# Exploring Interactional Metadiscourse in Anti-Obesity Advertisements on Egyptian Facebook Pages Promoting Sleeve Gastrectomy: A Multimodal Approach

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#### **Abstract**

Obesity is a growing epidemic in the Middle East, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), which reported in 2019 that more than 30% of the population were obese. In Egypt, anti-obesity advertisements, which are sponsored by private clinics of dietitians and surgeons performing surgeries such as sleeve gastrectomy or liposuction, have flooded social media, particularly Facebook. The advertisements in Egypt reflect ordinary promotional marketing, which typically encourage consumerism through persuading people to purchase certain services and products. However, regardless of the genuine target behind the advertisements, the main function of these advertisements is to persuade. This study is interested in exploring how advertisements construct the service and service providers and how they engage potential customers. In order to do so, the study integrated Hyland's (2005a) interactional model with Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal approach. 12 anti-obesity advertisements were downloaded from 5 Facebook pages of private clinics of surgeons performing sleeve gastrectomy in Egypt. All selected advertisements were analyzed in terms of the suggested integration. The results of this study suggest that the selected advertisements skilfully employed both their visual and textual components to foreground the demerits of obesity and the desirability of an ideal body weight in an attempt to persuade the target audience to choose surgical intervention, i.e., purchase the advertised service.

Keywords: Stance markers, Engagement markers, Multimodality, Antiobesity advertisements

## 1. Introduction

The CIA World Fact-book (cia.gov, 2016) defines obesity as "an adult having a Body Mass Index (BMI) greater to or equal to 30.0", with BMI calculated by taking a person's weight in kilograms and dividing it by the square of their height in metres. The lifestyle people are leading now is the fundamental cause of obesity since it involves excessive calorie consumption and burning too few calories. Risk factors for obesity include too much calorie-dense and nutrientdeficient food, widespread access to unhealthy foods, nocturnal lifestyle and interrupted sleep patterns which could lead to metabolic problems, a more sedentary lifestyle due to the ease and low cost of transport, in addition to emotional, professional, or physical stress. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), over 30% of the population in the Middle East are obese (goodness.me; euronews.com, 2019). According to the WHO Observatory Report, nine Middle Eastern countries rank among the highest in the obesity statistics among adults aged 18 and above (forbesmiddleeast.com). The rate of obesity in the Arab countries can be ordered as follows: Kuwait 37.9%, Saudi Arabia 35.4%, Qatar 35.1%, Libya 32.5%, Egypt 32%, Lebanon 32%, United Arab Emirates 31.7%, Iraq 30.4%, Bahrain 29.8%, Syria 27.8%, Algeria 27.4%, Oman 27%, Tunisia 26.9%, and Morocco 26.1%.

In December 2018, after the Egyptian Minister of Health publicly disclosed that almost half of Egyptians were overweight, President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi took to the streets on a bicycle and in sweatpants to set a model for Egyptians to adopt a healthier lifestyle (ynetnews.com). However, more intensive campaigns were needed in order to raise the awareness of citizens and inform them of the importance of reducing obesity, promoting healthy diets and overhauling sedentary lifestyles through more participation in sports and physical activities. Hence, Egypt started the nationwide مليون صحة المبيون صحة ''mīt milyūn siḥhah'' المبيون صحة Million Healthy Lives | screening campaign against Hepatitis C. (HEP. C) and Non-Communicable Diseases (NCD). NCDs, which include high blood pressure, sugar levels, heart attacks and obesity (increased body weight), accounted for an estimated 92% of all deaths and 67% of premature deaths. The "100 Million Healthy Lives" nationwide screening campaign, launched in July 2019 with the objective of securing better health for all Egyptians, has been the largest of its kind across the entire globe (worldbank.org, 2019). The Egyptian Ministry of Health proclaimed that the initiative was sustainable, and the second phase would be to examine and provide information to increase the awareness of roughly 28 million women regarding reproductive health, family planning, healthier lifestyles, detecting noncommunicable diseases such as diabetes, blood pressure, obesity and breast cancer (egyptindependent.com). With regard to obesity as well as the other diseases, Egypt's initiative did not include launching an intensive awareness campaign on social media with print advertisements but rather televised adverts and, more importantly, in-person screening through Ministry of Health doctors carried out everywhere across the country. However, it was accompanied by a flood of anti-obesity advertisements on social media, particularly Facebook, which were mainly launched by private clinics to promote their business.

