

**Code Switching and
Identity in Advertising: A
Case Study**

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**Symbols used:**

CS	Code switching
ECA	Egyptian Cairene Arabic
EL	Embedded language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
ML	Matrix language
SEC	Socio-economic class

Introduction:

This study examines the interdependent relationship between language choice and socio-economic identity. It focuses on code switching (CS) as a marked linguistic behavior. It sets off from the premise that language choice is a meaning-making resource, rather than a naturally-occurring mode of interaction. The study attempts to demonstrate how the socio-economic identity of the target audience/addressee is represented and constructed by the addresser in the selected data of advertising discourse. It is proposed here that this code switching is designed as a discursive act of identity manipulation since the advertisers, by code switching, place their target audience within a particular identity framework; that of the upper-class, having-access-to-the language-of-power sort of client. The data is analysed against Bell's (1984) Audience Design framework, where the advertiser "initiates" a particular 'outgroup' variety, which in turn indexes a shift in target audience socio-economic identity. This identity framework is received by the audience, enhanced, and further projected to the marketing community, which in turn makes sure that they respond to their audience in the projected subjectivity which they adopted. The present study aims at:

1. Investigating the use of CS in the sampled data.
2. Identifying the most salient features of the ads, where CS is realized.
3. Examining types of code switching in the data.
4. Investigating the relationship between the language choice of advertisers and code switching as a socio-economic identity marker.

Theoretical framework:

The present study adopts the Audience Design framework developed by Allan Bell (1984), where he proposes that the style shift that occurs in the speaker's speech is basically caused by the speaker's intention to 'respond' to the addressee. Bell classified the addressee into four basic types: addressee, auditor, overhearer, and eavesdropper. The targeted audience in the present case is an instance of the addressee type. Bell points out that, "style is essentially speaker's response to addressee. In audience design, speakers accommodate primarily to their addressee" (145). It is noteworthy that Bell concedes that style in this sense involves language shift, hence code switching in the present study would fall under the umbrella of this framework. To be more specific, the data under investigation is an instance of what Bell calls "short term, outgroup, referee, initiative variation". This classification is elaborated below.

In his framework, Bell points out that there are two basic forms of style shift: responsive and initiative. In responsive style, the speaker shifts to the addressee's style as a response, either to win admiration, win an argument, etc. In initiative shift, which Bell regards as "a natural complement to audience



design", the speaker chooses a style which is not typical of the addressee, mainly to initiate a change in their relationship: "initiative shift is essentially a redefinition, by the speaker, of the relationship between speaker and addressee" (185). Similarly, by code switching the addressee initiates/indexes a shift in the socio-economic identity of the target addressee.

Within the initiative axis of style variation, Bell identifies two basic types of variation: referee and hyper-addressee. The referee variation refers to those style shifts which are atypical of both the speaker and the addressee. In this case, the speaker "diverges from the addressee and towards a 'third party'" (186). This divergence to the third party's style could be one that the speaker, in some way, identifies with; hence it is called ingroup referee design. Outgroup referee design refers to divergence to a third party's style which belongs to neither the speaker nor the addressee, yet to a party "which holds prestige for them on some dimension. They diverge from the speech of their ingroup- and thus in some sense from their own 'natural' speech- toward an outgroup with whom they wish to identify" (188). This is the case with the present data, where the advertiser diverges to English language.

The data under investigation is an instance of a short-term shift as the advertiser adopts code switching as a "momentary language switch for an immediate purpose...to win an argument by switching to the prestigious outgroup code" (188). It is noteworthy that Bell suggests that, together with the audience speech style, setting and topic are two variables which affect the speaker's style.

This study proposes relating code switching to Gumperz' (1982) notion of the “we code” and the “they code”, in which he proposes that language choice is as much a means of segregating speech communities as much as it gathers addressers within the specific speech community. In his work on code switching between German and Slovenian, Hindi and English, and Spanish and English, Gumperz concludes that each code has its own meaning potential; a semantic value attached to the two languages of a “bilingual addresser is-in most communities- that of the “we code” and the “they code” (p.91), where the “we code” is basically assigned to informal, casual interactions, whereas the ‘they code’ assumes the stance of the formal and professional code. It is noteworthy here that this binary division of code function is activated within the so-called bilingual speech community, where two languages exist side-by-side, even with one acting as the dominant language and the other as the language of the minority group. Within the present case study, bilingualism in this sense is absent, yet what is present is the virtual dominance of the English language as the language of the upper socio-economic class.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) framework for the analysis of identity in the construct of linguistic interaction is the most adequate framework to the present study. Bucholtz and Hall propose a framework that is based on five main principles. Among these five principles, three seem of direct relevance to the present study; namely the *emergency principle* which states that “identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices” (588). This view of the role of agency in constructing identities is relevant here as it demonstrates the role played by advertisers in ‘producing’ the desired socio-economic identity.



The other principle which relates to the present study is the *indexicality principle*: “identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including ... the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups” (594). Here the interdependent relationship between language and identity is highlighted. In fact, choice of language variety is a clear index of identity. Finally, the fourth principle –*the relationality principle*– which foregrounds the binary concept of similarity/difference as one of the major complementary relations through which “identities are intersubjectively constructed” (598). Indeed, the adoption of advertisers of particular code –English– stresses the sameness of those belonging to the upper socio-economic class (SEC), and hence their difference from other SECs.

Source of data:

The corpus of analysis is composed of 50 advertising texts, whether bill boards, newspaper or magazine ads, or flyers, covering the time span from September 2014 to September 2015. The adverts are selected from *Al Ahram* newspaper, a government affiliated newspaper and *7 Ayam (7 Days)* magazine, a privately issued magazine. The use of billboards and flyers aim at highlighting the pervasiveness of the phenomenon, pointing out the fact that it is even directed to a wider range of addressees including all street-users. The maximum word count of the advert is 100 words. All sampled texts are in the written mode, where spoken ads would have necessitated further analysis; that would have fallen beyond the scope of the present study.

The adverts analysed cover all types of consumer products/services: food adverts, housing, education, entertainment as well as other goods and services. Together with the previously mentioned sources, the corpus compilation included photo shooting of road signs and bill boards as well as a number of randomly distributed flyers.

The following table shows the classification of the selected data as per their source:

Source	<i>Al Ahram</i> newspaper	<i>7 Ayam</i> magazine	Billboards	Flyers
Number of selected ads	10	15	15	10

Table 1

Table 2 shows the classification of the adverts as per the domain and the source:

	<i>Al Ahram</i>	<i>7 Ayam</i>	Billboards	Flyers
Real Estate	6	3	1	0
Education	2	0	5	3
Entertainment	0	5	4	1
Food	0	3	4	3
Others	2	4	1	3

Table 2

Finally, the following table shows the classification of the adverts as per the language code:



	Real Estate	Education	Entertainment	Food	Others
CS advert	8	2	0	3	7
Monolingual in English	2	6	10	7	2
Translated ads	0	2	0	0	1

Table 3

It is noteworthy that all adverts that pertain, or may pertain to multinational organizations such as multinational corporates, international schools or educational organizations have been excluded.

One final note on the selected texts ought to be added: although they are not chosen randomly, they represent a wide array of advertising domains; in fact almost all domains that can be found around streets, magazines and newspapers. There is no mentioning of the endless number of shop and commodities names which are now almost exclusively in English, and even French in some cases. In fact, there is a growing tendency into giving goods and commodities foreign names, yet orthographically represent the names in Arabic. This rising tendency of transliteration similarly covers all types of shops and brands.

Methodology:

Code switching is the set-off point of the present study, accordingly the data is scrutinized from a sociolinguistic,

discourse functional point of view. However, a micro-linguistic analysis of data is done first, to highlight the matrix language (ML). The selected data is classified according to the domain/topic of the advertised commodity, i.e. Real Estate adverts, entertainment adverts, ads pertaining to educational services, etc. Each ad is referred to based on the name of the brand for ease of access. The ads are examined in the construct of Bell's (1984) audience design framework, and the findings are analysed in relation to Gumperz (1982) "we code/ they code" dichotomy and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) identity framework.

In analyzing the data, each text that involves code switching is examined, in the light of Bhattia (1992) print ads analysis, (introduced below) in order to highlight its salient features, and pointing out the type of CS involved: intersentential or intrasentential. In the subsequent section, the findings are discussed from a discourse functional point of view, arguing for the original hypothesis of the study.

Limitations of the study:

As the title of the study suggests, the main objective is to highlight how language choice is a resource for projecting a particular identity. Accordingly, the major focus is on the functional features, rather than any extra-linguistic ones. Indeed as Cook (2001, p.5) points out, it would be both depressing and self-deceptive to believe that one could exhaust all the aspects of the genre of advertising. Hence, further analysis of the data from a multi-modal discourse point of view would have been an asset, and in fact, is the intended further study.



Review of Literature:

Alternation between languages/ varieties has been studied under different taxonomies: code switching, code mixing, language crossing, diglossia, translanguaging, style shifting, even borrowing and interference. Most of these linguistic phenomena fall under the umbrella term code switching (CS), which encompasses most of them. Code switching is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that has attracted the attention of linguists ever since the pioneering works of Gumperz (1982) and Poplack (1980). Gumperz defines CS as a “juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p.59). Poplack sees CS as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (p. 264). Auer (2002) agrees with Poplack and defines CS as “the language alternation phenomenon” (p.309). Change maybe in the speech styles as well as the languages. This view is adopted by Myers-Scotton (1998b) who sees switching between a community’s dialects is an instance of code switching, stating that “varieties is a cover term for selections at all linguistic levels so that choices between varieties include, for example, choices of one language over another, and one form of a directive or refusal over another” (p.18).

