

The Election Campaign of the 16th Parliament in Jordan: A Sociolinguistic Study

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Abstract

This paper aims at examining one of the multiple faces of human communication. This face is functional and achieves its goal depending on linguistic extracts. This paper examines extracts taken from electoral advertisement from the perspective of applied sociolinguistics. Social sciences and linguistics deal with language as a communicative effort amid the social activity. More importantly, social sciences and linguistics use field studies.

The electoral advertisement uses the language functionally since it uses linguistic structures to reach the audience easily. That is why the electoral advertisement uses some language functions like reporting, guidance, and persuasion to achieve its goals.

Eventually, this paper aims at recognizing and understanding the characteristics of the text of electoral advertising. It also relates each characteristic to its communicative function. Moreover, this paper focuses on several phonological, syntactic and semantic aspects. There are also several examples that highlight the most commonly used linguistic devices and figures of speech.

Keywords: Electoral advertisement, Candidate, Elections

1. Introduction

Communication between people happens through a group of deeds, expressions, and forms to inform, allude, and express emotions and ideas. This paper studies the kind of address that is used in election campaigns, so people experience it every now and then, and it portrays activities of life and expresses them. Such an address is called discourse of promulgation, which is considered to be a linguistic achievement whose goal is to communicate. It is a cultural and informational way that receives much care in different societies because it can affect the individual's opinion, form his way of thinking, and even guide culture. Human language "serves as a means of cognition and communication: it enables us to think for ourselves and to cooperate with other people in our community" (Widdowson, 2000, P.3). This results in adopting the idea that advertising, in general, "has to be seriously accepted as a formative cultural discourse" (Wicke, 1988, P.2). Discourse of promulgation can be heard, written or both. Moreover, discourse of promulgation can be addressed to an individual, a group of people or a party, and it can be scientific, cultural, political or financial. What is important in this paper is the political discourse of promulgation which expresses different political opinions and influences public opinions through presenting a speech in a way that tries to convince the audience that it is the best among all the other political speeches. This happens in election campaigns in which the candidates use the language as their most important tool to express their ideas and programs, where the word has a major role in communication. Generally speaking, "discourses embody attitudinal expression, with language becoming by convention the mouthpiece of social institutions" (Hatim & Mason, 1997, P. 18). The purpose of this paper is to study the terms the candidates used by analyzing a group of electoral advertisements that promoted the candidates' opinions and deeds and aimed at attracting as many votes as possible in the period that preceded the elections for the sixteenth Jordanian parliament. It is important to study what words are produced when delivering a certain idea and any electoral advertisement should be taken "from three points of view: How does it function in the communication situation? How is it textured, that is, how are its parts united into a whole? What meaning does it communicate?" (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985, P. 15). The sample consisted of three hundred and six advertisements chosen randomly from different areas in Jordan.

The study linked the linguistic structure to its function using sociolinguistic theories hoping that linguistics can open to different fields of life, so it can be transferred from being theoretical to practical. The electoral speech is a lingual-written way of communication especially because writing is the most effective tool in the informational-communicative speech sent by the candidate to the voter. To achieve this goal, several elements are needed in the electoral speech, like:

1. Sender: the candidate who produces the speech and loads it with the propaganda it needs.
2. Recipient: the voter or the addressee without whom the speech is rendered needless.
3. Speech: the linguistic text with all its levels: phonetic, syntactic, semantic, and stylistic. The speech represents the personality of the sender and his / her intention.

4. Means of Communication: A visual means of communication, the poster on which the electoral advertisement is written.
5. Message: the idea the sender tries to send to the recipient.
6. Context: the sociolinguistic convention through which communication takes place; it is the general frame of the electoral advertisement.

2. Linguistic Features of Electoral Advertisement

The electoral advertisement is a linguistic text that consists of a number of phonemes which form a morphological structure used in a syntactic structure that has specific meanings the recipient can comprehend. "No matter how persuasive the content of the advertising, it cannot be effective if it does not gain the audience's ear and eye" (Niefeld, 1989, P. 63). Hatem Obeid argued that when the speaker puts his speech in a specific type, he actually follows a general rule through which the speech takes its shape and gains its right to be in this shape or that (2005, P. 22). This study explores some phonetic features used in electoral campaigns, like:

2.1 Consonance

Recurrence of identical or similar consonants, especially at the end of words:

- _ I have lived with you, and I know what concerns you.
"9iřtu ma9akum wa ?9rifu hammakum."
- _ I am loyal to you, you give more.
"minni ?lwafaa? wa minkum ?l9aTaa?."
- _ The prophet is our model, the Quran is our constitution.
"?rrasuulu qudwatunaa walqur?aanu řarii9atunaa."
- _ Expressing one's opinion is the doorway to change.
"?tta9biir baabu ?ttağyiir."
- _ I give you a pledge, not a promise.
"bayni wa baynakum 9ahdun laa wa9dun."
- _ I am always with you.
"ma9akum dawman laa yawman."
- _ God is our goal, the prophet is our example, the Quran is our constitution.
"?llaahu ğaaayatuna, ?rrasuulu qudwatuna, ?lqur?aanu dustuuruna."
- _ Mandate is deeds, not sayings.
"?lniyaabah ?f9aal wa laysat ?qwaal."

Consonance is a prominent feature in the sample of this study. Consonance is used in fifty percent of the studied advertisements. It is used to refresh the perception sense of the recipient to achieve the required functional influence.

2.2 Repetition

Repeating certain words for more effective influence:

_ I am not asking you to take me to the parliament, I will take your concerns and queries to the parliament.

"Iaa ?quulu lakum ihmiluuni 9ala ?ktaafikum ila qubbat ?lbarlamaan, wa lakinni ?quulu lakum bi?anni sa?hmilu humuumakum wa maTalibakum ila qubbat ?lbarlamaan."

_ One feeling, one goal, one destiny.

"šu9uurun waahid, hadafun waahid, maSiirun waahid."

_ The son of the whole in a country for the whole.

"ibnu ?ljamii9 fii waTan ?ljamii9."

_ No for self-interest, yes for public interest.

"Iaa lilmaSlaħa alšaxSiyah, na9am lilmaSlaħa ?l9aammah."

_ A free vote is a free parliament.

"?lSawtu ?lhur barlamaanun ħur."

2.3 Paronomasia

Using words derived from the same source:

_ Respect for human and humanity.

"ihtiraamu ?linsaana walinsaniyah."

_ We are not used to selling, and who sells is not one of us.

"ta9awwadna ?lIaa nabii9, wa man yabii9 falaysa minna."

_ The service of the homeland and citizen is an honor we are proud of.

"xidmatu ?lwaTan walmuwaTin šarafun na9tazzu bihi."

_ You have known me closely, and you will find me closer.

"9araftuuni 9an qurb, wa satajiduuni ?qrab."

_ I suffer from what you suffer.

"u9aani mimma tu9aanuun."

Paronomasia has a great influential power on the psychological part to the recipient, so it sharpens his mind and takes him from the aesthetic part to the artistic compositional part.

2.4 Equal Sentences

Using sentences that are equal in length, their main elements, and phonetic syllables. It provides the recipient with a musical rhythm. This helps the advertisement achieve its goal:

- _ I will not sell your vote, I will not sell your right.
"lan usaawima 9la Sawtikum, lan uhaadina fii haqqikum."
- _ No for separation, yes for citizenship.
"laa lilfrqah waltafriqah, na9am lilwaTan walwaTaniyah."
- _ No for self-interest, yes for public interest.
" laa lilmaSlaħa alšaaxSiyah, na9am lilmaSlaħa ?l9aammah."
- _ Affiliation ... Obedience ... Loyalty.
"?lintimaa? ... ?l9aTaa? ... ?lwalaa?."
- _ We do not buy conscience, we sharpen determination.
"naħnu laa naštari ?l9imam wa laakin našħađu ?lħimam."
- _ Religion is for God; homeland is for all.
"?ddiinu lillaah; ?lwaTanu liljamii9."

Obviously, the above features were used in electoral advertisements to

1. Attract the recipient's attention. The musical rhythm encourages the recipient to read the advertisement more than once and helps him memorize it.
2. Make the advertisement memorable for a long time which encourages the voter to choose a specific candidate.
3. Combine techniques of persuasion and those of entertainment which direct the recipient's behavior in a certain way (Taha Abdul Rahman, 2000, P. 41).

3. Syntactic Features of Electoral Advertisement

3.1 Nominal Sentences

Unlike English, in Arabic there might be sentences without verbs; nominal sentences. Nominal sentences appeared more frequently than verbal sentences, for example:

- _ Serving others is honor and chivalry.
"xidmatu ?laaxariin šarafun wa šahaamah."
- _ Jordan's economy is our pillar.

"?liqtiSaadu ?lurdunniyu rakiizatuna."

- _ Expression is the door to change.