Currently, one common surgical weight-loss procedure is sleeve gastrectomy. This procedure, which is typically performed laparoscopically, involves removing about 80% of the stomach, leaving a tube-shaped stomach with the size and shape of a banana. Limiting the size of one's stomach restricts the amount of food one is able to consume and, hence, induces weight loss (mayoclinic.org). Many Egyptian surgeons perform this procedure, and they advertise their clinics and services on social media.

This study, which uses a multimodal approach, explores how advertisements can be considered a type of interactional metadiscourse through examining both stance markers and engagement markers in a selection of advertisements on sleeve gastrectomy. These advertisements hide their ultimate aim, which is mainly to promote their business and increase their clients, behind the call for positive change and a better healthy lifestyle. They encourage overweight people to go through sleeve gastrectomy, which is depicted as the best path towards a healthier lifestyle and, eventually, protection from all the diseases associated with obesity.

There is a considerable literature adopting a multimodal approach to promotional discourse (e.g., Brookes and Harvey, 2015; Harvey, 2013; Ledin and Machin, 2016; Machin, 2007; Michelson and Valencia, 2016; Zuraidah and Ling, 2016). The recent growth in social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, has underscored the salience of the web as a medium for multimodal health communication (Hunt, 2015, p. 72). Indeed, current technological developments in communication media facilitate faster and broader dissemination of both verbal and visual information. Businesses have promotional opportunities to disseminate information about their products and services through utilising social media platforms as electronic 'word-of-mouth' (Mangold and Faulds, 2009; Vásquez, 2014). Facebook, as an example, tends to have a promotional side

evidenced in its movement into the business domain, with many businesses creating fan or brand pages (Caers et al., 2013, p. 992). Some studies have examined promotional discourse on Facebook, including, for example, Hunt (2015), which multimodally analysed posts on diabetes from the Facebook pages of two health organisations.

This study multimodally examines a sample of the print advertisements promoted on Facebook by private clinics of surgeons performing sleeve gastrectomy in Egypt, with the aim of exploring the ways used by advert producers to construct themselves and engage with potential customers. The next section provides an overview of the theoretical frameworks employed in the study.

## 2. Theoretical and Analytical Frameworks

The study analyses 12 advertisements on sleeve gastrectomy. It explores the verbal segments of the adverts using Hyland's (2005a) interactional model, and the visual segments using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal approach. Before embarking on the analysis, an overview of both frameworks is provided below.

## 2.1 Interactional Metadiscourse

Metadiscourse can be defined as 'discourse about discourse' or the representation of the relationship between writers and readers and the ways writers express themselves and convey writer personality (Hyland, 2005b). Hyland and Tse (2004) argued that the term metadiscourse was an umbrella term which covered a range of linguistic devices used to engage readers, demonstrate authorial identity, and signal attitudes; and that it comprised an exchange of ideas and attitudes between the actors in the communicative event. Studies on metadiscourse tended to focus on interactions between readers and writers in academic writing in various disciplines (Biber, 2006; Hyland, 2002b; Ivanic & Camps, 2001; Kuhi et al., 2012; Vassileva, 1998) and different cultures (Dahl, 2004; Martinez, 2005; Shelden, 2009; Vassileva, 2001). Abdollahzadeh (2011) proposed that there was a need for further research on interactional relationships in different texts and disciplines in the future.

Hyland and Tse (2004) proposed a distinction between interactive and interactional metadiscourse. They argued that the interactive dimension involved

ways of organizing propositional meaning in discourse through the use of transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, and evidentials. The interactional dimension, on the other hand, concerned how authors express themselves and engage their imagined audience. It consisted of hedges (words which emphasize that a statement is presented based on a writer's interpretation rather than a fact), boosters (devices which emphasize or de-emphasize), attitude markers (markers which reveal writers' attitude toward the subject matter by conveying agreement and signaling shared values), self-mention (the degree of overt author presence in the text), and engagement markers. Hyland (2005a), believing that metadiscourse was a form of social engagement, refined the model suggested in Hyland and Tse (2004). He divided the interactional elements which comprised the second element of the Hyland and Tse 2004 model into two further categories: stance and engagement markers. He then proposed that stance markers consisted of hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self-mention, while engagement markers include reader pronouns, directives, questions, shared knowledge, and personal asides.