In their early analysis of code switching within the larger picture of bilingualism, linguists looked at both linguistic behaviours in a negative light. For early researchers, bilingualism, with the adjacent feature represented in CS, was seen as a manifestation of deficiency in both languages. Bilinguals were thought of as incompetent users of both codes, in which case they resorted to this switching as a result of

weakness, rather than exploiting this marked linguistic ability. However, gradually bilingualism, and even multilingualism have become a functional aspect of interaction, by which speakers could serve various meanings. CS itself, has become a meaning-making resource. Whereas previously language choice was seen as determined by “a bundle of situational factors” (Grosjean, 1982), in more recent research, language choice is regarded as a tool “at the disposal of interlocutors for defining the situation in a way that suits their intentions, [rather than] an outcome of mechanistic calculations” of the situational factors (Lüdi, 2006, p.20). Ramat (1995) sees that alternation between different languages or varieties is “triggered by social or psychological factors rather than by internal linguistic factors of the languages involved” (p. 46). As indicated by Dabene and Moore (1995), in bilingual contexts, the “symbolic value attached to the languages in contact is an active component of identity reconstruction” (p.19).

The term 'code switching' (or 'code-crossing') refers to “the use of a language which isn't generally thought to belong to the addresser. Code switching involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter” (Rampton, 1998, p. 291).

Approaches to code switching primarily fall into two main strands; motivations for code switching and structural constraints on code switching.

Within the first strand, Gumperz (1982) takes the lead in categorizing code switching into two major categories: *situational* code switching and *metaphorical* code switching. Situational code switching refers to the unmarked alternation between two codes as entailed by the context of situation. For



instance, a teacher of English in an Arabic speaking community, or an immigrant Moroccan living in France or even a German accountant using English in a multinational company. Metaphorical CS, on the other hand, refers to a marked linguistic behavior on the part of the speakers, where they highlight the “semantic potential” of each code and decide to make use of this semantic value according to the pragmatic function. This distinction has been refuted by Myers-Scotton, who proposes the Markedness Model (1993). For her, not all code switching involves a meaning; in some cases it represents the expected linguistic behavior, or the norm. What is of relevance to the present work is that she proposes that “a major motivation for variety in linguistic choices in a given community is the possibility of social identity negotiations” (p.11). In other words, the use of a particular linguistic code may be directly related to identity projection, rather than any situational variables. Once more, this proposition advanced by Myers-Scotton primarily pertains to bilingual communities. What features the peculiarity of the Cairene situation is that it is a monolingual speech community in the literal sense of the word.

Within the second strand, code switching has been divided into two major categories: *intersentential* code switching, where going back and forth from one language to another occurs between sentences. The other category is *intrasentential* where the alternation takes place within the same sentence or even within the same clause. Different models and theories attempted to account for the structural constraints on intrasentential code switching, the most salient of which are Sankoff and Poplack Two constraint theory (1981), Di Sciullo,

Muysken and Singh's Government Principle Theory (1986) and Carol Myers-Scotton Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (1993). According to Myers-Scotton (1998a), intrasentential code switching (switching between varieties/languages within one sentence) involves assigning one language the role of a base language, which she terms *matrix* language (ML), whereas the other language is assigned the *embedded* language (EL) status. The matrix language is the one which provides the system morphemes (determiners, articles, different types of bound morphemes, etc.). In other words, the ML provides the grammatical frame within the code switching. The embedded language, on the other hand, provides content morphemes. These content morphemes fall in the slots assigned to them by the matrix language, but in case they do not fit within these slots, the addresser resorts to switching to larger stretches of speech or what she terms as "language islands". These either belong to the ML or the EL. The selected data is analysed against this framework, to highlight which language forms the matrix language that 'hosts' an embedded 'guest' language.

Work on code switching between English and Arabic has been primarily done within bilingual speech communities. Much work has been done on those Arabic-speaking minorities who live in English-speaking countries. On the other hand, recent studies have focused on code switching between Arabic and English (Abu Mathkour, 2004, Al Rowais, 2012). One study which focuses on code switching from Arabic to English argue that switching is an 'unmarked choice done by the participants in the speech event' (Al Rowais). The informants in the study are three siblings of a Saudi father and an American



mother, living in the United States. The study mainly focuses on the structural constraints on code switching.

The use of code switching on the internet has been given special interest lately. Sharaf Eldin (2014) uses Malik's ten reasons approach to code switching on Facebook, highlighting that code switching is used to "enhance interaction". Another study examines code switching between Arabic and English on the internet (Warschauer, El Said and Zohry, 2002) where they elaborate that their informants do not see that the adoption of English on the internet as "an embrace of the Western culture or an abandonment of Egyptian identity". It simply reflects the users' ability to manipulate their linguistic potential and "make it their own." The researchers, however, also conclude that "the continued encroachment of English on the prestigious realms of language use, in business, commerce, and academia—bolstered now by online communications—could be viewed as a threat to the national language and values."

Another recent study focuses on code switching in a particular region in Egypt, namely Nazlet Assaman in Giza governorate, where the researchers conclude that work and education are the basic two variables that affect code switching behavior (Fayed, 2012).

Another line of research focus on relating language to identity. Previous work on CS has linked it to identity construction within minority groups. These groups code switch to the variety used by the 'powerful' majority to create a kind of 'solidarity' and 'sameness' with this group, a case which is quite obvious in case of immigrants. On the other hand, minority groups code switch between their mother tongue and

the majority tongue to enhance their sense of belonging to their original culture/tongue. As for the present case study, none of the two cases is applicable since English is *not* the language of any group within the community. Indeed, English is regarded as *the* powerful language, yet this could be and is applied to contexts such as multinational companies, schools and even social media. In fact,

Nowadays the relationship between language and identity is a taken-for-granted premise from which researchers set off. De Fina (2007) emphasizes the ability of CS to assist addressers in the construction of their identities in socio-linguistic contexts. In their study, Dabene and Moore (1995) mainly focus on migrant people who are keen on constructing a certain identity via their language choice to project their ethnic identity. Indeed, interlocutors are no longer seen as negative subjects, with social identities being naturally assigned to them. They are now perceived as actively constructing their identities through their interactions, which include interactions with other people (De Fina, 2007, p.278). Each language choice and each translinguistic marker represents an “act of identity” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) manifesting the desired social membership of the addresser, or more precisely the desired *linguistic* membership. In the majority of the literature on language choice, the ‘act of identity’ refers primarily to the desire of the speaker either to embrace or shut away the identity of a new/powerful speech community, against their mother tongue identity. In the Cairene case, the identity here is socio-economic, rather than ethnic.

The term "identity" first gained salience through the work of the psychologist Erikson (1968). Erikson associates identity as a definition of personhood with sameness or continuity of the



self across time and space. Identity discourse has gained much attention, with the vast growth of globalization. Whereas it has always been viewed as a static feature of the human being, predetermined by a multitude of factors such as history, culture, age, gender, language, etc., nowadays more studies focus on identity construction, an interactive process that the human undergoes. In fact, the term identity is sometimes replaced with ‘identification’ to highlight the subjective, voluntary aspect of the concept. Norris (2007) points out that individual identity is constantly “interactively constructed” in interaction and in relation to other participants.

A number of studies has been carried on the use of code switching in advertising texts. Bassiouny's work on diglossic use of modern standard Arabic and Egyptian colloquial Arabic in TV commercials reflects the role played by variety switching in reflecting the attitude of users towards the available codes. Many of these studies were carried from the marketing lens, rather than the linguistic. For example, Harris (2009) has concluded that CS in advertising has low impact on the target audience. Baumgardner (2006) discusses how English loan words are used in Mexican newspaper and magazine advertising. The study concludes that “Mexicans perceive products using English slogans, labels and names as more reliable or of superior quality regardless of their literal comprehension” (p. 255). This seems to be the closest case to the present one, considering that English is not by any means an official language in Mexico. However, it still differs from the Cairene case, since these seem to be loan words or as he points out “already established borrowings in Mexican Spanish”, whereas as the selected data shows, the code switched items are not instances of borrowing. The work of Fairclough (2001) on

the relation between advertisements, consumerism and language is one of the seminal works that highlight the function adverts play in constructing the social identities of the addressees/ clients and “the way it constructs subject positions for consumers” (p.165).

Analysis:

Bhattia (1992) points out that print adverts have some main and other optional elements: the headline, illustration (image), body copy (including the most significant data), signature line and standing details. The signature line can consist of the brand name, which is usually accompanied by a slogan. The most essential parts are the headline, which could be followed by a sub headline and the signature line. Naturally, the illustration could be the focal point, and could even replace the body of the advert, and the position of the elements could be shuffled.

Almost all these elements are equally present in billboards, except that the role of the illustration is more dominant for ease of access to passers-by. Accordingly, the same terms would be used when analyzing the texts of billboards.

As elaborated earlier, the data under investigation is categorized based on domain/topic of the advertisement. Ads involving code switching between English and Arabic are reviewed first, then English monolingual ads are further examined.



Class 1: Real Estate ads:

Within this category, the word count ranges from 20 words to around 100 words. The number of words, in some adverts, is indirectly proportional to the size of the illustration. All adverts are illustrated in the Appendix A.

Ad 1: Mountain View: Hyde Park

All the elements of the advert are present with CS featuring across different slots. The headline is in Arabic, with the name of the company transliterated.. The body of the advert, visually accentuated by images, as well as the signature line are in English, whereas the majority of the standing details oscillates back to Arabic. The only part of the details where code switching occurs pertains to the name of the developer: *DEVELOPED by DMG*, which does not seem a quite significant piece of information

CS takes place in three major forms: a) lexical insertion in naming the housing categories, namely 'iVilla', 'Twin House' and 'Stand Alone Villa', in b) inter-lexical where the system morpheme, that is the determiner used before the code switched item (الiVilla), and finally c) intrasentential code switching by making use of these terms as in:

- ال iVilla و Stand Alone Villa Twin house بمساحات مختلفة
اختيارات متنوعة من

Hence Arabic functions as the ML.