"?lta9biir baabu ?ltaḡyiir."

- _ Our goal is Arab unity and the independence of the West Bank.

"hadafuna ?lwiḥdah ?l9arabiyyah wa istiqlaalu ?lDiffah ?lḡarbiyyah."

- _ The strong Jordan is the best booster for Palestine.

"?lurdunnu ?lqawiyu xayru naSiirin li filasTiin."

- _ The youth are the knights of change.

"?lšabaabu fursaanu ?ltaḡyiir."

- _ The blessing of one's life is doing his job well.

"barakatu ?l9umri ḡusnu ?l9amal."

When translated into English, the above sentences have verbs. In Arabic, however, they do not. Nominal sentences enable the candidate to present his ideas in a brief way. Moreover, they help the candidate introduce condensed meanings in short sentences.

3.2 Verbal Sentences

On the other hand, verbal sentences appeared as follows:

3.2.1 Imperative Sentences

These sentences imply a request by the candidate to the voter urging him to choose the best candidate. This kind of sentences shows the important role of the voter in choosing his/her parliament man/woman. For example,

- _ Bet on thoroughbred horses.

"raahinu 9ala ?ljeyaadi ?l?Siilah."

- _ Put your hand in mine to build our future.

"Da9 yadaka biyadi linabni mustaqbalana jamii9an."

- _ Ask the poor about me.

"is?aluu ?lifuqaraa?a 9anni."

- _ Give us an opportunity, the parliament is not inherited.

"?9Tuuna furSah, ?lniyaabah laysat wiraaΘah."

- _ Let us hear your voice.

"sammi9na Sawtak."

It is noted that these verbs actually mean "elect" since they encourage the voter to:

- _ ask about the candidate,
- _ believe in the candidate,
- _ feel that the candidate is close to him,
- _ elect the candidate,
- _ be aware of the importance of his vote, and
- _ participate in the process of elections.

In the sample, which consisted of three hundred and six advertisements, the direct verb "elect" appeared only three times:

- _ Elect the person whom you want to accompany on the Day of Resurrection.

"intaxib man tuhiba ?n tuħsar ma9ahu yawma ?lqiyaamah."

- _ Elect the candidate of unanimity.

"intaxibu muraššaħ ?lijmaa9."

- _ Elect the daughter of the country; deeds and sayings.

"intaxibu ibnat ?lwaTan; fi9aal wa ?qwaal."

The candidates were usually tactful enough not to use the direct verb "elect" as this might imply dictating the voter who to elect, and people in general do not like dictating.

3.2.2 Present Verbs to Indicate the Future

The candidates used this style to make the voter feel confident that the candidate would keep his promises, and to give them the feeling that they can question him if he does not keep these promises. For example:

- _ In the parliament, I say the truth without fear.

"filbarlamaan, ?quulu ?alħaq wa laa ?xaaf."

- _ I am the voice of right.

"?na Sawtu ?lħaq."

- _ I am your supporter in the parliament.

"?na sanadukum filbarlamaan."

3.3 *Certain Styles of Address*

The candidates used different styles to address the voters where the first person pronouns represent the candidate and the second person pronouns represent the voter as in:

3.3.1 Using both first and second person pronouns

- _ I have lived with you, and I am aware of your concerns.
"9iřtu ma9akum wa ?9rifu hammakum."
- _ We hope you have confidence in us.
"na?malu Θiqatakum."
- _ We grow together, and with you we can make a difference.
"bikum nakburu wa ma9akum naSna9u ?ltağyiir."
- _ We work and speak for you.
"li?jlikum na9malu wa bi ismikum natakallam."

3.3.2 Using the first person pronouns only

- _ We do not promise what we cannot do, but we keep our promises.
"laa na9idu bima laa nastaTii9 wa laakin nafi bima na9id."
- _ We do not buy conscience, we sharpen determination.
"laa nařtari ?đđimam bal nařhađu ?lhimam."
- _ I will not be silent when there is injustice.
"lan ?skuta 9ala Zulm."
- _ We do not compromise the earnings of our country and nation.
"laa nusawimu 9ala muqaddaraati waTanina wa řa9bina."

3.3.3 Using the second person pronouns only

- _ The goal is to serve you.
"?lhadafu xidmatukum."
- _ Thank you for your support.
"řukran li mu?aazaratikum."
- _ Homeland is a trust, serving you is worshipping.
"?lwaTanu ?maanah, wa xidmatukum 9ibaadah."
- _ You should bet on thoroughbred horses.
"raahino 9ala ?ljiyaadi ?l?Siilah."

