bockabuch ‘pocket book’ as an example from Pennsylvania German speakers with substitution
of Pennsylvania German *buch* for English book. Another example is of the English word ‘footballer’ and the Spanish ‘*futbolista*’. Loanshifts, are words in which “complete substitution of native morphemes” have taken place, and where only the meaning is transferred unaltered to the other language (Haugen 1950b :212). This is known as ‘loan translation’ or ‘calque’ or where words are translated literally into the host language.

Myers-Scotton (2010) has a different taxonomy from Haugen’s. She argues the words that can be loaned are content morphemes (that is mainly nouns). These content morphemes can be divided into two kinds of loan words. The first are cultural borrowings, which are words of objects and concepts that are new to the culture (e.g. *hard drive, SUV, or global warming*). These cultural words appear quickly when influential speakers begin to use them and may retain their phonetic features from their original language. The second group of words that can be loaned are coined by Myers-Scotton as ‘core borrowing words’ which refer to words that duplicate already existing words in L1, in other words they replace existing native words. She cites the example of the French word for a small truck, a *pickup or le weekend* (Myers-Scotton 2010 : 41). She adds that unlike the cultural borrowing, core borrowing words enter into the recipient language gradually through code-switching.

Other scholars who have contributed to the study of linguistic borrowing and whose definition summarizes the process of borrowing include Thomason and Kaufman (1988). They define loan words as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37).
The data collected in this study support Myers-Scotton’s argument that the words that are borrowed are mainly nouns. For the purpose of my analysis, I categorize these borrowed words into two groups: technological and core. Technological borrowed words are borrowed from another language and incorporated into Arabic with slight phonological substitution to fill a semantic gap, for example, the word فییدو [fīdyū] borrowed from the English word ‘video’. Core loan words are those that duplicate and replace existing native words, for example, the word تلفون [tilifūn] borrowed from the English word ‘telephone’, though an existing Arabic word exists, which is هاتف [hātif].

Borrowing is a process because it goes through several stages. It is an outcome of code switching that is initiated by bilingualism. A bilingual speaker of language 1 may utilize a word in language 2 during his/her speech to express an idea. This word might be used by this speaker with the bilingual speech community but, if this word reoccurs and permeates to reach a larger speech community not only bilinguals but monolinguals who do not have access to language 2 then this word becomes a borrowed or loan word. As the word starts to take a lexical status in the recipient language, its phonological structure starts to integrate in that language. When the word is utilized for the first time, usually by a bilingual, it is pronounced correctly in the same way it is pronounced in the source language. But as it permeates the wider speech community that is not familiar with this language, then this word becomes integrated and adapted phonetically to accommodate to the new linguistic system, and gradually becomes part of its lexical repertoire.

With the technological advances in communication and globalization, Arabic has been continuously borrowing words from other languages, particularly English, in the realm of science to fill the semantic gap.
For the present study, I adopt Myers-Scotton’s taxonomy of loan words to investigate the effect of English on the language of print advertisement. However, before analyzing the collected data, I compare lexical borrowing with code-switching and transliteration.

7.5 The Difference Between Loan Words and Code Switching

Loan words and code switching. They are both processes utilized by bilinguals, but they have their differences. Broadsheet advertisements employ the use of loan words and code switching in their copy and people confuse these two processes. In this section, I attempt to differentiate between these two.

Code switching is a process utilized by bilingual people to express an idea that they find easier to express using another language. Loan words are the result of the subsequent reoccurrence of lexical items through code switching. Though the boundary between code switching and borrowing is blurred, especially when we have code switching taking place at word level, there, is where confusion occurs. Scholars including Gumperz (1977), Poplack et al(1990), and Myers-Scotton (2010) distinguish between code switching and borrowing words. Gumperz, for example, argues that borrowed words are single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases transferred from one language into the other, whereas code switching relies on a meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must process as strings formed according to the internal syntactic rule of two distinct systems, (Gumperz 1977: 6). In other words, the speaker forms a string of words abiding by the syntactic rules of that code, and shifts to it. Gumperz adds that borrowed words are incorporated in the grammatical system of the borrowing language and become part of its lexicon (Gumperz 1977: 6). Therefore, the distinction between the two phenomena can be
drawn as follows: not all speakers who use loan words need to be bilingual but, code switching, requires the speaker to be bilingual. Borrowed words are phonetically, syntactically and morphologically integrated in a sentence fragment in the host language, while in code switching, the lexical item retains its phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of its donor language. Sometimes, however, some borrowed words do retain the phonological patterns of their language of origin (Poplack et al 1990: 76). For example, in Arabic the content morpheme تلفون [tilifūn] ‘telephone’ has retained some of the phonological characteristics of its language of origin, which is English. A word is borrowed if it is found in a sentence written or uttered in one code, the host language, and this word etymologically belongs to another language, the donor language, but is known to a monolingual speaker from the host language (Poplack et al 1990: 72).

In contrast, code switching utilizes words from another language, the donor language or embedded language, (EL), despite an available equivalence in the host language or matrix Language (ML) (Myers-Scotton 2010: 43). Reoccurrence and predictability are another difference between borrowing and code switching. While loan words are predicted to reoccur in the host language because they established a status there, the reoccurrence of code switching cannot be predicted (Myers-Scotton 2010: 41). A third difference between borrowing and code switching is that, in code switching, the content morphemes, in other words, nouns, have entries found only in the embedded language. In contrast, the established borrowed forms that achieve the cognitive status of being projected in the host language will have entries tagged in both the matrix and embedded languages (Myers–Scotton ibid).

Code switching within a single sentence requires access to the syntactic apparatus of both languages while borrowing words operates independently of the grammar of
the donor language (Poplack et al 1990: 72). Borrowed words, on the other hand, are confined to content morphemes which may be concentrated in certain semantic fields with some cultural, geographical or technical connections with the donor language to fill the semantic gap not available in the host language. However, code switching involves both system and content morphemes without being concentrated in a certain semantic field.

Arabic has borrowed many content words from English which have established a status there. These are used extensively in print advertisements. Broadsheet advertisements have also utilized transliterated words from English, and to some extent this can sometimes be confusing, since both, the transliterated and borrowed words are written in the graphological characters of the host language. In order to be able to distinguish the transliterated English words from the borrowed ones, I give a brief definition of transliterated words.

7.6 Transliterated Words vs Loan Words

Transliteration occurs between languages that normally are written in different scripts with each character of the source language being converted into a corresponding character of the target language (Crystal 1994:346). Loan words borrowed between languages that are far from each other, such as English words borrowed into Arabic, are usually transliterated. The difference between transliterated words and borrowed words is that transliterated words do not establish a status and will not become entries in the lexicon like the loan words since they do not fill a lexical gap because they have equivalence in the host language. The reoccurrence of the transliterated words is, moreover, unpredictable. The copywriter in the case, of advertisements or writers in general, may use transliterated words in
one text and not in another context. They may use the equivalent word. Transliterated words are of course only found in the written form. If a word from one code is inserted into a speech or sentence that uses a different code, then we have another phenomenon, which is code mixing. Both loan words and transliterated words are the result of code switching or code mixing, and they are both performed on content morphemes. Transliterated words are used extensively in advertisements by international fast food companies, property agents, mobile phone companies and car manufacturers. Fast food companies use transliterated words to create a global united lexicon exclusive to the company.

7.7 The Use of English in Print Advertisements in Al-Ahram and Al-Rai

Print advertisements, as I have found in the present corpus, utilize English in four ways: composing the whole advertisement in English; including English words within the Arabic sentences in the advertisement, (code-mixing); use of transliterated words; and the use of Arabic text alongside a mirror English text in the same advertisement.

7.7.1 Composing the Whole Advertisement in English.

The decision to use English in print advertisement depends on the nature of the product or service being advertised and the target audience. Advertisements that are often fully composed in English include those for international clothing brands, expensive furniture, five-star hotel chain offers, holiday property, home appliances, watches (which usually use global campaigns), and products designed for celebrating special occasions considered alien to the culture and traditions of the majority of the population. This includes products or activities designed to celebrate Valentine’s Day, Christmas and New Year’s Day.
In my corpus, twenty two advertisements are written fully in English. Twenty one of these were in Al-rai and only one in Al-ahram. (c.f. Appendix 6). This shows that Jordan openly embraces the Western culture more than Egypt.

The advertisement in example 1 below illustrates the use of English in advertisements governed by the nature of the product or service. It advertises Christmas celebrations, an occasion that is considered by the majority of the population who are Muslim, inferior to the overall culture, despite the fact that there is a Christian community in Jordan that celebrates Christmas.

Example (89)

Advertisement for Christmas celebrations (Ra-22-12-013-263),

This advertisement was published in Al-rai on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of December 2013.

Another example of advertisements composed in English is found in example (2)

Example (90)

Advertisement for the jeweller Damas for Valentine’s Day Ra-14-02-013-202)
Though this jeweler usually advertises in Arabic, on this particular occasion it decided to advertise in English since this occasion is celebrated by those who have some exposure to western culture and is also considered as a manifestation of the west.

Other examples of advertisers composing their advertisements in English include hotels, restaurants and expensive-watches manufacturers. These products target certain audience who can afford them. They are expected to be of a certain social and educational levels such that an advertisement in English will attract their attention. Example 91 below illustrates this point.

Example (91)

Advertisement for the luxury watches by Patek Philippe (Ah-02-01-013-189)

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram on the 2nd of January 2013
This advertisement is composed in English. Indeed, even the address of the seller is written in English, which is unusual; advertisers usually write this in Arabic for it is clearer for the reader to recognize the address. However, for this particular brand, the target customers are expected to know both English and where to find the seller. The seller is not introducing the brand; s/he is introducing a new product of the brand.

7.8 Code Switching (CS) and Code Mixing (CM) in Print Advertising

Both code switching and code mixing are byproducts of bilingualism, just like loan words. In the previous chapter, I defined diglossic switching from the perspective of code switching, since not many treatises have tackled the issue of diglossic switching as a distinct subject. In this section, I consider code mixing. Several scholars have defined code switching and code mixing and sought to distinguish the two. Myers-Scotton (1993), Carol Eastman (1992) and others argue that the terms are the same. However, others, such as Kachru (1983), Poplack
(1980), Hamers and Blanc (1990), Bokamba (1989), and Tay (1989) argue that they are distinct phenomena. Tay (1989: 408) defines code mixing as “… involving the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units i.e. morphemes, words, phrases, and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or subsystems within the same sentence structure and same speech situation”. Similarly, he defines code mixing (CM) as “The embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical (sub)systems within the same sentence and speech event. That is, CM is an intrasentential switching” (Bokamba 1989: 278).