It is noteworthy that the brand name is transliterated, i.e. the English brand name is written in Arabic letters

Ad 2: The Gate:

In this advert, the headline, which is the brand name is used in English, whereas the sub headline is in Arabic.

The body of the advert switches between English and Arabic, either intrasententially, or via lexical insertion. The standing details are mostly in Arabic, which is a recurrent feature. The one detail where CS occurs, as the case with the previous ad, pertains to the developer: *An iconic landmark by Abraj Misr*. It is noteworthy here that transliteration into English occurs in *Abraj Misr* (i.e. Egypt Towers).

First, lexical insertion -basically accompanied by visual representation of the unit referred to- is highlighted. In this ad, these are: 'green rooftops', 'premium mall' and 'roof pools'. Then, these lexical insertions are used intrasententially as the subjects for Arabic predicates as in:

- *Green rooftops* على مساحة المشروع محاطة بالحوائط الخضراء لتستمتع انت وعائلتك بالجو النقي
- *Premium mall* يضم اشهر الماركات العالمية وارقي اماكن الترفيه
- *Roof pools* تضم ٨ حمامات سباحة على أعلى مستوى

Again, here we find intrasentential CS, where the Subject is in English and the predicate in Arabic. Another example features in:

- في The Gate هتعيش من غير تنازلات

It is noteworthy that there occurs another type of CS, between the High variety and the Low variety realized in the bound morpheme (◌) or *will* that marks the future tense. Arabic is the matrix language and English is the embedded language, providing mainly the initial content morpheme of the sentence.



An example of intersentential CS includes the use of the headline followed by the sub headline:

- *The Gate* حياة... بدون تنازل

Once more, there is one transliterated item, namely *duplex*.

Ad 3: Tag Sultan

With billboards, the word count is quite limited to allow the addressee to catch as much of the advert as possible. The illustration usually is a stronger attention-getter than any other element within the advert.

As with the previous ads, the name of the company ‘Tag Sultan’ provides the Subject of the sentence, followed by an Arabic predicate, realizing a case of intrasentential CS.

- *Tag Sultan* عبقرية المكان

What is interesting in the present advert is that the headline, which functions as the brand name is transliterated into English. The word *tag*, literally ‘crown’ is used, together with the borrowed word *Sultan*. In this case, it would be difficult to determine whether this is a typical case of CS or an atypical one.

The rest of the advertising billboard is seen as monolingual in English:

- *Tag Sultan closer to serenity. Tag Sultan closer to skies.*

Ad 4: Blue Park

The headline in this advert is Arabic, where once more transliteration features in the name of the resort *Blue Park*, which is represented in Arabic letters, as well as the use of the transliterated word *view*.

- بلو بارك- فيو كامل للبحر.....يعني حتشوف البحر من كل مكان

The body of the advert features in English:

- *Buy Violet Villa or Camilla villa with Smart Home System and Jet-ski for free. Security, Sea, Hotel...dancing Fountain.*

The text of the advert also includes an Arabic sentences, hence realizing a case of intersentential CS.

Unlike the previous adverts, the details are in English, except for the authorization license, which is in Arabic.

The first observation here is that again, transliteration is used, where the name of the resort is basically English (*Blue Park*), yet transliterated, together with the word ‘view’ "فيو" which is modified with an Arabic adjective “كامل” or ‘full’.

The second observation pertains to the kind of language errors, which is realized in the use of upper case letters in the words ‘system’ and ‘jet ski’ as well as the absence of a verb that precedes “jet-ski for free”, i.e. ‘get’, ‘own’, etc.

Ad 5: Regent’s Park Residence:

The 100 word advert has the headline featuring the name of the residence, followed by the sub headline featuring the



slogan. The body of the advert is made up of a composite of the visual illustration of the advertised compound, as well as intersentential code switched text. The body starts with two sentences in English:

- *Regent's Park is one of the most luxurious, prestigious....*
- *Inspired by Victorian beauty, the park promises....*

This is followed by three illustrated noun phrases: *Prince Andrew BBQ, Luxurious restaurant and Café* and *Queen's Lake*.

In a following horizontal pane, two Arabic sentences (تقع (تم تصميم ((ريجينسي بارك في المربع الذهبي بالتجمع الخامس) and (الكمبوند على الطراز الانجليزي الأصيل) are written. Finally, the standing details are all in English, with the developer's name transliterated.

Ad 6: Cairo Business Park:

Here the headline and the body of the advert are in Arabic, whereas the signature line and the standing details are in English. Like the previous adverts, transliteration of the major content morphemes, primarily noun phrases are used as in:

- *كايرو بيزنس بارك (Cairo Business Park)*

Intrasentential CS features in:

- *stand-alone building* في القاهرة الجديدة تقع كايرو بيزنس بارك وتتكون من ٤٢
- *Gated business* في مصر is an instance of intrasentential CS, with Arabic functioning as the ML.



Whereas intersentential CS features in:

- ...كايرو بيزنس بارك هي الاختيار الأمثل للشركات فالاعمال في مصر
The Ultimate Business Choice

The signature line *the Ultimate business choice* is realized in English, as well as all the contact information

Ad 7: El Sokhna Hills:

In this advert, CS takes place intersententially. The headline is in Arabic, followed by the name of the resort, and the slogan written in English. The body of the advert is a composite of an illustration of the resort as well as an English attention-getter: “smell the sea and touch the sky”, which sounds a literal translation of the Arabic equivalent. The standing details are in Arabic, for ease of access.

Ad 8: Rooya Group

This is one of the least word-count adverts with all in all 12 words, plus the standing details, realized in an Arabic. The headline and the sub headline are in Arabic, whereas the illustration realizes the body of the advert. CS here features lexically, namely in the form of tripartite English noun phrases:

- *Real Value Real Life Real Estate* with the use of punning in “real” and “real”.

The standing details are in Arabic, with the exception of the lexical insertion of the noun phrase: *hot line*.

The following adverts are monolingual in English, typically realizing the phenomenon of code switching



Ad 9: Jebal Resort Al Sokhna

This advert, as well as the following one, use almost no Arabic words. It is made of 75 words, with very high lexical density.

The only Arabic phrase comes at the bottom of the advert, highlighting the location of the resort.

Ad 10: The FOURTEEN Golf Residences:

This ad is the highest in word count, with around 100 words. With only the words “luxury”, “living” and “community” repeated twice, the ad is a highly lexically dense ad. All word choices are simple and accessible.

Class 2: Education-related ads:

This category includes all advertisements related to education, whether nurseries, schools as well as other bodies.

It is noticed that this category is the one where code switching features prominently, since- with the exception of only two adverts to be discussed- all adverts pertaining to education are monolingually English. This comes consistent with the global premise that English is the language of scientific development and power. Advertisers here make use of English as their only language choice to give their addressees this impression. The role of illustrations decreases within this category, where the focus is on the textual information given. Only two adverts include Arabic, whereas the rest of the sampled data is monolingual. It is important to note that all the nurseries, schools that are sampled within the data have no affiliation whatsoever with any international educational

institutions. They are all local institutions, with 100% Egyptian ownership. Ads are illustrated in Appendix B.

Ad 1 & 2: Future Rise Language School and Amal Language Schools Maadi

These two adverts do not include typical CS, but rather include a text and its translated version. Both have the names of the schools as headline, in both languages, followed by the body of the ad which is presented first in Arabic then in English, horizontally in the first school advert, and vertically in the latter. Even the standing details including the address and telephone numbers are given in both codes.

A few differences are noted between the two ads:

- Whereas the sub headline is in Arabic in the Future Rise School, it is realized in English in the other one
- The former ad translates almost word-for-word the Arabic text, the latter gives the main gist of the Arabic equivalent.
- Language interference, in the form of language errors are present in the former ad as in: highly qualified, experienced and *efficiency* teachers in all subjects.

In the following ads, code switching, in the sense of using English only, features here where moving from one linguistic code to another on any level- lexical or sentential- is absent.



Ad 3: Fluent:

This flyer involves intersentential CS. The headline is realized visually through the illustration, together with the name of the institute. The slogan is also in English.

The body of the advert includes both English and Arabic. The body also includes a list of services provided by the institute, all realized in both English and Arabic. This is followed by the standing details, which are written in English.

Ad 4: Winnie the Pooh Nursery:

In this flyer, a combination of both patterns used in the previous ads are used. On one hand, word-for-word translation of the main services provided by the nursery is given: *Birthday parties-* حفلات, *Swimming-* , سياحة, etc.

On the other hand, intersentential CS is present where the headline is given in English: *play, learn and grow together*, and the body is given in Arabic. Standing details are provided in Arabic.

Ad 5: Kids Having fun

This advert, as well as all the coming ones are all monolingual in English. In this ad, all the elements of the print advert are in English, starting with the headline, the body, the signature line and the details. The total number of words are 65 words plus the contact information: *studying German and Math, watching German movies, limited number of kids* or non-finite clauses: *what to bring*. The body of the ad has only one complex clause: *when you know better, you do better*.

Ad 6: Madinaty Integrated Language School:

As highlighted earlier, the whole billboard text is in English. The illustrations present some of the details visually. As with all billboards, the word count is quite limited, in the present case amounting only 20 words, excluding the contact information.

Ad 7: Baby Nursery:

Typical of billboards, the word count of the text- amounting only to 12 words- is kept to a minimum. Again, all the elements of the advert are in English. The headline and the sub headline represent 100% of the verbal representation of the advert. The message is highlighted by the use of the visual representation, namely the illustration.

Ad 8: Manaret Heliopolis International School:

The whole text (20 words) is in English, forming the headline as well as the body in addition to the visual representation of the two kids. Again punning features here where the use of the nominal phrase *extra mile* refers to both its idiomatic usage as well as referring to the proximity of the school location. Contact information are also provided in English.

Ad 9: Sunrise College:

In this ad, all elements are present, with the headline, sub headline, body, which functions also as the slogan, and finally the standing details.