3.3.4 Not using pronouns at all

- _ Returning is a right.

"?l9awdah haq."

- _ Without slogans.

"biduun ši9aaraat."

- _ Yes for change.

"na9am littağyiir."

- _ Law is above all.

"?lqaanuunu fawqa ?ljamii9."

- _ Islam is the religion of tolerance.

"?lslaamu diinu ?ltasaamuħ."

4. Semantic Features of Electoral Advertisement

The analysis of the sample proved that the advertisements used semantic features to achieve their goal in influencing the opinion of the voter. Among these features:

4.1 Antonyms

Using words with opposite meanings in the same advertisement like:

- _ Homeland grows with love and fades away with hatred.

"?lwaTanu yanmu bilmahabbah wa yafna bilbağDaa?."

- _ Let's work together to make the dream come true.

"lina9mala sawiyan litaħwiili ?lhulmi ila waqi9."

- _ Homeland needs sacrifices, not earnings.

"?lwaTanu biltaDhiyaat wa laysa bilmuktasabaat."

- _ Citizens are equal in rights and duties.

"?lmuwaaTinuuna mutasaawuuna filhuquuqi walwaajebaat."

- _ We differ in opinion and agree in interests.

"naxtalifu birru?a wa nattafiqu bilmaSaaliħ."

- _ I nominate myself, you elect me.

"minni ?ltaršiih wa minkum ?lintixaab."

- _ The youth of today are the builders of the future.

"šabaabu ?lyawmi bunaatu ?lmustaqbal."

- _ No for self-interest ... yes for public interest.

"Iaa lilmaSlaħa ?IšaxSiyah ... na9am lilmaSlaħa ?I9ammah."

- Enforcing of rights and annulment of falsehood.

"ihqaaqu ?lhaq wa ibTaaluu ?lbaaTil."

By mentioning the antonym, the advertisement emphasizes the meaning the candidate tries to convey.

4.2 Synonyms

Using more than a word with almost the same meaning to emphasize the idea expressed in the advertisement. For example:

- We will remain faithful and dedicated.

"9ala Sidqi ?I9ahdi walwa9di kunna wa sanabqa."

- No for nepotism and favoritism.

"Iaa lilwaasTah walmahsuubiyah."

- The army and the police are the armor and fence of homeland.

"?Ijayšu wal?mnu dir9u ?IwaTan wa siyaajuh."

- A permanent print, loyalty and faithfulness, honesty and transparency.

"baSmati Өabitah, ?maanah wa ixlaaS, Sidq wa šafafiyah."

- I will not compromise your vote, I will not sell your right.

"Ilan usaawima 9ala Sawtikum, lan uhadina fi huquuqikum."

4.3 Verbal Repetition

Repetition aimed at emphasizing the meaning and idea of the advertisement. For example:

- Jordan is for all, and all are for Jordan.

"?Iurdunnu liljamii9 waljamii9u lilurdunn."

- Homeland is for all, and all are for homeland.

"?IwaTanu liljamii9 waljamii9u lilwaTan."

- I have done a lot without a post, and I will do much with the post.

"9amiltu ?IkaӨiira biduuni maq9ad, wa sa?9malu ?IkaӨiira bilmaq9ad."

- Together towards one province in one country in one nation.

"ma9an nahwa muhaafaZatin waahidah fi waTanin waahidin fi ummatin waahidah."

- I work for you, and I work with you.

"?s9a lakum wa ?s9a bikum."

- _ The right to return is a sacred right.
"ḥaqqu ?I9awdah ḥaqqun muqaddas."
- _ One feeling, one goal, one destiny.
"šu9uurun wahid, hadafun wahid, maSiirun wahid."
- _ Help, help.
"?Ifaz9ah, ?Ifaz9ah."

Repetition highlighted the problems the citizens suffer from like injustice, inequality, and the need to work together to solve the problems and unite the nation.