Code switching and code mixing are indeed two sides of the same coin. The difference is that code switching is inter-sentential that is, the speaker uses one code throughout one sentence, followed by a sentence in another code or by following another pattern that is, for example, using two sentences in one code and then shifts to another code in the following sentence. Code mixing, on the other hand, is the act of inserting a word in one code within a sentence composed in another. Code switching has sociolinguistic functions and both the speaker and the listener should be bilingual. Code mixing requires both the listener and the speaker to be bilingual but does not have sociolinguistic functions like code switching.

In the present corpus, a total of twenty-four advertisements occur that employ code switching in their body copy. The brand name or the logo written in another language, mainly English in an Arabic written advertisement, is not considered code switching since it is the law in Jordan that every company should have its name written in both Arabic and English. Out of the twenty-four advertisements that employ code switching, six were found in Al–Ahram and eighteen in Al–Rai. Example 81 above, illustrates this phenomenon.
Code switching is also common in the advertising of technology products such as smart phones, television sets and computers. The reason for using code switching in these advertisements is to fulfil a sociolinguistic objective, i.e. to give more explanation of the product for those who are familiar with technological jargon. Moreover, when the advertiser switches to English, s/he is specifying his/her target customers (see section 6.2.2. of chapter 6). Example (81) mentioned earlier, illustrates code switching in a lap top advertisement.

Example (81)

Advertisement for Samsung laptop (Ah-04-10-011-39)

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram newspaper on the 4th of October 2011

The advertisement begins with Arabic text which reads
اشتري لاب توب سامسونج واحصل على شنطة هدية

Transliteration: ishtarī lāb tob sāmsung wa-uḥṣul ‘alā shanṭa hādiya

Literal translation: Buy a Samsung laptop and get a fee laptop case.

The copy writer switches to English to outline the features of the laptop before switching back to Arabic for the slogan which reads:

حرية التنقل وقوة الأداء

Transliteration: ḥuryat al-tanāqūl wa-quwat al-ʿadā’


Inserting English in Arabic advertisements is not confined to switching between sentences, it can also take place on a word level, a phenomenon that scholars coined as code mixing which is very popular in certain kinds of products as I will discuss in the next section.

7.8.1 The Use of Code Mixing in Print Advertisements in Al-Rai and Al-Ahram

In the data collected for this thesis, I have found a total of forty five advertisements that include code mixing. Some sixteen were found in Al-ahram and twenty nine in Al-rai. Example 92 illustrates how a single English word is included in an Arabic sentence despite the fact that there is an obvious Arabic equivalent for it.

Example (92)

Advertisement for HTC mobile phone (Ra-18-10-011-46)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 18th of October 2011.
In the above advertisement, code mixing is found in the headline and the body. They all contain a single English words. The headline reads

متعلق بال wall

Transliteration: mit ‘alig bil- wall taba ‘ak? B-kabsih bitšīr ‘a faisbūk

( since this headline is written in Jordanian colloquial Arabic, the way I have realize the ق as [g] and sometimes’ in the urban dialect)

Literal translation: attached to your wall? With a press you can be on Facebook

Idiomatic translation: Facebook can be accessed with a button with HTC ChaCha

The advert continues with,

حصریا من زین حصول على HTC cha cha واستمتع ب:

سهولة التواصل مع جميع الشبكات الاجتماعية وبريدك الالكتروني
Exclusively from Zain, you can get an HTC chacha mobile phone and enjoy the following:

Easy access to your e-mails and all social media sites

A button can connect you to your friends on facebook

Touch screens and a QWIRTY keyboard

Applications, games and many more from Android System

In this advertisement, the copy writer employs code mixing by inserting the English words: wall, Facebook and Android, in the text. The reason is that the service provider is targeting certain audience or a certain age group who are
likely to be interested in Facebook and are familiar with these terms, such as QWERTY keyboard, applications and systems such as Android.

I have found in the present corpus that code mixing is more popular in Egyptian advertisements than code switching. Example 93 in Al-Ahram illustrates this phenomenon.

Example (93)

Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones (Ah-11-01-013- 193)

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram newspaper on the 11th of January 2013

The text reads:

Mini Cooper

إشتري أي سمارت فون من سامسونج وممكن تكسب عربة Mini Cooper و ممكن تكسب عربية

إشتري أي سمارت فون من سامسونج وابعت رسالة ل 1410 برقم IMEI اللي على العلبة و هتدخل على عربتين وعلى اجهزة تانية كثير من سامسونج (موبايلات, كاميرات, ultra notebooks, شاشات LED)
Transliteration: ishtarī ḍī ay smārt ḍīn min sāmsung wa-mumkin tiksab ‘arabya Mini Cooper.

ishtarī ay smārt ḍīn min sāmsung wa- ḍī ‘at risāla li 1410 biraqam IMEI illī ḍīlā il-‘ilba wi hatudkhul ḍīlā ‘arabīyatin wi-‘alā aghizza tanya kitī min sāmsung (mūbaylāt, kāmirāt, ultra notebooks, shāshāt LED).

Literal translation: “Buy any Samsung Smart phone and you may win a Mini Cooper.

Buy any Samsung Smart phone and text 1410 with the IMEI on the package and you will enter the draw on two Mini Cooper cars in addition to other Samsung products including (mobile phones, cameras, Ultra notebooks and LED TVs).”

So far I have discussed the use of English in Arabic advertisements through the insertion of English words and phrases into the Arabic text either by code switching or code mixing. In the next section, I look into another influence of English in Arabic print advertisements: using loan words.

7.9 The Use of Loan Words in Print Advertisements

Loan words are used commonly in print advertisements. I have mentioned earlier in this chapter that, there are two kinds of loan words: scientific, which includes technological words, and core, or non-scientific, which includes non-technological words. A broad distinction can be made between technological, and core loan words in terms of status, reoccurrence, people who use them and the availability of equivalence in the host language. Technological and scientific loan words gain status in the host language’s lexical system. People, whether they are monolingual or bilingual, become familiar with these words and their significance. They make them part of their lexical repertoire, and their reoccurrence is predictable.
since they do not have equivalence. These fill a lexical gap in Arabic. Core loan words, on the other hand, do not gain a status in the host language lexical system and their reoccurrence is unpredictable because there is equivalence available in the host language. This cannot be generalised, however. For example, the word [kāsh] is borrowed from English ‘cash’. It occurs very often in particular advertisements written in colloquial Arabic. Nevertheless, when [kāsh] is not expected to be used because the sentence is composed in MSA and its Arabic equivalent which is [naqdā] [naqdan] should be used instead, cash, still appears in the sentence and is treated as an established loan word as illustrated in example 94 below.

Example (94)

Advertisement for Abu khader motors (Ra-04-11-012-156)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 04th of November 2012

Literal translation: Abu khader for trade in cars provides you the best way to sell your car and guarantees to pay you for what is worth cash.

Idiomatic translation: Abu Khadir will give you the best price in cash when you trade in your car

Some borrowed words have become integrated in the host language syntax. Verbs and adjectives have been formed from English nouns which can be found in print advertisement. Though they sound foreign and they do have equivalence in Arabic, yet advertisers use them to present themselves as being westernised and modern. For example, the verb مَزِك [mazzik] which means to play music is derived from the word مِزوِك ‘music’. The same thing with مَسِح [massij] meaning ‘to text somebody’ is derived from the English word ‘message’ into Arabic مَسْح and then the verb is formed. A similar derivation is made to the word دُوِبِل [dūbil] meaning ‘to double’ transliterated and derived from the English ‘double’. The adjective نَتاوِي [nitāwī] meaning ‘a person who spends a lot of time surfing the internet’ is derived from the English word ‘net’ and so on. Even though these are loan words, they are not common to monolinguals. I call these loan words that are established by certain age group as pseudo-loan words because I believe they are created and used by certain age group in certain domains and equivalence is present in Arabic. Advertisements Ra-10-04-011-3, Ra-04-02-012-86, Ah-17-02-012-94, Ra-18-11-012-164, Ra-23-12-012-
168 and Ra-13-02-013-201 include this kind of loan words in their copies. Example 95 illustrates an advertisement which includes this new kind of loan words

Example (95)

Advertisement for Burger King (Ra-04-02-012-86)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 4th of February 2012.

In the above advertisement, the advertiser uses the word دوبلناها [dūbilnāha] from the English ‘double’ and has derived a verb and affixed it with a pronoun morpheme. So instead of saying لعيونك ضاعفناها [la’yūnak ḏā‘afnāha] which can be literally translated as for your eyes only ...we have double it, the advertiser has opted to use the borrowed word instead of the Arabic word in order to present the business as a modern, westernised entity that caters for the segment of the population that understand these terms. Another derivation made from borrowed English words can be found in example 96 where an adjective is derived from an English noun.

Example (96)

Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication (Ah-17-02-012-94)
This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on the 17th of February 2012.

الو الجدیدة

اتصل ب 442 واختار يئاسیک من نظماة الو الجدیدة

Alū

Rawa’angī

Kalamangī
Nittāwī

burtuʿānī

anzmit Alū il-gadīda. ittaṣl bi 442 wi-kḥṭār yālī ynasbak min anzmit Alū il-gadīda

literal translation: With the new Alo

A calm person, a talkative person, a net-surfer, an orangy person

The new Alo offers. Call 442 and choose the offer that suits you

Idiomatic translation: The new Alo offers that are suitable for all.

You can choose from the following offers: the cool, the chatty, the surfer, the orangy

Just call 442 to choose the offer that suits you best.

I have transliterated the above advertisement written in Egyptian colloquial Arabic as it would be realised by an Egyptian native speaker. The advertiser chooses to create new lexicon to add to the repertoire of colloquial Arabic by forming adjectives describing the doer of the action from abstract nouns. The advertiser chooses to use an [rwaʾāŋī, kalamāngī, nittāwī, burtuʿānī] rhyme scheme for these words. He forms nouns by adding the suffix [-jī] borrowed from Turkish. The suffix is used in Turkish to refer to a doer of an action or to a professional. This came into colloquial Arabic from Turkish when the Levant was under the Ottoman rule. For example, a [kundarjī] is a person whose profession is to make [kanādir, sing. kundara] a colloquial word for 'shoes'. Hence, a [kundarjī] is a cobbler. The copywriter uses this suffix to form nouns [rūwaʾānjī], as realized in Egyptian colloquial Arabic, is created from the abstract noun [rawaʾan] referring to a calm, fun loving person. The same
derivation is used with [كلامنجٍ] meaning a person who is extremely talkative. The noun is juxtaposed by adding the suffix [-انجٍ] to the abstract noun [كلام]. The copy writer switches to Arabic morpho-syntactic rules for forming adjectives by adding the suffix the [ي] [-ي] and hence forms the colloquial adjectives [برتمانٍ] meaning orange (as a colour) here inferring the official colour of the company’s logo. Then the advertiser borrows the noun the ‘net’ from English, a contraction form for the ‘internet’ to come up with [نتاوي] referring to a person who surfs the internet.