Ad 10: Little Giants Nursery

As elaborated above, with billboards a minimum number of words is used. Here however, there is an average number of word count, namely 31 words. The headline features the name of the nursery followed by the slogan, setting off the body of the advertising text, then the standing details, all in English. Just as another food-related advert, to be analyzed later, this advert is bilingual in English and German. It is noteworthy that whereas this nursery is affiliated with a German school, it is still directed to Egyptians in the first place. Accordingly, the use of English is yet a marked language choice.

Class 3: Entertainment Ads:

The sampled data within this category demonstrates a typical case of code switching, where the entire advertisement is monolingual in English. Within this category, the total word count ranges from 20 to 100 words, with visual representation highlighting the message. Adverts are illustrated in Appendix C.

Ad 1: Rise of hers

The headline starts with a noun phrase (*Empowering women through fitness*), followed by the name of the gym, its location and the date of opening. Typical of all billboards, it has very limited word count for ease of access.

Ad 2: Save our tree Live show:

As with most of the entertainment ads, the illustration plays the dominant role. In this ad, only one sentence (*MBC3 presents*), followed by a number of phrases: *Shaun the Sheep*

Live, tickets available on ticketmarch.com, Porto Cairo Mall, etc.

Ad 3: Omar Khairat Live:

This is the longest of all entertainment ads, with around 100 words, which is quite acceptable, being a print ad in a magazine. The headline features:

- *Omar Khairat, along with Cairo Opera Orchestra, reviving the spirit of music.*

The body of the text has 5 sentences including:

- *Omar Khairat is not just....*
- *He's gracefully and magically won....*
- *Join us in a magical... and Re-awaken your soul.*

Ad 4: Porto World Parade Circus:

In this billboard, the name of the circus functions as the headline, followed as Ad 1, with the location and the date of the show.

Ad 5: Uptown Stars:

As with the rest of the entertainment ads, with the illustration as the background, this ad has only noun phrases:

- *The biggest schools' talent show,*
- *22 schools and*
- *300 students.*

**Ad 6: Farm Frites:**

With a word count of 50 words, this ad has 4 sentences starting with the headline:

- *Guess and Win mobile application*, followed by
- *Win 10 Play station 4*, etc. and one final phrase
- *All matches Cairo local time.*

Ad 7: The Sound of Music:

As the case to Ad 3, this ad- print advert in a magazine- has around 60 words, with two English sentences:

- *Uptown Cairo proudly hosts....*,
- *This show will take place....., and*
- *Forget about your traditional route...., and*
- *Check the map.....* (as two imperative final sentences).

Ad 8: Cairo Bites:

With only 10 words, including the Headline, which features the name of the festival, the body of this ad is made up of :

- *filling and chilling,*
- *family park, and*
- *For tickets.*

Ad 9: Mohamed Hamaki:

This flyer is made up of 15 words, together with the standing details, all monolingually English. With the image of the super star, the headline:



- *Enjoy the Easter Holiday....*

This is followed by the date and location, as well as the standing details.

Ad 10: Child Academy Big Festival:

As with the rest of the other entertainment ads, this ad keeps wording to the minimum, especially that it is a billboard. Again, the headline features the name of the advertised item and the organizing body, followed by the date and the location of the event.

Adverts within this category share some salient syntactic, pragmatic as well as multi-modal related features that can be summed up in the following points:

- All types of ads included within this category (print adverts, billboards and flyers) are monolingual in English.
- All elements of the print ad are present, with the exception of the slogan.
- The illustrations vary according to the domain of the ad, featuring different characters.
- All the ads sampled advertise rather luxurious events, such as live shows, concerts or health clubs.

Class 4: Food-related Ads:

Food related adverts were the category with the least accessible number of data. This can be attributed to the fact that food-related goods and services are addressed to a larger



percentage of addressees, and should hence be as accessible as possible. Within this category, visual representation of the goods/services plays a paramount role, where in most cases, the illustration forms the headline of the advert. Hence, the word count ranges from only 10 words to a maximum of 50 words, excluding the standing details. Unlike entertainment-related ads, slogans within this category are present in all the sampled data, with CS typically featuring. In this category, language interference is spotted in a couple of ads. Ads are illustrated in Appendix D.

Ad 1: El hara

i am breakfast is the headline of the text, with two very odd language errors: the use of lower case and the use of verb to be, in addition to the ambiguity of the sentence.

The rest of the ad features code switching intersententially. This is evident with the Arabic sentence:

- صباحك احلى مع افطار الحارة which is followed by another sentence, in English:

- *Get your day off to a flying start with El hARA new breakfast menu.* Here is another ambiguous sentence, or at least an Arabic-language influenced sentence, which has another orthographic error in the name of the restaurant.

The slogan is written in English, as well as the standing details. The address is however further translated, and illustrated, in Arabic and English.

Ad 2: Les Dames:

This advert is quite marked since it is tri-lingual, using Arabic, English and French as three codes of communication. The headline, the body and the slogan are in English, the details are in Arabic and the slogan is translated into French. Here intersentential CS is realized. The contact information, on the other hand, is in Arabic.

Ad 3: Regina:

This ad, which has only 11 words, realizes intersentential CS, where the English headline, is followed by a code switched body, formed of one English phrase:

The Great Taste

and another Arabic phrase:

- عبوة عائلية جديدة من ريجينا.

As with all the other ads within this category, the illustration features prominently. The headline, realizing the name of the product, is in English, whereas it is later used, as elaborated above, in Arabic.

Ad 4: Chez Edy:

Another advert that has the image functioning as the body copy. The headline, which also functions as the slogan, is in English, The standing details are also in English. As clear from the advert, bilingualism is used, considering that the name of the restaurant is in French.

**Ad 5: Tseppas:**

Typical of billboards, this advert has only 15 words, with all the elements present in English. The headline is a simple clause, which is followed by the name of the restaurant and the slogan.

Ad 6: Table 55

The 11-word billboard is monolingual in English, with one language error namely the use of *We're moving* as synonymous to 'we home deliver'. The headline features the name of the restaurant, and the sub headline gives a description of the speciality. The body is a mixture of a visual representation and a non-finite clause, pointing to the location of the restaurant. No slogan is used.

Ad 7: Chez Jean Claude

Here one finds another tri-lingual advert, where the name of the restaurant is in French. The 24-word ad has only 1 simple clause, whereas the rest of the ad realizes either phrases or nouns: *pastry, restaurant, the romance of Italy, etc.* The standing details are in English, even the map used is labelled in English.

Ad 8: Abu Auf:

This is an 85-word (excluding the contact information) monolingually English ad, which has all the elements of the print ad. The headline features an English phrase, followed by the body which includes the signature line (also the name of the brand). The body has one phrase and another clause, together with a list of products, all in English. The only finite clause is

found within the standing details: *we deliver*, followed by all details again in English.

Ad 9: Lebanese Breeze Restaurant:

The 45-word advert has the name of the restaurant as the headline. This is followed by the body of the advert all in English. As with most of the adverts within this category, the illustration accompanying the advert is very functional and typically represents the advertised aspect. In this advert, there is an Arabic lexical insertion realized in رمضان كريم which is further transliterated as *Ramadan Kareem*. This is indeed noteworthy since in most cases of CS it is rarely the host language (i.e. the mother tongue) that realizes a case of lexical insertion, but rather the guest language.

Ad 10: T.B.S:

In this advert, the headline has the name of the restaurant, and the sub headline has the specialty: the bakery shop. The body of the advert includes phrases: *fresh-baked bread, fresh-toasted sandwiches, delivery charge, etc.*

1.2 Miscellaneous ads

Within this category, I have included a number of adverts that market for a range of goods and services. I have included them, aiming to highlight the wide spread of the phenomenon of code switching within all domains of advertising. For sake of consistency, I included only ten ads within this category as the previous ones, all illustrated in Appendix E.



Ad 1: High Point

In this advert, CS takes place intrasententially where the name of the shop followed by the lexical insertion of the word ‘furniture’ form the subject of the sentence, whereas the predicate is in Arabic. This advert is a typical case where the host/matrix language- Arabic- provides the grammatical frame of the clause, realized in the sentence structure and the function morpheme “الكاف”, whereas the guest/ embedded language – English- provides the content morpheme, the noun phrase.

Ad 2: Headline

The headline is in English, followed by the body of the advert, which includes the name of the company, its area of specialty, then the standing details.

In this ad, CS is intersentential. The whole advertising text is in English, with the exception of the one Arabic sentence:

- طباعة تقنتى

Accordingly, it could be looked as an instance of lexical- or rather clausal- insertion. However, this Arabic clause is the only clause throughout the advert, whereas the rest of the body of the advert features in English.

Ad 3: Alfemo:

As with the previous advert, here the entire advert is in English, with the exception of a phrasal insertion in Arabic:

- حياتك بالألوان

The headline, featuring the name of the store, is in English, followed by the slogan in Arabic. The body of the advert

combines both an illustration and two noun phrases, followed by the standing details, all in English.

Ad 4: Ashley Furniture Homestore:

In this advert, as well as the following four ones, code switching takes place intersententially, i.e. larger stretches of speech are used, each forming a separate clause as follows:

- Wait 90 days...get 20% discount اشلي يعني راحتك

Here, following the name of the store, the seasonal offer is provided in English, where the English sentence is followed by a couple of sentences in Arabic.

This pattern of advertisements is very common, since it seems to cater for the needs of two types of audience: the monolingual and the bilingual. It seems to strike a compromise between its need to highlight the offer and at the same time catch the attention of the average addressee.

Ad 5: In and Out:

This advert has the only 8 words, with again the visual representation forming the body of the text. The headline has the name of the home store, then the noun phrase '*spring sale up to 35%*'. This embedded island in English, is followed by another language island including the standing in Arabic.