5. Glossary of Election Advertisement

The study found out that some words were used more often than others. These had a specific function in the advertisement as they were stronger than other words in conveying the candidate's message. The following table shows these words and how often they were used:

Table 1. The most used words in electoral advertisement

No.	Word	Frequency	No.	Word	Frequency
1.	Homeland	47	13.	Reform	7
2.	Vote	30	14.	Action	6
3.	Right	28	15.	Youth	5
4.	Change	17	16.	Honesty	5
5.	All	16	17.	Equality	5
6.	Work	15	18.	Poverty	4
7.	Future	12	19.	Woman	4
8.	Jordan	9	20.	Strength	4
9.	Slogans	8	21.	Trust	2
10.	Promise	7	22.	Return	2
11.	Citizen	7	23.	Islam	2
12.	Freedom	7			

- _ **Homeland:** This word is the most often used word in the advertisements, which implied that the homeland is for all citizens in Jordan.
- _ **Vote:** This word was used very often in the advertisements because it is the key word to achieve the candidate's goal.
- _ **Right:** This word appeared in advertisements to mean the right to nominate, the right to elect, and the right to achieve goals.
- _ **Change:** Usually the voter needed change to take place, so this word was used very often to encourage the voter to elect a specific candidate.
- _ **All:** This word was used to indicate real sharing between the voter and candidate. It also indicated equality among all Jordanians.

- _ **Work:** The use of this word implied the need for hard work and not only slogans.
- _ **Future:** This word implied ambition and hope to change towards the best.
- _ **Jordan:** This word implied homeland, love towards it, and work for it.
- _ **Promise:** This word implied that the candidate needed the voter to trust him especially after Jordanians had lost trust in previous parliament men.
- _ **Freedom:** This word was used to imply that the voter should choose the competent candidate.
- _ **Reform:** This word implied the real need for economic, political, and social reform.
- _ **Youth and Women:** The use of these words implied that these two groups were important in society and should not be ignored.
- _ **Honesty:** This word meant that elections should be honest. It also meant that electing is a responsibility upon the voter and the candidate at the same time.
- _ **Equality:** The use of this word implied that Jordanians feel they are not equal.
- _ **Poverty:** This word indicated the social problems that prevailed in the society.
- _ **Islam:** This word indicated the need to stick to religion in fighting social problems.

6. General Look

By studying the advertisements, it is noted that:

- _ Candidates were very careful in choosing words that appealed to the voter. Candidates realized that language is a sharp weapon to coax the voter. For example, the advertisement "The homeland needs work and not slogans", "Your homeland and mine", "We deserve to build our homeland", and "Religion is for God, and homeland is for everybody" made the voter feel that he was choosing his homeland and not a candidate.
- _ Advertisements varied to encompass the society's culture and vision. Advertisements are a social linguistic achievement that reflects the actions and interactions in society, trying to enforce some, persuade the voter with some or reveal the truth to the voter (Seraj Ahmed, 1985, P. 44). Al-Azhar Al-zenad (1990, P. 100) added that the advertisement enables the voter to realize the structure of the social awareness since the linguistic behavior shows the effects of classes, races, and knowledge in a society.

Some candidates concentrated on verses from the Holy Quran and from the prophet's speeches; for example, "The best one to hire is the strong and honest", and "And hold fast all of you to the cable of Allah."

Other candidates, however, concentrated on national enthusiastic slogans that motivated the audience like, "Our goals are Arab unity and independence of West Bank", "I won't have peace of mind until we liberate Palestine and Iraq together", "No for withdrawing the national numbers", "Let your voice be high", "Resort ... resort", "Together to help the tribe", and "Our

party will defend the homeland."

It is noted that the slogans used in the sixteenth parliament echo the needs of the society and the status quo of the population and their affairs, problems, and needs. These slogans asked for equality, free education, reform, freedom, and an association for teachers, which meant that the candidates were able to identify the Jordanians' needs and their desire to fulfill these needs. The candidates used the language to achieve their goal.

Some slogans, however, reflected what was really happening in the parliament like, "The taxes you pay will not be the price for my travel tickets" and "Honest deeds, not fake sayings." The electoral slogan and its interpretation can be "understood only within its context" (Obeid, 2005, P. 11). The slogans reflected the candidate's thought, his personality and ideology and, at the same time, the citizen has an important role in understanding it according to his / her own knowledge of the context of the slogan and what he knew about the candidate. This implies that no matter how the slogans differ, they are still a form of communication between the sender and recipient (Obeid, 2005, P. 20), so interaction takes place, and the goal is achieved.

Some slogans used hidden implications and moved between the direct (surface) meaning and the indirect (deep / implied) meaning. They opened the door for multiple understandings (Rolan Part, 2000, P. 120). For example, "Without slogans", "The clean man will not be on the pavement", and "The daughter of homeland, the sister of all". The slogan "Without slogans" may have different interpretations. It might mean the limit of my ambition is the sky, the candidate does not have a specific electoral program, the candidate would not be questioned later because he actually had not promised anything, or that the candidate focused on deeds, not slogans. This slogan was the most controversial among all other slogans because it had several interpretations.