Words derived from borrowed English words can be also found in example 97

Example (97)

Advertisement for Orange Telecommunication (Ra-18-11-012-164)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 18th of November 2012
‘ishha “Min al-’ākhīr 2”. ḥīkī, massīj, wi-mazzik bas bi 2 dīnār/ usbū’ wi-kamān ḥamīl aḥla il-āghānī ma’ taḥbīq anghamī ḥaṣrīyan min Orange

Literal and idiomatic translation: live it “Min al-’ākhīr 2”,

Call, text, and play your music for 2 dinars/ week and you can download songs using anghamī application exclusive to Orange.

It is clear as in example (97) that the target audience is young people interested in social media, music and being connected with their friends. This segment of the population tends to have a western outlook. Language is one way, to do that, by integrating lexical items from the Western culture into their own lexical system and integrating these phonologically and syntactically. In the advertisement above, the imperative verbs ṣṣij [massij] meaning ‘to text somebody’ is derived from the borrowed English noun ‘message’. In order to integrate this lexical item into Arabic, young people have created a new lexeme. The same procedure is used with mazzik [mazzik] which means to play music, and is derived from the borrowed word ‘music’ and made into a verb.

I conclude that there are two socio-economic reasons that make advertisers borrow new lexical items and integrate them into Arabic morpho-syntactic system. One is consumer- oriented and the other is advertiser-oriented. The consumer oriented motivation is achieved by the copywriter deploying a register used by a certain age group. By using this method, the copywriter tries to get closer to them to gain their attention, and by doing so, s/he has achieved one of the primary objectives of the
advertisements. The other motivation for using borrowed words in advertisements is advertiser-oriented. Printed words in advertisements cost money. As the copywriter uses the derived borrowed word which gives the sense of an equivalent phrase or sentence, s/he saves the advertiser money where every word counts. For example in advertisement (Ra-18-11-012-164) in example (97), if the copy writer uses instead of مِسِّج [massij] meaning ‘to text’ the MSA equivalent, which is إبعث برسالة نصية قصيرة

Transliteration: ib‘ath bi-risāla naṣṣya qaṣīra

Literal translation: Send a short text message

The advertiser will have to pay for four words instead of one. Finally, using English in speech and hence in writing brands the user as being modern, sophisticated and open-minded. Moreover, there is another reason that encourages copy writers to use borrowed words in their advertisements. Some choose to use these words in their copy for rhetorical reasons such as achieving rhyme as I have illustrated in example (96), or to achieve and punning as illustrated in advertisement (Ra-18-10-011-45)in example (98).

Example (98)

Advertisement for Holiday travel agency (Ra-18-10-011-45)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 18th of October 2011
In this advertisement, which was discussed earlier in the discussion of punning, the copywriter used the borrowed English word بٌه [bey] meaning ‘bay’ in English to list the various bays found in Sharm Al-Shaikh. It uses this to pun with the Egyptian colloquial Arabic term ‘bey’ meaning ‘sir’.

Transliteration: ni‗ma bay, shārk bay,gārdin bay,... kullaha taḥt amrak ya bay.

Literal translation: Nimah Bay- Shark Bay- Basha Bay- Garden Bay-... They are all at your disposal, Mr.,

The copywriter could have used the Arabic equivalent to the English ‘bay’ by using the word خليج [khalij] meaning ‘gulf’. But s/he opted for بٌه [bey] for rhetorical reasons. To achieve rhyme and punning.

In the data collected here, I have found a total of seventy advertisements employing transliterated words in both newspapers. Thirty-two advertisements were found in Al-Rai and thirty-eight in Al-Ahram. These advertisements vary from advertisements for
mobile phones, computers, smart television, property and international fast food restaurants. Each category has its own reasons for employing loan words in its advertisement. Mobile phones, computers and smart television use loan words to fill semantic gaps in Arabic. They either use the English words or they borrow them into Arabic for that reason. Property and international fast food restaurants use loan words for the reasons I have mentioned earlier in this section.

Other producers follow suit by borrowing words in their advertisements even though equivalence is available. This might be to give the product a western identity. For example, in advertisement Ra-28-10-011-60 illustrated in example (99), the advertiser chooses to borrow an English word even though there is equivalence.

Example (99)

Advertisement for Bario non-alcoholic drink(Ra-28-10-011-60)

This advertisement was published in Al-rai newspaper on the 28th of October 2011

![Advertisement for Bario non-alcoholic drink](image)

Transliteration: Bario shrāb sha‘īr bidūn kuḥūl... ʿīsh mūdak

Literal translation: Bario the non-alcoholic drink... enliven your mood
In this advertisement, the copy writer chooses to use the word مودك [muūdak] borrowed from the English noun ‘mood’ with the second person possessive morpheme pronoun /ل/ instead of using the Arabic equivalent مزاج [mazāj]. This can be explained in that the copy writer is targeting a certain, mainly young, segment of the population. S/he is using their trending vocabulary in order to entice them to buy this product which compliments their Western-oriented life style. Another example that illustrates the use of loan words to address certain age group can be found in advertisement (Ah-27-09-011-30) in the following example,

Example (100)

Advertisement for Marks and Spencer (Ah-27-09-011-30)

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram newspaper on the 27th of September 2011

Here the copy writer used the word ستایل [stayl] meaning 'style' in English. The copywriter could have written this headline as
Anāqa rā‘ī ‘a bqīma arwa ‘

Literal translation: Great style at a great price

However, again the copywriter chooses to use a trending word that has become popular among young people, which has the same significance in English. Using loan words in Arabic advertisements is always associated with young people as prospective customers.

Not all loan words used in advertisements are used to target young people as their prospective customers, however, I have found in the present corpus that there is a number of advertisements that borrow English words because they are becoming familiar not only to people but give the product more prestige. For example, in advertisements (Ah-13-07-011-16) and (Ah-11-01-013-192), in examples (101) and (102), the prospective reader might not be a young person, but the advertiser is using loan words because they are common in business.

Example (101)

Advertisement for Ostora stores (Ah-13-07-011-16)

This advertisement was published in Al-ahram newspaper on the 13th of July 2011
الأسطورة

بمناسبة افتتاح أولى فروعنا بالمٌنا (فرانشاٌز)

Just now big sale in Ostora stores

خصومات وتخفٌضات هائلة

Transliteration: Al-ustūra

Bi-munasabit iftitah 'īlā furū‘inā bilmīna (franshāîz)

khuṣūmāt wa-takhfīṭ ha’ila
Literal translation: Big sales at Al-Ustora, on the occasion of opening our first shop in Meena by franchise.

This advertisement employs a mixture of code switching and the use of loan words. The copywriter uses the word فرانشاٍز a borrowed word for ‘franchise’ in English, a word which is not common in a consumer product advertisement, but the reason could be to give prestige to this local shop.

Example (102)

Advertisement for vodafone telecommunication (Ah-11-01-013- 192)

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on the 11th of January 2013

Transliteration: Vodaphone ghayarat il-bizniss wi-'amalitlak ‘awal bizniss USB.

Dilwa'tī ti'dar tishtighil ‘alnit bila ḥudūd, taṣfaḥ, istrīm wa dāunlūd braḥtak wi-fi āy wa’t
Literal translation: Vodafone has changed the business and gives you the first USB business. Now you can work on-line, browse, stream and download with unlimited access anytime.

In this advertisement, the copy writer uses the following words borrowed from English: 'business', 'stream' and download respectively) even though they have Arabic equivalents. The reason for borrowing these nouns is that the service provider is being informal to his/her prospective reader, as if s/he is talking to his/her reader the same way s/he would be talking informally to his friends.

7.10 The Use of Transliteration in Advertisements

Transliteration is the conversion of a text from one script to another. They are very common in the advertisements of international fast food restaurants. Fast food restaurants like to transliterate the names of their products in their advertisements in order to familiarize their customers with their products wherever they go in the world. Therefore create their own 'Esperanto' as it is understandable that these companies need to unify their products globally. Example (103) illustrates the use of transliteration in advertisements below, or uses both transliterated English words and code switching /mixing as in example 103.

Example (103)

Advertisement for Lee’s fast food restaurant (Ra-8-05-011-6)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 8th of May 2011.
In this advertisement, ‘Chicken Strips’ and ‘Honey Mustard’ are transliterated from English into Arabic even though they could be easily replaced with equivalent Arabic words in as قطع دجاج [qiṭa‘ dajāj] literally translated as ‘chicken pieces’ and هريس الخردل [harīs al-khardal] literally translated as ‘mustard paste’. The picture accompanying the text shows the items transliterated into Arabic and their names in English. This advertisement deploys not only transliterated words but also code switching and code mixing, which have been discussed earlier in this chapter. Another example of employing transliterated words in international fast food restaurant chains can be found in another advertisement for Popeyes fast food restaurant in example 104.
Advertisement for popeyes fastfood (Ra-20-1-013-195)

This advertisement was published in Al-rai newspaper on the 20th of January 2013

In the above advertisement ‘bold and spicy’ in the headline is transliterated into Arabic as بولد آند سبايسي but in the body text, the Arabic equivalent is used.

Transliteration: 12 qīṭ’a dajāj ḥār aw‘ādī

Literal translation: 12 pieces of spicy or regular chicken

Here the advertiser could have used a translation of bold and spicy by saying [ḥār aw‘ādī], but instead have opted to transliterate in order to unify the name of this product globally, and consequently, wherever in the world a person goes to Popeyes, s/he can order the same item even if this person does not speak the language of the country where this restaurant is located.
7.11 The Use of Arabic and an English Mirror Text in The Same Advertisement

Some advertisers prefer to have both Arabic and English texts within the same advertisement. However these are very limited in number. The total number of advertisements showing this style of writing is eight, one advertisement is found in Al-Ahram and seven in Al-Rai. The nature of these advertisements varies from advertising for Valentine’s Day products, to technology, to announcement for festivities to supermarket offers. The Arabic texts can be written either in the high or the low variety depending on the nature of the product advertised. For example, advertisement (Ra-04-11-012-159) use the low variety in its Arabic text as illustrated in example (105)

Example (105)

Advertisement promoting for olive and olive oil of Ajloun known for its good quality olive trees (Ra-04-11-012-159)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 4th of November 2012
In this advertisement, the advertiser uses the L variety since it is promoting a cultural festivity that should be available to everyone regardless of their social or educational background. In contrast, advertisement (Ra-23-06-013-235) for alternative energy systems illustrated in example (106) uses both an Arabic text with a mirror English one. The reason is that this advertisement is connected to technology and English is the language of technology, therefore, the advertiser chose to use both languages. However, he employs the H variety in its Arabic text. This, I suppose could be related to the nature of the product being advertised that is highly technical and certain people will be interested.

Example (106)

“Advertisement for led solar system”, Ra-23-06-013-235

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 23rd of June 2013
Example (107) also illustrates the use of the H variety in the Arabic text followed by a translation of it in English.