Ad 6: Master Thin:

This ad involves intersentential CS. The headline and the sub headline is in English, the body moves back and forth between English and Arabic, with the message highlighted by the illustration. A number of language errors can be spotted: the



use of upper case in 'WANT', the use of the adjective 'overweight?', 'private label manufacture' and the ambiguous headline 'celebrity diet secrets'!

Ad 7: Marilyn beauty center

This advert represents again an instance of translated texts, given in Arabic and English. Here language interference is realized in more than one error as in: '*fsthetic tatto*' rather than '*aesthetic tattoo*', regardless of the absurdity of the phrase. There is another spelling mistake is '*openning*' and '*menicure*'.

Ad 8: Yeldez 4 kids

A monolingual flyer in English, with a number of language errors, whether spelling such as '*shopes no.78*', lexical as in '*external book*' or grammatical such as '*while stock last*', and '*El Banafseg front of Tajan school*'.

Ad 9: 2B Computer:

This ad features CS intrasententially, using an embedded language island, realized in the adverb phrase '*back to توفير*', embedded in the declarative sentences.

Ad 10: Eva:

This advert is monolingual in English, celebrating the event of mother's day. The text is made up of two declarative sentences, and two nominal phrases.

Sociolinguistic Analysis

In this section, the study argues for the original hypothesis that CS in the selected data is a voluntary act related to the advertisers desire to design their variety in a way that

initiates a certain identity framework with their addressees (clients). Code switching can hence be explained in the construct of the audience design framework, where the code shift indexes a shift in the target addressee, particularly, the socio-economic class of this addressee. In the data, the language choice is that of a third party or as Bell terms it “a referee outgroup”, namely that of English, which is widely accepted as the prestigious code. It is an instance of initiative variety; since it’s the advertiser who decides to address the client with a variety that does not belong to either of them. Putting into consideration that the advertiser always resorts to the most effective way of catching the client’s eye, it is concluded that this variety is intentionally designed to target a particular client, and achieve the intended goal maximally. The advertiser uses this particular code to win the target addressees; those that belong to the “we code”, the socio-economic class, which has access to bilingualism, and segregate them from the “they code” addressee, who are monolingual. On their part, the target addressees respond positively, and hence the addresser keeps on adopting this language choice, and the cycle goes on. Indeed, the identity that is projected within the selected data pertains primarily to the social and the economic, rather than any ethnic variables.

After examining the selected data, it can be concluded that the use of English is not a linguistic necessity in any of the sampled texts. In other words, all the instances where English has been used either lexically or sententially could have been replaced with Arabic equivalents with no impact on the semantic content of the advertisement. For example, there



hasn't been any instance of particular specialized or technical terms that would render themselves impossible to be translated.

Drawing on Bucholtz and Hall (2005) identity framework, the study has depicted how the selected data operates to "produce" an emergent identity of a particular SEC, by stressing the "similarity" between the target addressees (socially and economically) and their "difference" from the rest of the addressees with the mutually "constructed" intersubjectivity as indexed by language.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that the use of CS in the data reflect mainly a voluntary choice on the part of the addresser to select a target addressee who possesses the "we code", the English code in one case, and consequently, in the second place, to shut away another addressee through this language choice. Reviewing the types of goods and services where the advertiser adopts this mechanism shows that they can only be related to the social and the economic variables within the targeted audience.

Findings:

After carrying out an analysis of the corpus under investigation, the following findings have been reached:

In all adverts including CS, Arabic is the matrix language, which is consistent with the robust research on CS, which points out that the matrix language is the *host* language or the mother tongue. The following tables summarizes the most salient findings as per the micro-linguistic analysis of the data under investigation.

The following table reviews the percentage of code switching pertaining to different fields:

	Real Estate	Education	Entertainment	Food	Miscellaneous	Total
CS	70%	25%	0%	30%	78%	40.6%
Monolingual in English	30%	75%	100%	70%	22%	59.4%

Table 4

According to the data presented, entertainment ads record the highest percentage of code switching use. This is consistent with the basic hypothesis of the study, namely that language choice is related here to the socio-economic class of the addressee, where entertainment can be regarded as a luxury commodity. Education ads also feature a high percentage of code switching. In the case of education-related ads, the addresser's desire to show professionalism is the reason behind code switching. With typical CS, real estate ads come at the top, where a wider audience is targeted.

On the other hand, the following table (Table 5) summarizes the instances of occurrence of each types of code switching:



	Code switched ads			Translated ads
	Lexical Insertion	Inter-sentential	Intrasentential	
Real Estate	4	2	4	0
Education	2	2	0	2
Entertainment	0	0	0	0
Food	0	2	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	4	2	2
Total	7	10	6	4

Table 5

*These results pertaining to the Entertainment category are consistent with the fact that the sampled ads are all monolingual in English.

* Only two adverts within the Food category involved CS, whereas the rest of the data is monolingual in English.

Finally, the following table reviews the percentage of the use of English in relevance to the headline, the body copy and the standing details:

The use of English in	Headline	Body	Standing details
Real Estate	3	6	3
Education	4	3	2
Entertainment*	-----	-----	-----
Food	3	3	1

Miscellaneous	7	5	4
Total	17	17	10

Table 6

*again, here this classification is not applicable since the entire advert is in English.

As indicated by Kelly- Holmes (2005, p.10) the use of English in advertising is topic-related, where code-mixing with English features particularly with technical products. In the present study, entertainment, real estate and education are found to involve a high proportion of code switching.

The length and the structural complexity of these monolingual texts is directly proportional to SEC of the target audience. For example, real estate advertising texts on bill boards are mostly made up of attention-getters that have maximum 10 lexical units. These are usually short phrases, or simple sentences to be accessible to more readership.

On the other hand, real estate advertising texts in magazines and newspapers tend to be longer in word count, and have a more complex structural make-up, since it is directed to a more restricted circle- newspaper and magazine readers- which naturally belong to a higher SCE than pedestrians. Similarly, entertainment advertising texts are more structurally complex than real estate ones since they are addressing an even tighter circle of addressees, who are supposed to totally belong to the “we code” with a degree of proficiency that would enable them to fully ‘decode’ these texts.

Code switching in the language of advertisements is seen as an instance of metaphorical, rather than situational CS. Code-



switching here is a discriminatory act of interaction, setting a demarcation line between the “we code” of those who communicate in the language of power, of technological advancement, of economic achievement and the “they code” of those who are ‘monolingual’, and have no access to this empowering language. These findings are consistent with the notion of English being the language of empowerment, represented in educational services, or with an elitist discrimination, based on socio-economic classification of speech communities.

Conclusion

The analysis of the present study suggests that code switching is widely used throughout the sampled data. Code switching cannot be seen as an index of power but rather as an index of the socio-economic class of the addressee (client), as projected by the addresser (advertiser). The findings reflect that language choice is a voluntary act of communication, done on the part of the advertiser who ‘initiates’ a particular variety shift to index a shift in the targeted addressee, by adopting a variety which is not the ‘normal’ code for either of them. This initiated variety is English, the variety of a ‘prestigious’ outgroup. By so doing, the advertiser limits the target addressee to those who are identified as belonging to a higher SEC, that have more access to the code of power, the code the advertiser ‘momentarily’ initiates as the “we code”. Meanwhile, Arabic is ‘momentarily’ assigned as the “they code”, hence the code of those who are ‘different’ from the target addressees. On their part, the addressees positively receive this suggested identity

and further project it to the advertiser, presenting a particular subjectivity that is later manipulated by the advertiser.

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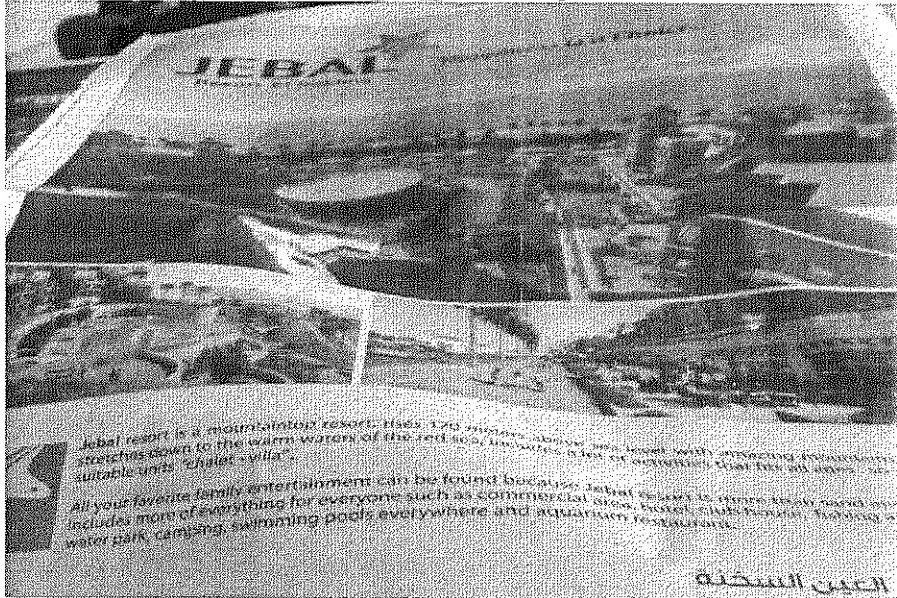
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APPENDIX A

Sample Real Estate ads:





THE
FOURTEEN
GOLF RESIDENCES

LUXURY LIVING ABOVE THE CITY

With state-of-the-art design in the heart of the city,
The Fourteen Golf Residences is a landmark project that
redefines luxury living in the city. The Fourteen Golf Residences
is a landmark project that redefines luxury living in the city.
The Fourteen Golf Residences is a landmark project that
redefines luxury living in the city.