Some slogans were affected by old sayings like, "Man is the most precious property", which was once said by His Majesty the late King Hussein, "Knights of change", and "law is above all," which appears in the Constitution of Jordan. These slogans gain their strength from their source especially because they had been approved by people and had been circulating in the Jordanian society for a long period of time.

The slogans reflected the type of the candidate, his affiliations, and identity. They also showed whether the candidate was for the whole country or only for his region, tribe or for the whole Arab nation. For example, the slogan, "Son of everyone in a homeland for everyone", "No for personal interest, yes for public interest", and "Homeland is a trust and serving you is worshipping" indicated that the candidates were for the whole country. Other slogans, on the other hand, like "Jerash deserves a governmental university", "Ajloun is the heart, and you are the eye", "Sult deserves", and "Madaba, I'll serve you my whole life" indicated that the candidates were for specific regions. Other slogans like "Together to serve the tribe" and "Resort ... resort" indicated the candidates were for their tribes. Finally, slogans like "Our goal is the Arab unity", "Arabism is loyalty and belonging", and "Yes for the liberation of Iraq" indicated that the candidates were for the whole Arab nation.

7. Conclusion

This paper studied the electoral advertisement as a means of communication in its functional frame that relates the linguistic structure of the advertisement to its context.

It was found out that the electoral slogans form a face of language function using specific strategies that give great importance to the recipient (voter), so it depends on psychological, social, and linguistic bases to achieve its goal. This paper found out:

1. The success of the candidate depended on the means and linguistic tools that he considered more effective to achieve his goal.
2. Electoral advertisements used specific situations to support a specific point of view and used the written word to convince the recipient.
3. There was a strong relation between the electoral advertisement and the candidate as it revealed his thoughts and ideologies; it formed his identity. Kerbart (1986, P. 67) argued that the identity lives in the language, and the address marks the person who speaks it.
4. The electoral advertisements appeared in political, economic, social, and religious contexts that reflected the status quo in Jordan and the national and international challenges it faced like the national unity and the regional transformations especially the Palestinian conflict, and it also reflected the different political, mental, tribal, and class trends.
5. Generally speaking, the advertisements used simple, short, and condensed sentences which usually held one main idea that could reach the recipient easily. Candidates used standard and colloquial Arabic to convey their messages. The candidates "invested" in words and sentences the society used to express its different purposes.
6. An effective persuasive measure is to relate the advertisement to the psychological, economic, political, and social needs of the recipient, so the candidates might have needed the help of psychologists, sociologists, linguists, and sociolinguists to design their advertisements.
7. The language of the electoral advertisements develops and evolves as time passes which implies that there is a real relation between the language structures and the developments and changes Jordan witnesses; the linguistic structure is a mirror for the social structure.
8. The electoral advertisements have the ability to help form our awareness (Arthur Sapir, 2012, P. 151).
9. It is observed through the linguistic behavior that the electoral advertisement addressed the man in the Arab society, which enforces discrimination against women. It is also understood in the Arab society that the man directs his daughter, wife, or sister to elect a specific candidate.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. List of Phonemic Symbols Used to Represent the Arabic Data

1. Consonants

/t/: voiceless dental stop	/T/: voiceless dentoalveolar stop
/k/: voiceless velar stop	/q/: voiceless uvular stop
/ʔ/: voiceless glottal stop	/b/: voiced bilabial stop
/d/: voiced dental stop	/D/: voiced dentoalveolar stop
/f/: voiceless fricative labiodentals	/θ/: voiceless fricative interdental
/s/: voiceless fricative dental	/S/: voiceless fricative dentoalveolar
/š/: voiceless fricative palatal	/x/: voiceless fricative velar
/ħ/: voiceless fricative pharyngeal	/h/: voiceless fricative glottal
/ð/: voiced fricative interdental	/z/: voiced fricative dental
/Z/: voiced fricative dentoalveolar	/ǧ/: voiced fricative velar
/ʒ/: voiced fricative pharyngeal	/j/: voiced affricate palatal
/r/: voiced flap dental	/l/: voiced lateral dental

/m/: voiced nasal bilabial

/n/: voiced nasal dental

/w/: voiced glide bilabial

/y/: voiced glide palatal

2. Vowels

/i/: high front short

/a/: high central short

/u/: high back short

/ii/: high front long

/aa/: high central long

/uu/: high back long