Example (107)

Advertisement for five hp printer”, Ra-28-04-013-226

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 28th of April 2013
The advertisements in examples (106) and (107) are professionally-oriented products. One is for solar panels manufactured for individual household use, and the other for Hp smart printers. Consequently, the language used in these advertisements is elevated and formal, since the prospective reader is supposed to have some kind of knowledge in these products.

Supermarket advertisements also use translation in their texts. This I believe is for two reasons. One is that many are international companies and want keep their identity by using an international language. At the same time, they need to advertise in the language of the country they are operating in order to familiarize people of their products. The second is that supermarkets try to target a large segment of the population, those who know Arabic and expatriates who cannot read Arabic.

Example (108) mentioned earlier illustrates this issue.

Example (108)

Advertisement for Safeway wholesale supermarket (Ra-08-05-011-8)

This advertisement was published in Al-Rai newspaper on the 8th of May 2011.
The text reads from right to left starting with an Arabic headline which is

عرض ليومين... الأحد والإثنين

Transliteration: ‘arḍ liyawmayn... Al’aḥad wa-al-ithnā  yan

Literal translation: an offer for two days ... Sunday and Monday

Idiomatic translation: A two-day offer, only this Sunday and monday

This is followed by the English text ‘Sunday Monday Special’. Then the reader automatically shifts his/ her eyes to the next line to read the Arabic offer for TVs

تلفزيون 21 إنش

Transliteration: tilfizyūn 21 insh

Literal and idiomatic translation: a 21 inch television set
This is followed by the same description in English. In this sentence, the advertiser not only code-switches, but he/she also uses borrowed words تلفزيون [tilfizyūn] and إنش [insh].

The reader then moves to the left, to the next item on offer, written in Arabic and also including borrowed words. طقم ستالايت اوين ستار (صحن+رسيفر+لافت)

Transliteration: ṭaqim satalaīt ubin stār (ṣaḥin + rīsfir+ lāqīt)

This is followed by the English text, which is a translation of the Arabic text ‘Open Star Dish bundle’

Another example for an Arabic–English translated advertisement is shown in example (108).

Example (108)

Advertisement for Carrefour hypermarket (Ah-06-09-013-252)

This advertisement was published in Al-Ahram newspaper on the 6th of September 2013
In this example, the copy writer starts with Arabic, and then translates the text to English. The pattern continues to include the items on offer in Arabic followed by mentioning the items in English.

راجع المدرسة تاني

Transliteration: raj Ṭīn il-madrasa tanī

Literal translation: Going back to school again
Idiomatic translation: Back to school

Followed by the English text, School is back ... don’t miss our prices.

The influence of English in broadsheet advertisement is not confined to code switching, code mixing, loan words, translated texts and transliteration of some English words; it has spread to Romanize Arabic texts, a phenomenon that proliferated with the widespread of mobile phones and the popularity of text chatting via these technological advances.

Before proceeding to the conclusion chapter, I would like to draw a comparison between the language used in consumer advertisements in the two papers involved in this study.

As I have mentioned in chapter four, the amount of consumer product advertisements found in Al-Rai is more than those found in Al-Ahram; that is because Al-Ahram is subsidized by the government while Al-Rai depends on the income from advertisements for its perpetuity. Because Al-Ahram is older than Al-Rai and for certain national and regional reasons mentioned again in chapter four, I have found that the employment of this novel register of writing is more extensive in Al-Ahram than in AlRai.

I have found that Al-Ahram uses transliterated words in 51% of consumer advertisements in the corpus compared to only 16% in Al-Rai. Advertisements composed completely in colloquial Arabic form 34% of the total advertisements in the Al-Ahram corpus, while they only form 12% in Al-Rai. Code mixing between English and Arabic, that is inserting an English word within the Arabic text, is found in 22% of the advertisements in the corpus from Al-Ahram compared to 15% in Al-Rai. The use
of loan words is found in 24% of the advertisements in the Al-Ahram and 14% in the advertisements of Al-Rai. Diglossic switching is found in 64% of the advertisements from Al-Rai and 51% of those from Al-Ahram. The percentage of code switching in the two newspapers is very close. It is found in 10% of the advertisements from Al-Ahram compared to 9% from Al-Rai. Finally, advertisements that have both diglossic and code switching form 18% of those in the Al-Ahram corpus compared to 12% in Al-Rai. Advertisements composed completely in English are rarely found in Al-Ahram, while they formed 10% of the advertisements from Al-Rai.

7.12 Summary

This chapter discusses another feature of Advertising Arabic, which is the influence of English in some consumer and public announcement advertisements. English is incorporated in Arabic advertisements in six different ways and in various degrees of frequency. I have found in the present corpus that the incorporation of English in Arabic advertisements is achieved through, first, having a whole advertisement composed completely in English. These advertisements are distinguished from others by being of certain nature or advertising for an occasion that is considered inferior to the culture of the majority. Such as advertising for Christmas or Valentine Day or advertising for luxury goods such as expensive watches. The reason for having these advertisements composed completely in English is that the target audience does not need to be familiarised with the product, in case of the luxury goods, and at the same time these goods usually have a unified global advertising campaign where the product is advertised in English. Advertisements of certain occasions are also composed in English since these
occasions are seen by the majority of the population as foreign and does not relate to the local culture or values.

The second incorporation of English in Arabic advertisements is achieved in code switching and code mixing. These two phenomena include either shifting between the two codes Arabic and English on sentential level, or inserting an English word within an Arabic sentence. Code switching is popular in advertisements for technological products. Their target audience are of certain educational level with knowledge of the product. English is used in these advertisements to describe the features of the advertised product. Code mixing is popular in certain advertisements especially mobile phones which target the young segment of the population who are familiar with certain words in the telecommunication industry.

The third incorporation of English in advertisement is found in the loan words. Arabic has borrowed many words from English. These words can be divided into two, those that are borrowed to fill the lexical gap in Arabic especially in the realm of science and technology. These loan words are found in mobile phones, telecommunication companies’ offers and computer advertisements. The other kind of loan words includes the words that by the virtue of reoccurrence, they have become borrowed. These words have equivalents in Arabic, but people just use them because of their popularity. They are found in different advertisements varying from fast food advertisements to cars, to travel agents and to property.

The fourth incorporation of English is found in the use of transliterated words even with the presence of Arabic equivalents. Some advertisers, especially international fast food companies like to unify their products universally. Therefore, they
transliterate their products, so a person will be able to recognise them wherever s/he goes.

The use of English in Arabic advertisements along with other advertisement composing strategies has lead to the manifestation of a new register of writing in Arabic which I would like to coine as advertising Arabic. This is discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter Eight

Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

In this thesis, I have sought to demonstrate the emergence of a new, previously unrecognized register of writing that has been proliferating in broadsheet newspapers. It is a novel register of writing that is confined to some consumer advertisements that target individuals and entice them to buy products for their personal and household use and some public announcements that promote public awareness.

Advertisements that utilize this novel register and dominate the advertising market are those of the telecommunication sector followed by the food and beverage market. The smallest contribution comes from luxury goods, as shown in figure (8-1).

![Pie chart showing distribution of consumer goods advertisements by category.]

Figure (8-1) consumer goods advertisements in the Jordanian Al-Rai and the Egyptian Al-Ahram (author)
In the previous chapters, I have presented an analysis of the characteristics of the Arabic used in some of the consumer, and public announcement advertisements. These characteristics are, the frequent use of colloquial Arabic, diglossic switching between MSA and colloquial Arabic, code switching between English and Arabic; the use of borrowed or loan words; the use of transliterated words from English, in addition to having diglossic and code switching within the same text, and finally advertisements that are written in Arabic and then translated into English. (c.f. figure 8-2).

The graph in figure (8-2) shows the prevalence of the conventional and unconventional forms of writing in advertisements in *Al-Rai* and *Al-Ahram* in the period 2011—2013. By conventional I mean those that use the MSA in the headline and body copy; any other writing mode other than the MSA I classify as unconventional.

Figure (8-2) the various linguistic techniques employed in the composition of advertisements in the Jordanian Al-Rai and the Egyptian Al–Ahram as they appear in the data collected
I have also found that the devices of the new register have been employed to achieve rhetorical outcome, such as repetition, whether of sound to achieve rhyming, of words or of structure, alliteration, assonance, punning, hyperbole, etc. (c.f. figure 8-3).

Figure (8-3) the rhetorical outcome of employing the various techniques of the new register in Al-Rai and Al-Ahram newspapers’ advertisements

These features used in the advertisements found in my corpus, are not randomly used, as I have demonstrated earlier, they are deployed by advertisers to serve certain social functions. Each of these features has a social significance and a specific motivation that will entice the prospective customer to read the advertisement. Advertisers’ choice as to which feature to use in an advertisement depends on the target audience and the product being advertised. However, the social significance and the motivation surrounding which feature to use in the advertisement varies. Colloquial Arabic is used to show solidarity to certain age
group and how the advertisers want to be perceived. The new generation of consumers has more modern upbringing, that is more open to the international world, influenced by globalization and advanced technology, therefore they prefer pragmaticality; they usually want to read the language they use in their daily life. Advertisers are aware of these needs, and consequently they use colloquial Arabic when addressing this segment of the population, at the same time, using this feature in their advertisement reflects how they want to be perceived. By using colloquial Arabic, they are emphasizing a sense of belongingness to their prospective readers. They are talking to them, mimicking the quality of speech which was not previously acceptable in writing. Another reason that advertisers deploy colloquial Arabic is to achieve rhetoric effect, such as punning, alliteration, parallelism, and rhyming, that will make the advertisement more interesting and help in the memorability of it.

The other feature of advertising Arabic is diglossic switching which is deployed to change roles; when advertisers begin with colloquial Arabic, they do so to gain social acceptance by using the same communicative way employed by members of their target audience, to show them that they are equal. However, as advertisers switch to MSA, they change their role from being equal to being superior with authority and power; this is obvious in advertisements that begin with colloquial Arabic and when stating terms and conditions of the offer, they switch to MSA. Sometimes diglossic switching is used to stress an issue or a point as used in public announcements.

The deployment of English has a social significance. It presents the advertiser as modern, up-to-date and sophisticated, since English is associated with modernity, education and technology. Code switching is used for clarification, especially if used to state features of technological products. Code mixing is employed either to fill the
semantic gab between English and Arabic, or to just to present the advertiser in a certain image of being modern. Transliterated English words are employed by some international companies who choose to uniform the names of their products globally, while borrowed words are employed because they have become popular and have entered the Arabic repertoire in speech.

8.2 The significance of the study and main contribution.

This research looks into a new style of composing advertisements in a medium regarded as being a source of good writing. The novelty of this style, which I have identified as a register, is that it does not abide to the known rules of written Arabic, and appearing in two of the most circulated newspapers in Jordan and Egypt, which people adopt their writing style rises the concerns that by allowing this kind of writing to appear in such medium, enhances the emergence of a novel phenomenon in advertisement copy that may infiltrate to other genres and eventually change written Arabic.