EMAR REAL ESTATE COMPANY

Meydan Tower, Downtown Dubai, The Fourteen Golf Residences
Mohammed Bin Rashid City, Dubai, The Fourteen Golf Residences
www.emaar.ae



CAIRO BUSINESS PARK
القاهرة الجديدة

مساحات تبدأ من 170 و مساحات حتى 7 سنوات

تتميز الجديدة برفع مستوى الخدمات والبنية التحتية وتكون من Stand-alone Buildings وتميز بالعديد من المرافق التي
 من نوعها في مصر التي تلبي جميع احتياجات رجال الأعمال والشركات الكبرى والمتوسطة والعديد
 من الخدمات الطبية والترفيهية والتعليمية من حيث

- أحياءات تجارية متطورة وراقية
- مساحات مكاتب ومباني مساحات مختلفة
- أماكن مخصصة للسيارات سارة كل 30 متر
- أحدث تكنولوجيا متطورة لتسهيل الأعمال

منطقة
 Gate Business
 مساحات مائة
 كافة مؤامرات
 والأعمال بأحدث التكنولوجيا
 من حيث الإحتياجات لإرجال الشركات والأعمال من مصر...

6619 THE ULTIMATE BUSINESS CHOICE

Show room:
 99 Hassan El Moftah
 Nasr City - Cairo





طرح عدد من الوحدات المميزة
في ماونتن فيو هايب بارك .. احجز بيتك الان



MOUNTAIN VIEW
16201

01111

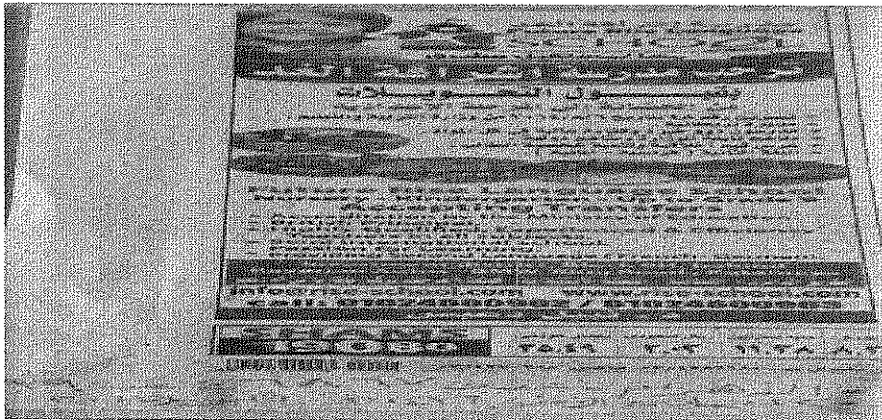
أحمد بحر
تلو بارك - فيلو كامل للبحر يعني
هتتشوف البحر من كل مكان

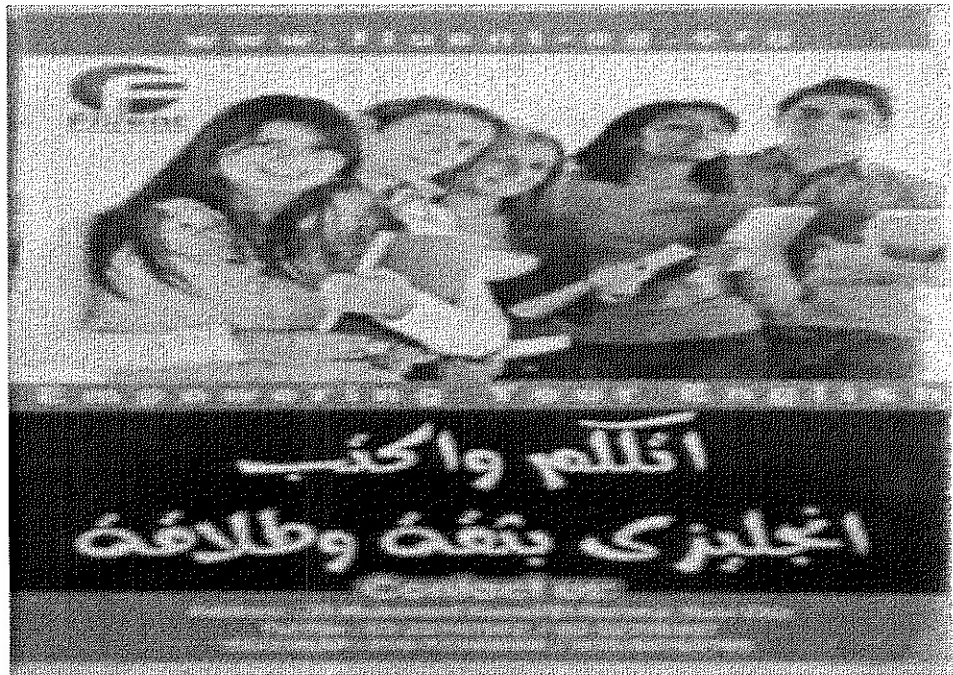
Buy Violet Villa Or CAPELLA VILLA With Smart Home System and Jet-ski for free
Security - Sea - Hotel - Cinema - Golf car - Aqua Park - health club - Landscape - Restaurant
Smart Home System - Sport Area - Swimming pools - Shopping mall - dancing Fountain



APPENDIX B

Sample education-related ads









Now Open For Admissions
Starting Saturday 12th of April, 2014

MILS
Madinaty Integrated
Languages School

Variety Of Cultures

www.madinatyintegratedlanguageschool.com

Please call:
010 280 50 305 / 010 280 50 306

An advertisement for a child safety service. The top half features a black and white photograph of a woman and a young girl. Below the photo, the text reads "Your child" and "SAFE". At the bottom left, there are five circular icons representing different services or features. At the bottom right, there are three phone numbers and a website URL.

Your child
SAFE

011 2822 0165
012 7200 3716
02 268 71 088

www.thesafeservice.com

An advertisement for Little Giants Bilingual Nursery. The ad is framed and features the nursery's name in a large, stylized font. Below the name, it states "An affiliate of Elmhurst Schools New York". The slogan "Our Passion. Their Future." is prominently displayed. The text "Bilingual Nursery" is followed by "English & Italian" and "Licensed by the State of New York". A call to action "Join us NOW" is present, along with the address "Mivida's Clubhouse, Elmhurst Settlement, New Cairo" and contact information: "Tel: 2-40112077 779 14118" and "E-mail: info@esnk.org". The website "www.esnk.org" is also listed. The ad is decorated with stylized handprints.

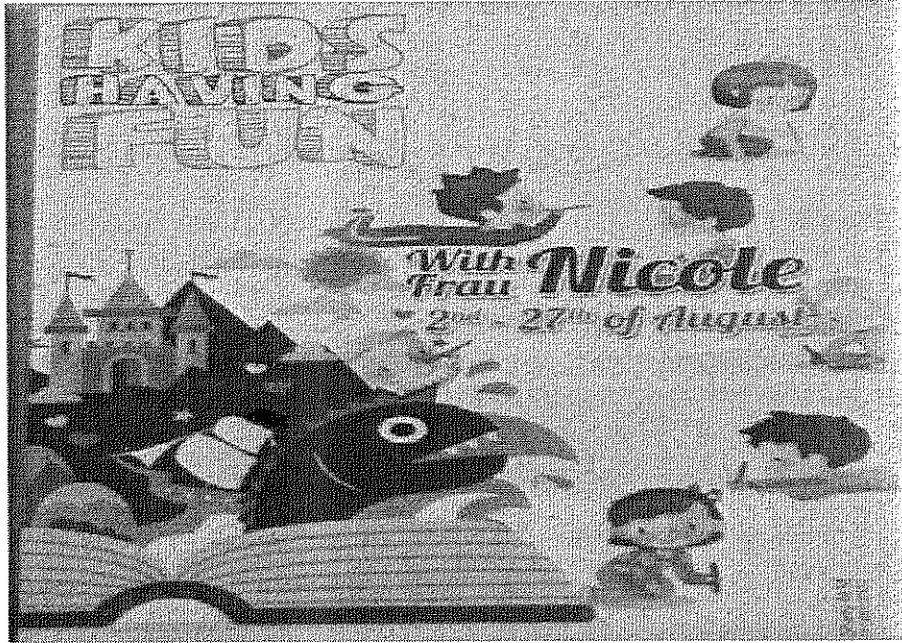
Little Giants
An affiliate of Elmhurst Schools New York

Our Passion. Their Future.

Bilingual Nursery
English & Italian
Licensed by the State of New York

Join us
NOW

Mivida's Clubhouse,
Elmhurst Settlement, New Cairo
Tel: 2-40112077 779 14118
E-mail: info@esnk.org
www.esnk.org





PLAY, LEARN AND GROW TOGETHER
EMBRACE OUR PRIDE WEEK

تصعد بإستقبال أطفالكم
من سن 3 تتفوق الى 6 سنوات

سيتون طفلك وسط كونه من المتخصصين في
الحالات الكيفية باستخدام أحدث التعليل
والاجوات الموائمة لتعصر وتنصن له سبل
الاعان والرفاقية والرعاية الصحية