Several studies also dedicated attention to stance, or the expression of writers' voice in text (Abdi, 2002; Adams & Quintana-Toledo, 2013; Hyland, 2005a, 2011; McGrath & Kuteeva, 2012; Pho, 2008; Silver, 2003; Vassileva, 2001). Stance has been approached under various terms, including evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Nuyts, 2001), affect (Hyland, 1996a, 1996b; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989; Salager-Meyer, 1994, 1995), evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 1999), appraisal (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005), modality (Palmer, 1979; Hyland, 1996b) and hedging (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Other studies focused on engagement markers (Kuhi et al., 2012; Lee and Casal, 2014).

This study adopts Hyland's (2005a) model and attempts to explain how the makers of the adverts convey their ideas, construct social actors and attempt to attract an audience through the use of stance and engagement markers.

It should be noted that all the adverts posted by surgery clinics consist of both verbal and visual elements. The visual elements need to be taken into consideration since they were most likely designed to grab the attention of viewers and communicate a considerable part of the producers' intended message. Hence, Kress and van Leeuwen's multimodal approach is used in this study to account for the visual elements of the adverts.

## 2.2 Kress and van Leeuwen's Multimodal Approach

Kress and van Leeuwen's framework has been used in a large number of studies of promotional discourse (Brookes and Harvey, 2015; Ibrahim, 2020; Lam, 2013; Lick, 2015; Lirola, 2006; Lirola and Chovanec, 2012; Machin, 2007; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Starc, 2014; Thompson, 2012; Zuraidah and Ling, 2016).

Multimodal discourse can be defined as any discourse that utilises two or more semiotic modes (e.g., spoken/written language and images or other semiotic modes) to convey its meanings (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 1) developed a grammar of visual design which aimed to "describe the way in which depicted elements - people, places and things - combine in visual 'statements' [...], just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts". Visual grammar was based on the notion that the visual elements in an image correspond to the grammatical components of written language: for example, action verbs (e.g., doing, going) are realized visually by elements called vectors; and locative prepositions (e.g., in bed, at home) are realized visually by characteristics that create contrast between foreground and background, such as overlapping, gradience in focus and degree of colour saturation (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 46).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argued that visual images convey three strands of meanings which can be correlated with Halliday's (1985) three metafunctions with respect to verbal language: representational (ideational), interactive (interpersonal), and compositional (textual). The representational meaning describes the ways that various kinds of visual images are organised and represented. It is conveyed via two major processes, namely: narrative and conceptual processes (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 56). First, narrative processes are further classified into actional and reactional processes. Actional processes involve the represented characters in some kind of physical action (either non-transactional when there is only one participant and therefore no action directed towards anyone or anything or transactional when there are two or more participants, i.e., an actor, a goal and/or a beneficiary, involved in a kind of action) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 61-64). Reactional processes, on the other hand, characterize the represented participants by a reaction, which is realised by the direction of gaze of one of the participants, namely, the reacter, along an eyeline vector extended to the receiving participant or the whole process, which is termed the *phenomenon* (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 64-67).

Secondly, conceptual processes can be divided into three major kinds: *classificational* (relating the represented participants in terms of a taxonomy of types or classes of things), *analytical* (relating the participants in terms of part/whole relations), and *symbolic* (relating to the meaning associated with a certain participant) processes (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 79-88).

Interactive meaning accounts for how a visual image addresses its viewers. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 45-46) distinguished between interactive participants (i.e., the participants who are communicating, such as the writer and the reader of a text, the speaker and the listener of a message, or the creator (artist) and the viewer of images) and represented participants (i.e., the participants, whether animate or inanimate, who or which are communicated about by the interactive participants in their communication; the people, places and things which are represented in speech, writing or images). They suggested three important devices to detect interactive meaning in visual images: the presence or absence of gaze, the size of frame, and the type of angle used (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 153). First, the presence or absence of gaze in a visual image (either between the represented participants or directed by them to the viewers) can be interpreted as a demand or an offer respectively, which indicates a form of direct or indirect address to the viewers (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 121-130). Visual demands are realised by a gaze which may often be supported by some kind of physical gesture, such as a smile, a stare, or a pout, thus drawing the viewer(s) into some kind of social relation with the represented character (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 122-123). Visual offers, on the other hand, invite the viewer(s) to examine or look at the represented participants, whose gazes are not directed at them, as "items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124). Second, the size of frame in a visual image - which can be a close-up, medium, or long-distance shot - can convey a sense of social proximity between the represented participants and the viewers, ranging from being intimate, socially close but not intimate, to being strangers (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 130-135). Third, the angle taken in visual images can be either vertical or horizontal. Vertical angles allow for the establishment of power relations between the viewer and the represented participants (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 142-143). Horizontal angles, on the other hand, project degrees of involvement between the viewer and the represented participants: the frontal angle conveys a message of inclusion, implying that the represented participants are part of the viewer's world; while the oblique angle conveys a message of exclusion, implying that there is a lack of involvement between the represented participants and the viewer(s) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 146-148).