8.3 Features of Advertising Arabic

Advertising Arabic is distinguished by having features that are collectively not found in any other register. These include the use of colloquial Arabic; diglossic switching between the two varieties of Arabic; and code switching between Arabic and English within the same text; the use of English which includes the use of Latin characters; loan and transliterated English words; and Arabizi. These features have been discussed in this thesis in chapters five, six and seven.
8.3.1. Colloquial Arabic

Colloquial Arabic usage is one of the features adopted by advertising Arabic.

In my thesis (c.f. chapter five), I mentioned the morpho-syntactic features of colloquial Arabic that have been adopted by advertisers to become a feature of the proposed register. These features include: the use of colloquial negation morphologies, such as مش [muš or mish], مور [mū] and ما [mā]; the interrogative colloquial markers such as بداك [bidak] and عاوز [‘āwez], لش [Leish] and ليه [lieh] (see section 5.7); the abbreviation of the preposition [‘ālā] to one independent morpheme [‘ā], and sometimes abbreviating and prefixing it to nouns (see section 5.9); the use of VSCOMP sentence structure in the headline not for the imperative form, but also used with past and future tenses (see section 5.8); the different usage of tenses and their formation, such as prefixing the verb with the proclitic mood – marking system of (ha-), (rah-) in or zero prefix; the significance of using past tense to refer to imperfective or incomplete action, as well as implying a comparison between the past and the present; and finally, the use of unconventional orthography, such as repeating long vowels, to depict the exaggeration or exclamation that people express by stressing or prolonging the intonation of a word (see section 5.12).

Colloquial Arabic is used in print advertisements to depict real life situations where the advertiser and the prospective customers are conversing causally. This creates a sense of belonging and familiarity between both the advertiser and the prospective reader. Advertisements composed completely in colloquial Arabic constitute 18% of the corpus assembled here. Advertising Arabic deploys this technique to narrow the gap between spoken and written Arabic and place it within the reach of everyone. It is, in fact, bringing features of the spoken language into the written domain, so that
spoken and written can be one and hence simplifies written Arabic. What can be uttered can be written exactly the same using the same words, syntax and form.

8.3.2. Diglossic switching

I have established earlier that diglossic switching is the most used technique in composing print advertisements, and I propose it as a key feature of advertising Arabic. Diglossic switching, as I have mentioned before, is a phenomenon found in languages with two varieties, the formal standard, the H and the informal colloquial, the L where the speaker shifts freely between these varieties as he speaks. In this research, I have established that the most common way of diglossic switching in print advertisement is done by starting with the headline written in the (L) variety and then, as the reader approaches the body text, the variety either changes to the (H) variety or stays with the low variety with some interference from the high. I have found that some 64% of the advertisements in the present corpus begin with the (L) variety. Diglossic switching in print advertisements can occur on two levels, sentence and word. On the sentential level, where it can take place either intra-sententially, that is switching between the two varieties happen in separate subsequent sentences, or inter-sententially that is switching between the two varieties within the same sentence. Diglossic switching at word level takes place either when the whole sentence is written in one variety except a single word which is written in the other variety, or a word in one variety may stand independently, to be followed by a sentence in the other. The motivation for deploying diglossic switching in advertisements is to assert either superiority, or solidarity. It is also used to explain or simplify a point.
8.3.3. Code Switching

Another linguistic feature of advertising Arabic is code switching. It is a phenomenon where English is sometimes used in advertisements within the Arabic text. Just like diglossic switching, code switching can occur on a sentential level, where the advertisement begins with Arabic text for the headline, and then switches to English to state the features of the product being advertised. English in this case is used to fill the lexical gap especially in the realm of science and technology where certain terms have no equivalence in Arabic. Code switching occurs in 11% of the advertisements found in the present corpus.

Code switching can be also deployed on a word level, that is, to include an English word within an Arabic sentence. This phenomenon known as code mixing, which is used to fill the lexical gap between English and Arabic, this feature was found in 21% of the advertisements in the corpus.

8.3.4. The Use of English

Another feature of advertising Arabic is the use of English. English can be found in Arabic broadsheet advertisements in three forms. The first is the use of transliterated words; these are common in advertisements of international companies which, as I have mentioned earlier, want to uniform they names of their products globally. The second is the use of loan or borrowed words; loan or borrowed words become part of the language repertoire as a result of political, social, and economical factors which I have discussed in chapter seven. The use of loan words in print advertisement is common. Some 25% of the advertisements found in my corpus include English loan words (see section 7.8). Sometimes copywriters of advertisements for local products take the use of English in their advertisements to the extreme by composing the whole advert in English. Their
motivation for doing so can be that they want readers to perceive them as modern, westernized producers, or that they are addressing a certain segment of the population. I am not proposing that a whole advertisement composed in English is form of Arabic, but what I want to emphasize that sometimes advertisers go to the extreme when they deploy these techniques. I have found seven advertisements composed totally in English forming nearly 1% of the total advertisements. However, this does not take me away from advertising Arabic.

8.3.5. Arabizi

Another feature of advertising Arabic is the use of Arabizi or (Arabic Chat Language), which was discussed earlier in chapter five. Arabizi is the transliteration of colloquial Arabic text using Latin characters and Hindu-Arabic numerals (Yaghan 2008:44). This new style of writing proliferated in the Arab world as a result of the popularity of sending texts messages via modern communication technology among teenagers. Arabizi found its way into print advertisement in a very limited way. I have found it in one advertisement of public awareness only that targets teenagers. Just like colloquial Arabic, Arabizi is deployed in advertisements to show solidarity to the prospective readers who are in this case, teenagers.

8.4. Is Advertising Arabic a Register?

Having analyzed the data of the present corpus, and building on the theories of various scholarships such as Halliday (1964, 1989, 1994), Leech (1966), Trudgill (1983 [1974]) and Romaine (1994), I argue that, Advertising Arabic qualifies as a register. These scholars have provided various definitions of a register which can be summarized as follows: a variety of language with a communicative and social
function produced in a certain social context and distinguished by the subject matter and the use of certain vocabulary. (c.f.1.3).

The features found in advertising Arabic, mentioned earlier, have social communicative function that vary from one feature to another. I have established that advertisers use colloquial Arabic to reduce the gap between MSA and colloquial Arabic and to unify them so that what can be said can also be written too. Another function of colloquial Arabic in advertisements is to establish familiarity and solidarity between the advertiser and the prospective reader. Diglossic switching is deployed according to how advertisers want to present themselves and how they want to be perceived. If they want to show equality and express solidarity to a certain group, they use colloquial Arabic, but they switch to MSA when they want to show superiority and authority. They use the third feature of advertising Arabic, which is English, to explain and give more information or to fill the lexical gap in Arabic, and finally they use Arabizi to show solidarity with teenagers. Advertising Arabic has its own vocabulary, which I have mentioned in chapter one, but by adopting some of the vocabulary of colloquial Arabic and incorporating it into advertisements, they become part of advertising Arabic repertoire. The same thing can be said about the morphosyntactic features that advertising Arabic has borrowed from colloquial Arabic and incorporated them in advertisements where they have become part of the morphosyntactic features of Advertising Arabic.

Furthermore, Halliday (1984) argues that the lexical exclusivity of a certain register can be attained in various ways. He gives an example of developing vocabulary for new registers such as mathematics and suggests different ways in which new vocabulary can be created (Halliday 1984: 195-196). By examining my data, I have found that some of these ways can be also applied to the development of advertising
Arabic as a register. These include borrowing words from another language, and creating new words out of a non-native word stock (Halliday 1984: 195-196). Having analyzed the advertisements in the present corpus, I have found that advertising Arabic possesses its own lexical items, in addition to words that were created using mainly borrowed words from English and creating new words out of non-native word stock, in particular from English and Turkish. Loan words used in advertisement copy are either technical, which are borrowed to fill the semantic gap in Arabic and mainly confined to technology, or non-technical which have an equivalence in Arabic but became part of the Arabic repertoire as a result of excessive reoccurrence (see section 7.4). It is true that technical borrowed words belong to other registers such as those that surrounding computers or technology, but it is in the advertisements that they have become so popular and therefore part of the Arabic repertoire. If it was not for the advertisements, these words would be only jargon used in specific register and could be considered as loan words. Leech (1966) and Trudgill (1983: 107) postulate that not only the exclusiveness of certain lexical items and grammatical structures form a register, but also peculiarities of phonology, grammar and semantics can also serve certain social functions and therefore form a register (Leech 1966: 98) and these were justified by unconventional usage of morpho-syntactic features of colloquial Arabic in writing, which I have mentioned earlier in this thesis. All of these features support the case for advertising Arabic is being eligible to be a register.

8.5. Why and in What way is Advertising Arabic Deployed?

The techniques employed in advertising Arabic are used to achieve the objective of the producer or service provider, which is to entice prospective
customers into buying the product or service provided. In order to do that, the advertisement has to be composed in an effective way that fulfills the informative, persuasive and selling functions of the advertisement (see section 3.8). An effective advertisement should begin with attracting the attention of the prospective customer and end with buying the product. Some of proposed models for composing an effective advertisement include Strong’s AIDA model (1925), Colley’s DAGMAR model (1969), Foote, Cone and Belding’s planning grid (1979), Ehrenberg’s model (1997) and Earl’s model(2003) of tribe behaviour (see section 3.9). All of these emphasize attracting attention of the prospective reader. I believe the two models that can best describe consumer’s behaviour towards choosing a product in the Arab world are Ehrenberg’s model and Earls’ assumption of a tribe’s behaviour. Ehrenberg’s model (1997d: 20-24) is based on the argument that the consumer’s attitude towards buying a product or service is subject to four stages before he takes the action of buying. He suggests that the consumer has to be aware and interested of the new brand. This can be achieved through advertising in broadsheets since they are the most read and most reliable print medium; in order to get the reader’s interest, the advertisements has to deploy the advertising Arabic features. First they have to decide their target audience and accordingly decide on which feature they need to deploy. In other words, the deployment of which feature of advertising Arabic to use depends on the target audience and the product being advertised. As I have proposed earlier, if the target audience is the younger generation, then the advertiser has to show solidarity with them and hence use the colloquial variety, code switching, or even Arabizi.

The second stage is trial; this trial purchase is also urged by advertisements copy, for this reason, the copy is composed using colloquial Arabic to explain and simplify
the features of the product or use English for technological products. The third stage is reinforcement, in this stage advertising and marketing communication play an important part. Advertisements maintain awareness of a newly purchased brand as well as providing reassurance of the credibility of the brand; here the advertisers becomes more formal and switches to the high variety of the language. The final stage is nudging: at this stage the consumer is induced to become a regular purchaser of the product. Earl (2003) argues the individual’s response to advertisements is influenced by the ‘tribe’s behaviour’. The makeup of Arabic societies, not least the great familial and kin relationship, affects the attitude and the decision making of the purchasing individual. Even though persuasion is achieved from members of the tribe, as proposed by Earl, it is enhanced after purchasing the product and trying it as suggested by Ehrenberg. Therefore, marketing in the Arab world is a circuit that begins with the “tribe’s” recommendations which usually includes an awareness of the brand by a member of the “tribe” who recommends it to the rest of the tribe members and ends with the nudging. Therefore, advertisements in general and printed advertisement in broadsheets in particular give more attention to the headline to attract the attention of the prospective reader and sometimes little weight to the body copy since the tribal or kin’s recommendations is more influential than the advertisement itself. However, advertisers continue to advertise to remind their audience of their existence.