01009092588 / 01222131894

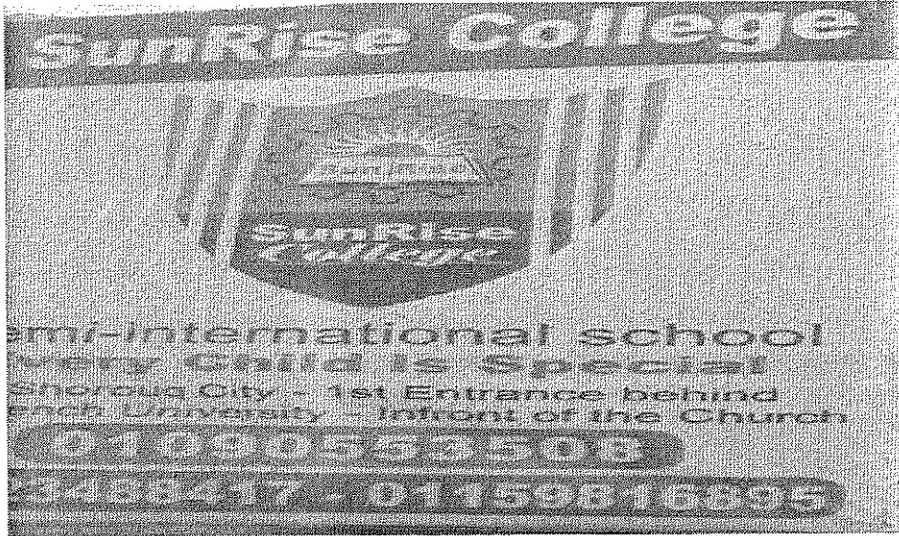
PLAY, LEARN AND GROW TOGETHER

Swimming

Entertainment

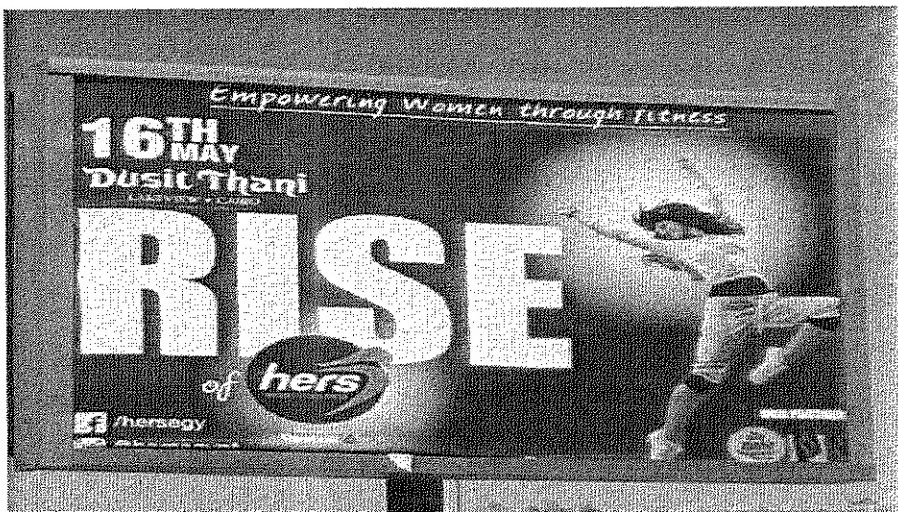
Birthday Parties

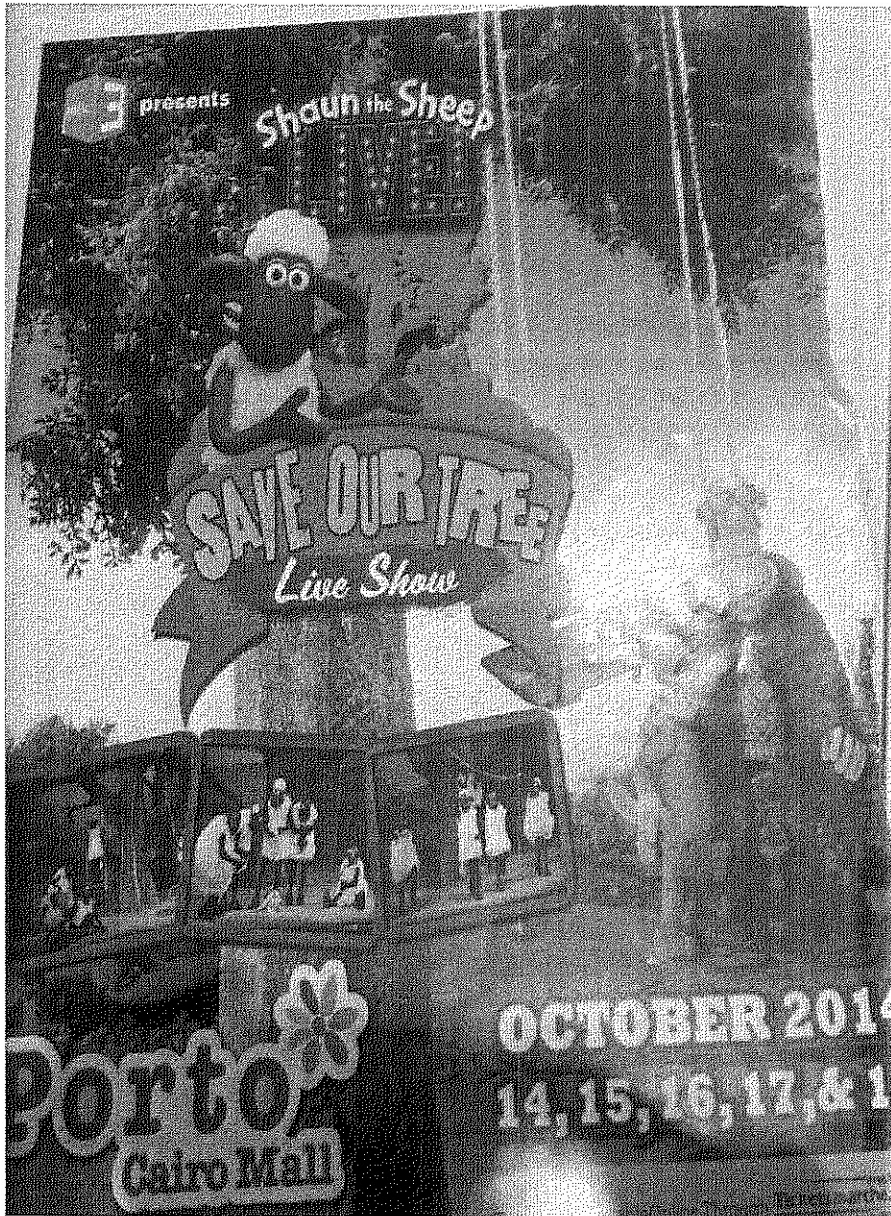
Wash Wash Wash



APPENDIX C

Sample of Entertainment ads







Code Switching and Identity
in Advertising: A Case Study



OMAR KHAYAT
ALONG WITH THE BIRD OF PARADISE
REVIVING THE SPIRIT OF MUSIC

19
OCT
2014

Omar Khayat is not just one of Egypt's most revered & successful composers of all times. He's gracefully & magically with the hands and stirred the souls of a multi-generational audience along the three decades of his musical career. Join us for a magical musical evening that will surely connect and revive pure love for the music once in a while. Enjoy the performance of his soul-stirring masterpieces, as well as a special tribute in memory of Mr. Abou Bakr Khayat.

Revive the spirit of music... Re-awaken your soul.

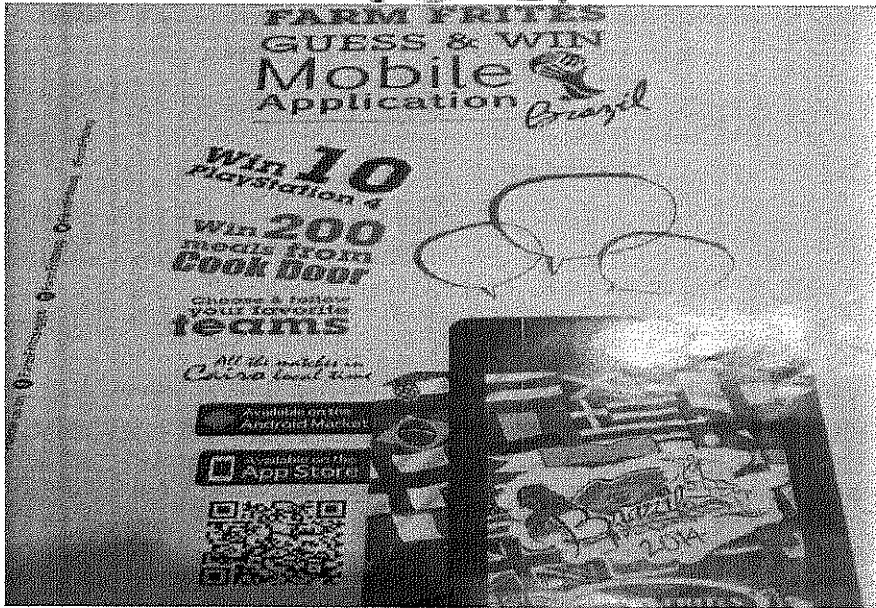
Presented by

TE Data	Scen	0100-540099
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BOULEVARD
KHALIFA
KHALIFA
CIRCUS

APRIL 9TH
10 MAY 12TH

Porto
Cairo Mall 1910



Code Switching and Identity
in Advertising: A Case Study

As part of its unparalleled lifestyle experience, Uptown Cairo proudly hosts on its bills one of the world's most renowned classic musicals of all time, Broadway's original, *The Sound of Music*.

The show will take place from
February 25th till March 2nd

**Don't miss out on this
spectacular show!**

For a faster and traffic-free journey to Uptown Cairo, forest about
and a additional 100% with experience. *Uptown Drive*.

Check the map to Uptown Drive, Uptown Cairo, for more
info. [www.cairo.gov.eg](#)

Cairo bites
FOOD FESTIVAL

**FILLIN' &
CHILLIN'**

FAMILY PARK
17 - 18 APRIL

FOR TICKETS
CALL 16826



ENJOY THE EASTER HOLIDAY
FROM 10 TO 13 APRIL 2015

**Super Star
Hamaki**
13 April
2015



SM
Ocean Blue
16040

El Sallah
Montafa El Sallah

Bank Audi

Bank Al Sahara
Tours

Bank Audi

Child Academy

Big Festival

Friday 11 / 9
and Monday 14 / 9
AT SKY PLAZA MALL @ Carrefour El Shorouk

60 570 96 - 011 28 28 26 25



APPENDIX D

Sample of food ads

i am breakfast

EL HARA

The Oriental Food House

New Cairo- Fifth District - Mail 100 - In front of Nestle & City Bank Buildings 90 St

010 111 202 66
010 111 202 77

سأحان أسبق مع الطار الحارة
Get your day off to a flying start
with EL HARA new breakfast menu.