Consequently, to introduce the product by advertising it in broadsheets requires attracting the attention of the reader by using unconventional linguistic forms and deploying these forms in the headline. However, employing various linguistic techniques in the headline or the body copy has more implications than to attract the
attention of the prospective customer as I have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

**8.6. How Advertising Arabic is Different From Media Arabic?**

By the virtue of where advertising Arabic appears, namely broadsheets, one might expect it to be part of Media Arabic, but it is not. Media Arabic, as I have mentioned before, refers to the language used in the press, television and radio. But it employs Modern Standard Arabic with some influence from spoken colloquial Arabic, as well as the journalistic styles of other languages, not least English and French. However, even though advertising and media Arabic are both found in the same medium, there are considerable differences in the morpho-semantic features of both. Media Arabic submits to the writing conventions of MSA, while advertising Arabic deploys the morpho-syntactic features of colloquial Arabic, and some of morpho-semantic features of Media Arabic disappear completely in advertising Arabic. For example, passivisation is almost never found in advertising Arabic, while it is widely used in Media Arabic. Negation is another feature that distinguishes the two; Media Arabic employs negative particles that are not used in Advertising Arabic, such as لا [lā] and لم [lam]; instead colloquial negative markers are used (see section 5.6). Another difference between Media and Advertising Arabic can be found in lexicon. In advertising Arabic, especially in advertisements that are composed in the L variety, certain words are rarely used while they are extensively used in Media Arabic. For example, the verb استطاع [Iṣṭaṭā‘] meaning ‘to be able’ is rarely used in advertisements composed in the L variety and its synonym تقدير [taqdir] written in MSA, since it has a dialectal analogue, to allow people with various dialect to
pronounce it according to how they say it or to avoid the dialectal analogue, advertisers use the verb أمكن [amkana] instead.

Furthermore, Media Arabic does not employ English directly as extensively as advertising Arabic. Its use of English is confined to borrowed words which are kept to the minimal especially in the presence of an Arabic equivalence. The use of transliterated words is limited to the realm of science or technology and in this case these transliterated words are treated as borrowed words because they are employed to fill the semantic gap in Arabic. No English sentences or words written in the Latin alphabet are used in Media Arabic in the way they are used in Advertising Arabic. Colloquialisms are rarely used in Media Arabic and are limited to certain sections. Unlike Advertising Arabic which uses them intensively. Arabizi, a feature of Advertising Arabic, is never present in Media Arabic. Nevertheless, one can say that even though media Arabic and advertising Arabic are found in the same medium—the press, they differ significantly in a number of morpho-semantic characteristics.

8.7. Advertising Arabic as a Symptom of Change in Arabic in General

Advertising Arabic deliberately defies the conventional rules of written Arabic. The features of this new register mentioned earlier have been commented upon by language purists and preservationists, and writers from two contradicting points of view. The infiltration of colloquial Arabic into the text of the advertisement, which occupies an ample amount of space in broadsheets and are read by almost everyone, by either composing the entire advertisement in colloquial Arabic or by diglossic switching between the two varieties, is considered by some language purists and preservationists, such as Fahmi Houiedi (2014), Mahmoud Kriehan (2014) and Mohammed Omar (2011) a way of depreciating the language, and they
blame modern advertisements for this depreciation (see section 1.3). They advocate that these advertisements should face some kind of censorship. Nevertheless, the other point of view, comes the economic and financial columnist, Fahd Al-Fanik (2014), who sees the deployment of features of advertising Arabic in composing advertisements as a utilitarian interest and a good way to reach out to the people in order to get these products introduced and sold to them.

I believe, we should look at this register as an evolution of written Arabic and a manifestation of language change. Languages are in a constant state of flux and this can be easily noticed, especially in lexicon, new words enter the language repertoire through borrowing from other languages. Nor is language change confined to words, but also includes areas such as grammar, semantics and phonology (Crystal 1994: 328-333). This evolution is caused by socio-linguistic factors such as ease of articulation, geography, social prestige, new versus old, analogy (where irregular grammatical patterns are changed in accordance with the regular patterns which already exist in the language (Crystal 1994: 330)) and others. The impact of social prestige is obvious in advertising Arabic. Advertisers favour prestigious Cairene colloquial Arabic in Al-Ahram and the colloquial Jordanian Arabic of Amman in Al-Rai. Writing words that are adapted to pronunciation or to write words in phonetic spelling is part of easing of articulation; advertisers want to narrow the gap between spoken and written Arabic. For example, it is easier to pronounce العائلة [al-‘aileh] instead of العائلة [al-‘ā’lə]or كهرباء [kahraba] instead of كهرباء [kahrubā’]. New inventions and ideas are always being created that languages take account of and therefore new words replace old ones. For example, before the invention of mobile phones, people knew only one kind of phone, but now people need to specify what kind of telephone they are using. So there is الهاتف الخلو [al hātif] and الهاتف الخلوي [al hātif
alkhalawī], while sometimes people use the borrowed word of موبايل [mūbī l].

Associating what I am seeing in advertising Arabic and its influence on language change merits more investigation.

Notwithstanding what I believe that if the features of advertising Arabic are used in other writing domains will spur language change the question to be asked here is wheather this evolution lead to an endangering of MSA. If the features of this style of writing infiltrates other genres or other writing domains, will MSA be threatened with becoming endangered and eventually will see its death? A language becomes endangered, according to Fishman, when it “lacks informal intergenerational transmission and informal daily life support” (Fishman 1997: 194). A language is dead if “Nobody speaks it anymore” (Crystal 2010: 1) or in the case of written texts, if nobody uses it or is committed to it anymore or “if speakers do not appear to be committed to the language” (Wright 2016: 285). According to Crystal (2010) there are a number of factors that lead to language death. These factors include the influence of English as an international language, globalization, communication and transport technologies and physical death of its speakers (Crystal 2010: 91-100). These factors can be used to justify the fear of purists and language preservationists of the depreciation of the use MSA in writing and hence for it to be endangered.

Advertising Arabic as I have mentioned uses English, either by composing the whole advertisement in English or by infusing English words written in Latin letters or deploying borrowed or transliterated English words into the text. The use of English transliterated words or even the borrowed ones within the availability of an Arabic equivalent could endanger MSA and this needs more academic research to investigate how this might contribute to the depreciation of MSA. Arabizi is another formidable cause to endangering MSA. The present generation finds it easier to
communicate with each other using Arabizi instead of texting using the writing norms of Arabic. Not using MSA may cause one to lose it. Hence the real threat to endangering MSA is not diglossic switching or the use of colloquial language in writing, but the spread and interference of English in written Arabic, and considering it as a means of communication among the present and future generations. This proves Crystal’s first factor of language death, which is the influence of English as an international language. The causes of either language change of Arabic or endangering the standard variety of Arabic merits further academic investigation. More research should be done to investigate the reasons other than the ones I stated that have helped this kind of register to surface. More investigation should be conducted to see if this register will be affecting the rules of writing in Arabic, and whether MSA is encountering a case of being endangered.
Appendix (1)

The following appendix contains 270 advertisements included in this thesis. The advertisements are organized in chronological order from January 2011- December 2013. They are taken from two Arabic newspapers, the Jordanian Al-Rai and the Egyptian Al-Ahram.

Each advertisement is followed by the following description:

- Code of the newspaper (set by the author) followed by the date and the number of the advertisement

- The title of the advertisement.

- The code which consists of abbreviations of the type of language used in the advertisement

- The name of the newspaper in which the advertisement appeared

- The date on which the advertisement appeared

Abbreviations used in coding the advertisements

Ah  Al-Ahram newspaper  E  English
Arz  Arabizi  MSA  Modern Standard Arabic
Co  colloquial  Ra  Rai newspaper
Cs  code switching  Tw  transliterated words
Ra-14-02-011-1

Description: “advertisement for telelink”
Code: E
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 14-02-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Orange Telecommunication”

Code: E – Cs

Newspaper: Al Rai

Date: 14-02-2011
Description: “advertisement for Zain telecommunication”

Code: Tw-Co

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 10-04-2011

Description: “advertisement for pepsi”

Code: Cs

Newspaper: Al-Rai
Date: 10-04-2011

Description: “advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Co

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date 08-05-2011
Description: “advertisement for Lees fast food restaurant”

Code: E- Tw

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 08-05-2011

Description: “advertisement for Burger King fast food restaurant”

Code: E – Tw – Cs

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 09-05-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Safeway supermarket”

Code: E- Tw

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 08-05-2011
Description: "advertisement for Orange telecommunication"

Code: E-Cs

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 09-05-2011
Description: “advertisement for Tropicana juice”

Code: Co

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 09-05-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Sona air-conditioners”

Code: Co

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 22-06-2011
Description: “public announcement for road anti rage’

Code: MSA

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 04-07-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Orange telecommunication company”

Code: Cs

Newspaper: Al-Rai

Date: 04-07-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Vodaphone”

Code: Co

Newspaper: Al-ahram

Date: 13-07-2011
Description: “Advertisement for i2 mobile shope”

Code: E-Tw  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 13-07-2011  

Description: “Advertisement for Ostora stores”

Code: E-Tw  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 13-07-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Unionaire Group”
Code: Tw- MSA
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 13-07-2011

Description: “public announcement for family planning”
Code: MSA
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 13-07-2011
“Advertisement for Sona products”

Code: Co-Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 07-08-2011

*Advertisement for Clear shampoo*

Code: MSA, E
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 15-08-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Sunwhite rice”

Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 16-08-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: E-Tw-cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 16-08-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Bonebone chocolate”

Code: Co
Description: “Advertisement for Kean Juice”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 16-08-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 18-08-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Almarai Products”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 4-09-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Defile Creation”

Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 06-09-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 11-09-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Sameh Mall”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 22-09-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Marks and Spencer”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 27-09-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Systel mobile shop”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 01-10-2011
Ra-02-10-011-32

Description: “Advertisement for Zain telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 02-10-2011

Ar-03-10-011- 33

Description: “Advertisement for Wi-tribe”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-10-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Mukhtar Mega shop”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-10-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Alwadi products”

Code: E-Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-10-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Zain telecommunication”
Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-10-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Vodafone telecommunication”
Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-10-2011
Description: “Advertisement for Vodafone telecommunication”
Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-10-2011

Description: “Advertisement for Samsung Laptops”
Code: E-Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-10-2011

“Advertisement for Mada internet company”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 04-10-2011

Date: 08-10-2011

“Advertisement for HTC mobile phones”

Code: E-Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 08-10-2011
“Advertisement for Al-Fursan properties”

Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 11-10-2011

“Advertisement for Umnia telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-10-2011
“Advertisement for advertising in Al-rai newspaper”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-10-2011

“Advertisement for Holiday travel agency”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-10-2011
“Advertisement for HTC mobile phone”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-10-2011
“Advertisement for Amer Group Real Estate developments”

Code: E-Tw- Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 18-10-2011

“Advertisement for Al- Mughamah travel agency”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-10-2011
“Advertisement for Smart Buy shop”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 20-10-2011

“Advertisement for Zain telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-10-2011
“Advertisement for Alahly For Real Estate Development”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 21-10-2011

“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 21-10-2011
“Advertisement for Mitsubishi motors”

Code: Tw-Co
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 21-10-2011

“Advertisement for Carrefour hypermarket”

Code: E
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 25-10-2011
“Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones”

Code: Cs- E-Tw
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 25-10-2011

“Advertisement for Burberry fragrance”

Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 25-10-2011
Description: “Advertisement for i robot cleaner”

Code: E-Tw  
Paper: Al-ahram  
Date: 25-10-2011

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: E- Tw  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 28-10-2011
“Advertisement for Alcatel mobile phones”

Code: E-Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 28-10-2011

“Advertisement for Bario non-alcoholic drink”

Code: Tw  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 28-10-2011
Title: ‘advertisement for tropicana juice’

Code : MSA

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 28-10-2011

“Advertisement for Blue zone internet company”

Code: E-Cs- Co

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 04-11-2011
“Advertisement for Popeyes fast food”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 04-11-2011

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-11-2011
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 01-12-2011

“Advertisement for Spinny’s supermarket”

Code: Co
“Advertisement for Nokia mobile phones”
Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 06-12-2011

“Advertisement for Wi-tribe internet company”
Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-12-2011
“Advertisement for Blue zone internet company”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-12-2011

“Advertisement for Spinneys supermarket”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-12-2011
“Advertisement for B. tech”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 20-12-2011
“Advertisement for Samsung products”

Code: E-Cs  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 20-12-2011

“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication”

Code: E-Cs  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 20-12-2011
Ah-27-12-011-74

“Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones”

Code: E-Tw-Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 27-12-2011

Ah-27-12-011-75

“Advertisement for vodafone telecommunication”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 27-12-2011
“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication ”

Code: E-Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 27-12-2011

“Advertisement for boxer motorcycles ”

Code: Tw-Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 10-01-2012
“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication ”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 10-01-2012

“Advertisement for Alwad for constructions and property and touristic development ”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 10-01-2012
“Advertisement for Arabian Cement”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 15-01-2012

“Advertisement for Sharp products”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 19-01-2012
“Advertisement for Dijlah gardens real estate”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 21-01-2012

“Advertisement for Mousa Coast real estate”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 21-01-2012
“Advertisement for Power split unit”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-02-2012

“Advertisement for Fahem computer company”
“Advertisement for Burger king fastfood”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-02-2012

“Advertisement for Gift Center”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 06-02-2012
“Advertisement for Abdoun real estate”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 06-02-2012

“Advertisement for Zain telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 07-02-2012
“Advertisement for Burger HTC mobile phones”
Code: Tw-Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 12-02-2012

“Advertisement for Abu Shakra”
Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 14-02-2012
"Advertisement for mobinil"

Code: Tw - Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 15-02-2012

"Advertisement for White point washing machine"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-02-2012
“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication ”

Code: Co Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 17-02-2012

“Advertisement for citi skip realestate ”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 21-02-2012
“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 22-02-2012

“Advertisement for DMG real estate”

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 23-02-2012
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication ”
Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 28-02-2012

“Advertisement for vodafone telecommunication ”
Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 29-02-2012
“Advertisement for etisalat telecommunication”

Code: Cs-E
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 02-03-2012
“Advertisement for Vodafone telecommunication”

Code: Cs- Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 07-03-2012

“Advertisement for HTC mobiles”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 14-03-2012
“Advertisement for Nokia mobiles”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 20-03-2012

“Advertisement for high sleep mattresses”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 20-03-2012
Description: “public announcement for anti drug campaign”

Code: Co-Arz
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 27-03-2012

“Advertisement for capital home real estate”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 30-03-2012
“Advertisement for Fantazia real estate”

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 11-04-2012
“Advertisement for vestel products”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-07-2012

“Advertisement for popeyes fastfood”
“Advertisement for Opel Cars”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-07-2012

“Advertisement for Nabil Ready Made Food Products”

Code: Cs- Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-07-2012
Advertisement for Apple bees restaurant  
public announcement for glasses donation

Code: E- Tw  
Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 29-07-2012

Advertisement for Samsung products

Code: Cs- E  
Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 29-07-2012
“Advertisement for Mitsubishi motors”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-07-2012

“Advertisement for Housing bank services”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-07-2012
Ra-29-7-012-117

“Advertisement for festivity celebrations”

Code: E-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-07-2012

Ra29-7-012-118

Description: “Public announcement fostering the orphans”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-07-2012
“Advertisement for Arab Bank services”

Code: Cs- MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 01-08-2012

“Advertisement for Air France”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 01-08-2012

“Advertisement for Abu Shakra”
“Advertisement for Holiday travel agency”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-08-2012

“Advertisement for Philadelphia book Gallery”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-08-2012
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Co-E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-08-2012

“Advertisement for Umnia telecommunication”

Code: Tw
"Advertisement for Capital Bank services"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 02-09-2012
“Advertisement for Samarah Real Estate”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 09-09-2012
“Advertisement for Samsung appliances”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 09-09-2012

“Advertisement for umniah telecommunication”

Code: Cs- E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 16-09-2012

“Advertisement for Rosa Clara Wedding dresses”

Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 09-09-2012
"Advertisement for Chevrolet Motors"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 16-09-2012

"Advertisement for Applebees restaurant"

Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-09-2012
“Advertisement for E-mart mega store”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-09-2012
“Advertisement for Mitsubishi motors”
Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-09-2012

“Advertisement for Mira la casa home accessories”
Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-09-2012

“Advertisement for Nokia phones”
Code: Co- E
Paper: Al-Rai
“Advertisement for Zain telecommunication”

Code: E-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-09-2012
“Advertisement for Millennium Hotel”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-09-2012

“Advertisement for Porto Sokhna hotel”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 04-10-2012

“Advertisement for Smart Buy”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 07-10-2012

Date: 14-10-2012

“Advertisement for Zay clothing”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012
“Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012

“Advertisement for Smart buy”

Code: E- Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012
“Advertisement for Renault cars”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012

“Advertisement for Dallas travel agency”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012
“Advertisement for therapedic mattresses”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012

“Advertisement for Sameh mall”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs-
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-10-2012

“Advertisement for Emirates Hights real estate”

Code: E- Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-10-2012
“Advertisement for Alhanove touristic investment”

Code: E- Cs- Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-10-2012

“Advertisement for Tornado television sets”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-10-2012
“Advertisement for Guy laroche clothing”

Code: E
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 21-10-2012

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: E- Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-10-2012
“Advertisement for Mori lee wedding and occasional dresses”

Code: E  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 21-10-2012

“Advertisement for family planning campgain- public announcement”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 21-10-2012
“Advertisement for Abu khader motors”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 04-11-2012

“Advertisement for double tree hotel”

Code: E
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 04-11-2012
"Advertisement for Abu khader motors"

Code: Cs- E  
Paper: Al-rai  
Date: 04-11-2012

"Advertisement for festivity event"
“Advertisement for Okkeh home furniture”

Code: E-cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 11-11-2012

“Advertisement for Chery motors”
"Advertisement for Renault motors"

Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-11-2012

"Advertisement for National Bank for Development"

Code: Cs-E
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16-11-2012
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs- Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-11-2012

“Advertisement for Sameh mall”
“Advertisement for Kia motors”

Code: E-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-11-2012
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-11-2012
“Advertisement for spinneys supermarket”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-11-2012
“Advertisement for Samarah mall”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 18-11-2012

“Advertisement for Bluezone internet”

Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 25-11-2012

“Advertisement for Nabil ready made food”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 25-11-2012

“Advertisement for Abu Khader Motors”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-11-2012

Date: 25-11-2012

“Public announcement for placing official complaints against civil services”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-12-2012
“Advertisement for Amazing Room home furniture”

Code: E  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 09-12-2012

“Advertisement for Millennium Hotel”

Code: E  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 09-12-2012

“Advertisement for ABC bank services”
“Advertisement for Delonghi appliances”

Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-12-2012

“Advertisement for Nabil ready made food”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 09-12-2012
“Advertisement for Levi’s clothing”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 16-12-2012

“Advertisement for Renault motors”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 16-12-2012
“Advertisement for I system”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012

“Advertisement for Abu shakra”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012
“public announcement for water bills payments”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012

“public announcement for insurance against cancer”

Code: Cs-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012
“Advertisement for Warwick hotel”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012

“Advertisement for Sony television sets”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-12-2012
“Advertisement for one touch”

Code: Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-12-2012

‘advertisement for Patek Philippe watch’

Code: E
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 02-01-2013
“Advertisement for umniah telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 06-01-2013

“Public announcement for vocational training”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 06-01-2013
“Advertisement for Vodafone telecommunication”

Code: Co-Tw- Cs
Paper: Al-Aram
Date: 11-01-2013

“Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones”

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Aram
Date: 11-01-2013
“Advertisement for Mazda motors”
Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 19-01-2013

“Advertisement for popeyes fastfood”
Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 20-01-2013
“Advertisement for chicken tikka fastfood”

Code: Tw  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 25-01-2013

“Advertisement for etisalat telecommunication”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 25-01-2013

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs-Co  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 27-01-2013
“Advertisement for Umniah telecommunication”

Code: MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-01-2013

“Advertisement for Abu shakra”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 10-02-2013
“Advertisement for Pepsi”

Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 13-02-2013

“Advertisement for damas jewellery”

Code: E-
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-02-2013
“Advertisement for Mazda motors”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-02-2013

“Advertisement for Peugeot motors”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-02-2013

“Advertisement for Nokia mobile phones”
“Advertisement for Pepsi”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 13-02-2013

“Advertisement for etisalat telecommunication”

Code: - Tw- Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 22-02-2013
“Advertisement for Maxim mall”

Code: E-Tw  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 22-02-2013

“Advertisement for ashgar darna real estate”

Code: Co-Tw  
Paper: Al-Ahram  
Date: 22-02-2013

“Advertisement for Samsung television sets”

Code: E-MSA
“Advertisement for Nokia mobile phones”
Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-03-2013

“Advertisement for Sameh mall”
Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 10-03-2013
“public announcement for donation for cancer”

Code: co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 12-03-2013

“Advertisement for Italian quarters real estate”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 12-03-2013
“Advertisement for McDonald’s”
Code: E-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-03-2013