Icons: Wi-Fi, mobile phone, coffee, bread, and a wheelchair accessibility symbol.

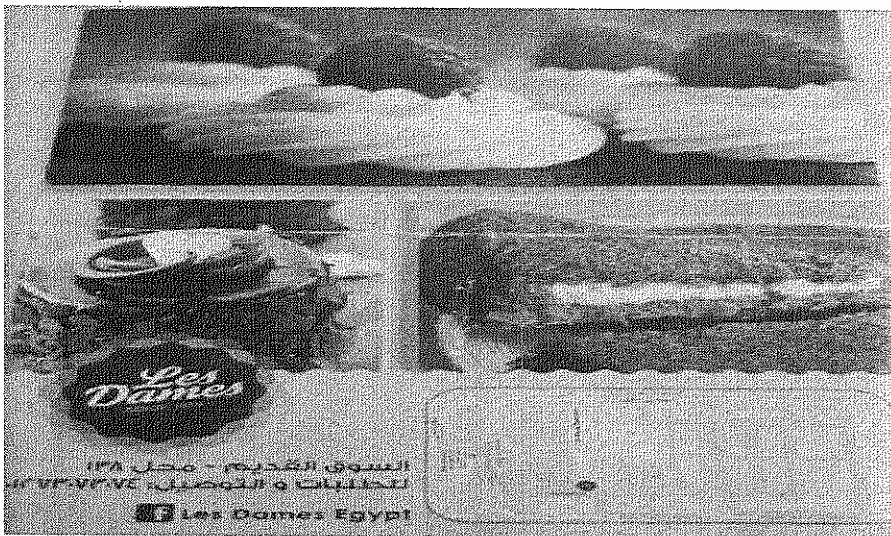
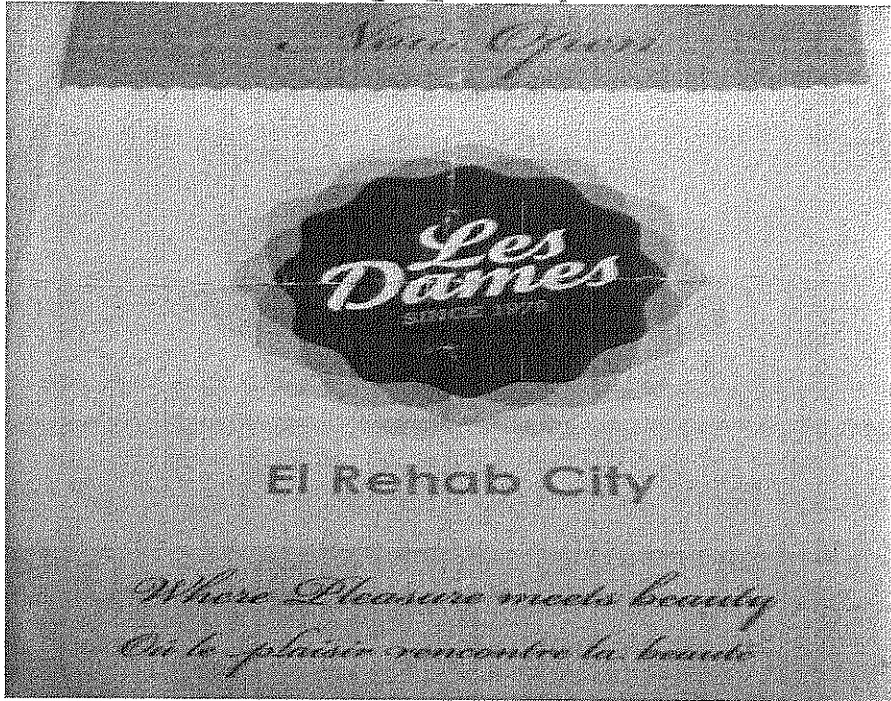
Tabl 55

We're MOVING

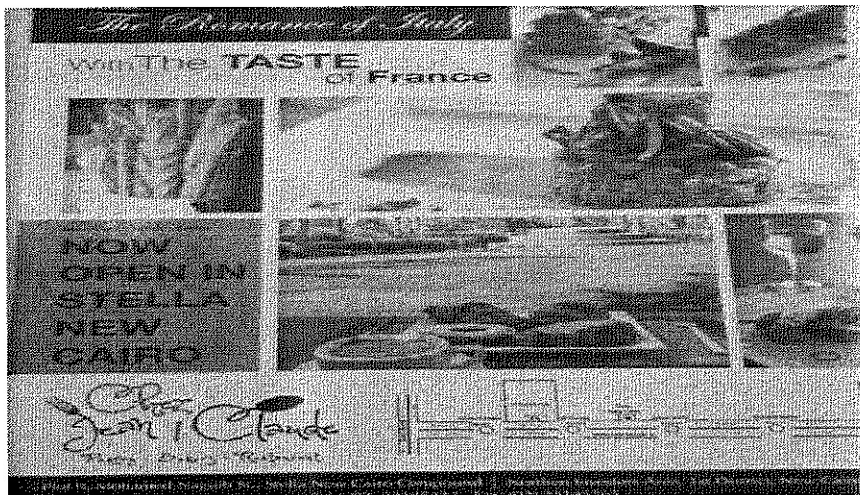
Opening soon At
The SPOT

www.tabl-55.com

Icon: A moving truck.



Code Switching and Identity
in Advertising: A Case Study







APPENDIX E

Sample of miscellaneous ads





Code Switching and Identity
in Advertising: A Case Study

ALFEMO
حياتك بالانوار

First Year Anniversary

Level 7
CITYSTARS
16494
www.alfemoegypt.com
E1 / Alfemo.Egypt

All Products Bedroom
Dining room Living room
25% Discount
New Collection

50%

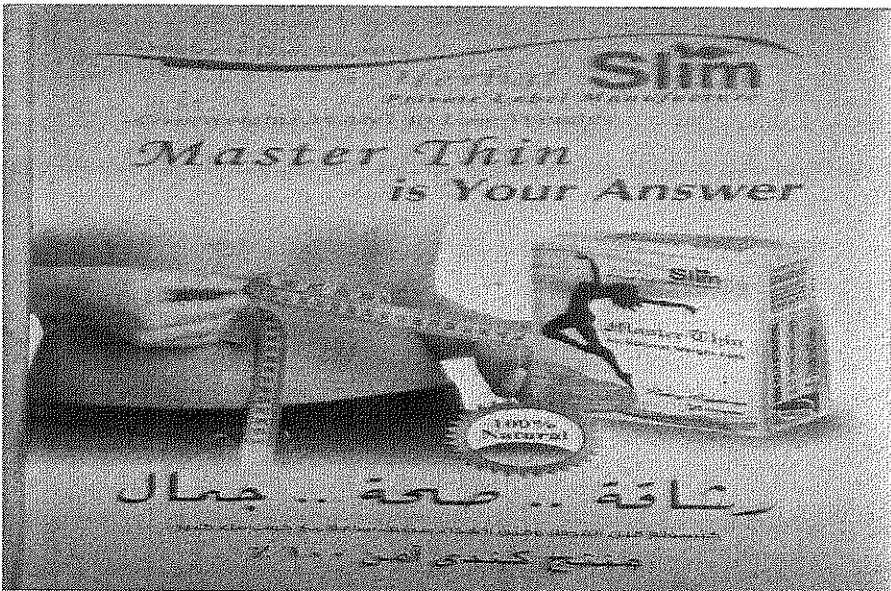
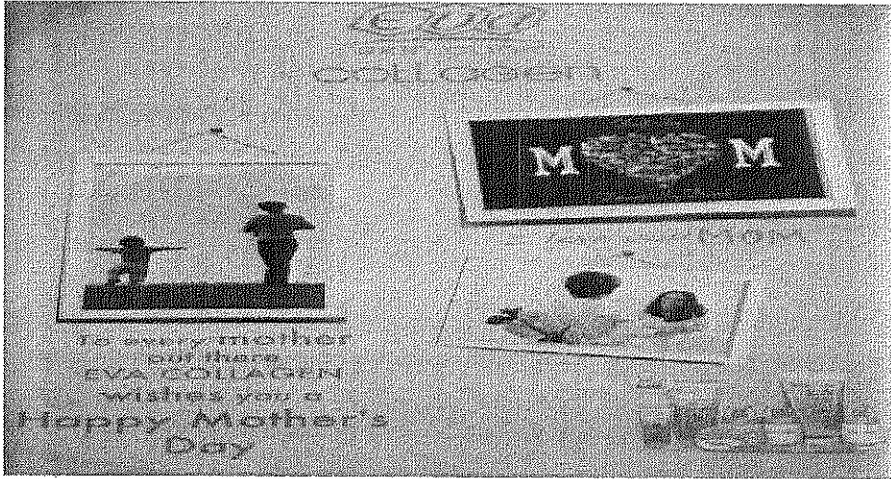
BACK TO 1399

lenovo B5030

- Processor: Intel® Celeron N2840 (1M Cache, up to 2.58 GHz)
- Display: Intel® HD Graphics - 15.6"
- Ram: 2GB RAM DDR3
- Hard Disk: 500 GB HDD

1399 LE

HP Printer 3515
3 in 1





Code Switching and Identity
in Advertising: A Case Study



sale up to %40

POLO BAGS

SALE 20% OFF

10% sale for any stationery purchase over 1000LE

PILGRIM BOTTLE

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT OUR OFFERS VISIT US ON

EL REHAB MALL 2 / SHOPS NO 73, 94, 94A
EL BAN / SEC 1 FRONT OF TAJJAN SCHOOL

20928329
010101052