“Advertisement for Smart buy shop”
Code: Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-03-2013

“Advertisement for McDonald’s”
Code: E-Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-03-2013
“Advertisement zain telecommunication”

Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 17-03-2013

“Advertisement Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 31-03-2013
“Advertisement for Mcdonald’s”
Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 07-04-2013

“Advertisement for Toyota motors”
Code: Tw-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 07-04-2013

“Advertisement for Popeyes”
“Advertisement for five Oceans restaurant”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-04-2013

“Advertisement for five LG appliances”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 28-04-2013

“Advertisement for five whirlpool appliances”

Code: E
“Advertisement for five hp printer”

Code: E- MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 28-04-2013

Description: ‘advertisement for link dsl’

Code: Cs- Tw
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 03-05-2013
“Advertisement for Mcdonald's"

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 12-05-2013

“Advertisement for Zain telecommunication"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date:13-05-2013
“Advertisement for Sameh mall”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-05-2013

“Advertisement for Nabil ready made food”

Code: Tw-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 26-05-2013

“Advertisement for Mercedes Benz cars”

Code: E-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 26-05-2013

“Advertisement for Nabil ready made food”
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 09-06-2013

“Advertisement for led solar system”

Code: E-MSA
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 23-06-2013
“Advertisement for Carrfour hypermarket”

Code: E-Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 25-05-2013

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-06-2013
“Advertisement for Abu Shakra”

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-06-2013

“Advertisement for York split units”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-06-2013
“Advertisement for Samsung television sets”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-06-2013

“Advertisement for Diaken split unit”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30-06-2013
“Advertisement for al-ethad bank services”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 30-06-2013

“Advertisement for Kia motors”

Code: E-Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 01-07-2013
"Advertisement for umniah telecommunication"

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-07-2013

"Advertisement for umniah telecommunication"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-07-2013
“Advertisement for Jasimen rice”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 14-07-2013

“Advertisement for nokia mobile phones”

Code: Co- Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 21-07-2013
“Advertisement for Samsung split units”

Code: Cs-E  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 18-08-2013

“public announcement for vocational training at the NGO River Jordan Foundation”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 18-08-2013
“Advertisement for Abu shakra”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 25-08-2013

“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 01-09-2013
"Advertisement for Carrefour Hypermarket"

Code: E-Tw-Cs
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 06-09-2013
“Advertisement for Marseilia real estate”

Code: E- Tw- Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 06-09-2013

“Advertisement for lipton tea”

Code: Co-E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 15-09-2013
“Advertisement for Toyota motors"
Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 15-09-2013

“Advertisement for LG appliances"
Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 20-10-2013
“Advertisement for Orange telecommunication”

Code: Co
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 29-10-2013

“Advertisement for chili ways fast food”

Code: Co-E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 03-11-2013
"Advertisement for Nissan motors"

Code: Cs-E  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 03-11-2013

"Advertisement for Sameh mall"

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 01-12-2013
“Advertisement for Sameh mall”
Code: Cs-E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 01-12-2013

“Advertisement for gift center”
Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013

“Advertisement for Boulevard”

Code: E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013

“Advertisement for Orange communication”
“Advertisement for LG appliances”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013

“Advertisement for Samsung mobile”

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013
Date: 22-12-2013

"Advertisement for alghazaain tea"

Code: E-Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013

"Advertisement for mitsubishi motors"

Code: Cs
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013
“Advertisement for Ariston water heaters”
Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013

“Advertisement for Renault cars”
Code: Cs-Tw
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 22-12-2013
“Advertisement for Samsung mobile”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 29-12-2013

“Advertisement for Arab bank services”

Code: Cs  
Paper: Al-Rai  
Date: 29-12-2013
“Advertisement for Samsung mobile phones”

Code: Co-Tw-E
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 29-12-2013

“Advertisement for mobinil telecommunication”

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 29-12-2013
“Advertisement for x bus"

Code: Co-Tw
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 30-12-2013
Appendix (2)

Description: “Advertisements in Al-ahram”

Code: Tw, MSA

Paper: Al-ahram

Date: 31/5/1975

Description: “Advertisements for Sanyo televisions”

Code: MSA

Paper: Al-ahram

Date: 31/5/1975
Description: “Advertisements in Al-rai for cups”
Code: MSA, E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 31/5/1975

Description: “Advertisements in Al-ahram”
Code: Tw, MSA
Paper: Al-ahram
Date: 2/6/1975
Description: “Advertisement for Citizen watches”

Code: MSA, E

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/6/1975
Description: “Advertisement for General electric refrigerators”

Code: MSA, Tw

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/6/1975

Description: “Advertisement for industrial tools ”

Code: MSA

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/6/1975
Description: “Advertisements in Al-rai ”
Code: E, MSA
Paper: Al-rai
Date: 5/6/1982
Description: “Advertisement for shoes”

Code: Cs, E

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 4/6/1988

Description: “Advertisement for Sweet and Low”
Description: “Advertisement for Deodorant”

Code: Tw, MSA

Paper: Al-rai

Date: 4/6/1988
قطرة مياه = حياء
شعار شركة توتونجي للبلاستيك
والأدوات الصحية الحديثة

وإنجاز غير مسبوق في معرض أبوظبي الدولي

قواعد مرحاض
sandboxes

استرو

لا يمكن لللكسر
cracks

جميع الألوان

حرف + مجوز

عدد صندوق الطرد

عالية للجودة

مجموعة متكاملة من اللوازم

أليك - جلبر - موزير

جميع منتجاتنا مصنعة طبقا لاحتراف المواصفات العالمية

قواعد مرحاض

السيفونات

الصبابات

المفوفر للمياه

زئين

Advertisement for plastic plumbing”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 5/4/1995
Description: "Advertisement for Samsung air conditioning"

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 1/7/1995
Description: “Advertisement for air conditioning”

Code: Cs,Tw

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 1/6/1996
Description: “Advertisement for air conditioning”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 1/6/1996
Description: “Advertisement for Cars”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 31/5/1997
خط خلوي معفي مقدمة 7 دينار رسوم الاشتراك

خدمة خدمات الاتصالات العامة "3G" متاحة...

مكتبة خلوي موفور متاحة...

(Mobile Zone)
مكتبة أخت الاتصالات الحديثة
شعبة عمانه، مركز عمرو، الصقلية، المفرق، الحائط
فروع أخرى: الرفاع، المدينة، المختار
وكيل محلي لمدي فاست لينك

Ra- 08-06-1997-17-

Description: “Advertisement for mobile phone operator”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 08/6/1997
خط خليوي معفٍ من رسوم التشغيل ٧٠ دينار
وأخذه فعلاً بثلاش...
خدمة طاهير الرقم على الشاشة "[[هـ]]" لمدة شهر مجاني
وإذا كنت موقعاً بعيداً...
 هاتف خليوي متوفر لا إثماً ... من ١٨٩ دينار...
والإرسال راجع أستاذ...
هاتف خليوي مع خط مع "[[هـ]]" لمدة شهر ٣ ب١٠ دينار
دانيشا نحن نستنثأنا...!!

Ra- 11-06-1997-18-

Description: “Advertisement mobile phone operator”

Code: CS

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 11/6/1997
Description: “Advertisement for pick ups”

Code: CS

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 4/7/1997
Description: “Advertisement for Batteries”

Code: CS

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 5/7/1997
Ah-05-07-1997-22-

Description: “Advertisement for Holiday homes”

Code: CS

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 5/7/1997
Description: “Advertisement for Air conditioning”

Code: CS

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 5/7/1997
Ra-02-08-1997-24-

Description: “Advertisement for furniture”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/8/1997
Description: “Advertisement Satellite systems”

Code: Co, E, Tw

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/8/1997
Point Of Sale

Description: “Advertisement for Computer Programming”

Code: Cs, E

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 2/8/1997
Ra-30-06-1998-27-
Description: “Advertisement for Supermarket ”
Code: Cs, E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30/6/1998

Ra-30-06-1998-28-
Description: “Advertisement for films for cameras ”
Code: Cs, E
Paper: Al-Rai
Date: 30/6/1998
Ra-04-07-1998-29-

Description: “Advertisement for Cosmetics ”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Rai

Date: 4/7/1998
Ah-02-08-1998-30-

Description: “Advertisement for air conditioning”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 2/8/1998
Description: “Advertisement for holiday houses”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 2/8/1998
Ah-02-08-1998-32-

Description: “Advertisement for Exhibitions”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 2/8/1998
Ah-02-08-1998-33-

Description: “Advertisement for Cars”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 2/8/1998
Ah-16-08-1998-34-
Description: “Advertisement for Cars”
Code: Co
Paper: Al-Ahram
Date: 16/8/1998
Ah-16-08-1998-35-

Description: “Advertisement for Cars”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-Ahram

Date: 16/8/1998
Ra-24-04-1999-36-

Description: “Advertisement for Cars”

Code: Cs

Paper: Al-rai

Date: 24/4/1999
Description: “Advertisement for air conditioning”

Code: Co

Paper: Al-rai

Date: 24/4/1999
Description: “Advertisement for Tata Pickups”

Code: Co, Tw

Paper: Al-rai

Date: 24/4/1999
## Appendix (3)

### Negating nouns and adjectives using [mush] or [mish] as they appear in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Al-rai</th>
<th>Al-ahram</th>
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### Negation using the particle [lā] in adverts in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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### Negation using the particle [mā] as an independent particle

#### as they appear in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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Negation using the particle [mā] preceding a verb that has been suffixed with [sh] as they appear in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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Forming questions from change of intonation as they appear in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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Questions formed from colloquial interrogative markers as they appear in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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The use of past tense in headlines of Al-ahram and Al-rai

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The proclitic preposition ['a] used in the headlines of some consumer advertisements in Al-ahram and Al-rai

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Appendix (4)

Factors that determine the variety used in the composition of advertisements in broadsheets

a. The nature of the advertised product or service

1. Advertisements composed completely in MSA

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2. Advertisements composed in MSA and a mirror advertisement in English

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3. Advertisements composed in colloquial Arabic

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### 4. Advertisements composed in both colloquial Arabic and MSA

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| Ra-18-8-013-251 |  |
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| Ra-15-09-013-257 |  |
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5. **Advertisements composed in English**

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b. The target audience or prospective reader

1. Advertisements composed in colloquial Arabic targeting young prospective readers

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2. Advertisements composed employing both code switching and diglossic switching targeting people in general who can either read English or Arabic or those knowledgeable in certain products.

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### Appendix (5)

**Advertisements that have both code and diglossic switching**

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Appendix (6)

The influence of English on print advertisements

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b. Advertisements that contain code switching between Arabic and English

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c. Advertisements that contain code mixing between Arabic and English

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d. Advertisement that employ transliterated words

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e. Advertisement that employ loan words

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f. **Advertisements with both Arabic and their English translation.**

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Bibliography


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