Textual or compositional meaning in visual images is realized through compositional layout elements such as information value, salience, and framing. First, information value relates to the placement of the elements in a visual image, endowing specific informational values to the various 'zones' of the image: left and right (i.e., left signifies the Given: the well-established, known, understood, implicitly held views; and the right signifies the New: the contestable, to-beestablished, presented as not yet known, to be agreed upon, or to be made explicit), top and bottom (i.e., the top of a visual image occupying the space of the *ideal* or most highly valued and the bottom occupying the place of the *real* or less highly valued), centre and margin (the centre is the nucleus of the information and all the other elements are subservient) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 187, 193). Second, salience refers to the ability of a viewer to assess the importance of the represented elements depending on factors such as the placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (colour), differences in sharpness, and so on (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 213). Third, framing refers to the degrees of connectedness or boundedness provided by an actual frame or frame lines around the elements in a visual image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense. Framing allows for the interpretation that the represented elements go together and should be viewed as part of the same message; or that they can be disconnected from each other, conveying the sense that they should be viewed separately (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 214-216).

Health promotion primarily focuses on body weight as a risk factor for disease, as well as on weight reduction as a means to improve health. Many studies dealt with public health campaigns and represented obesity as a discourse of risk (Ayo, 2012; Brookes & Harvey, 2015; Gagnon, Jacob, & Holmes, 2010; Kwauk, 2012). Considerable research even focused on the psychological effects of anti-obesity campaigns including body image anxieties, self-harm, and/or eating disorders (Evans, 2006; Fullager, 2009; Kwauk, 2012). Similar to the current study, a number of studies used a multimodal approach to examine obesity in promotional discourse. Researchers, for example, examined the construction of body weight and weight bias among health professionals on social media platforms (Schwartz et al., 2003; DeBarr & Pettit, 2016). Mulderrig (2017) used a critical multimodal approach to investigate the social marketing strategies

employed to emotionally manipulate and persuade children and their parents to adopt healthier lifestyles (2017, p.1). She focused on the UK government's anti-obesity 'Change4Life' campaign. The current study, however, used Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) and Hyland's (2005a) models to analyse both visual and verbal sections in a selection of adverts in an attempt to explore the Arabic promotional discourse on anti-obesity.

#### 3. Data and Method

Given the vast number of websites dedicated to obesity, a Google survey using the query جراحات تكميم المعدة في مصر [sleeve gastrectomy in Egypt] in 21st April 2020 yielded 114,000 hits. Since people using the Internet for health information tend to pursue only the search results which appear high up on first pages (Eysenbach and Kohler, 2002), highest ranking 'I have surveyed the websites, then selected those linked to Facebook pages. The Facebook pages (5 in total, as shown in Table 1) were accessed between April and June 2020. All 5 pages have a commercial interest, reflecting the commercial nature of many Facebook pages relating to private clinics or health centres.

Table 1 Selected Facebook pages and number of subscribers (18th May 2020)

Facebook page	Number of Subscribers
https://www.facebook.com/ProfDrZakaria	251,812
https://www.facebook.com/DrZetawi	178,442
https://www.facebook.com/wardanyclinic	152,207
https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal	18,521
https://www.facebook.com/dr.sherif.Hathout	8,217

I extracted the five most recent posts of each of the five pages as they appeared when the pages were accessed on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020. I excluded pictures of real-life clients and used only pictures of models, although no official consent seems to be required for using such public access adverts (Henderson *et al.*, 2013; Whiteman, 2012). Then, I selected the top 12 adverts in terms of the number of 'likes' they had received, following the model of other studies (e.g. Hunt, 2015, p. 74; Lam, 2013, p.15).

To conduct a multimodal discourse analysis of these adverts, I drew upon Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) and Hyland (2005a) for the visual and textual

elements respectively. Both frameworks were used as complementary tools to provide deep insights into the nature of Arabic promotional health discourse through examining the following issues:

- What social actors and processes do the adverts depict?
- How are these social actors and processes represented both visually and verbally?
- What types of social relations between the participants represented in the adverts and the potential customers are constructed through text and image?
- How are stance and engagement markers used in the selected adverts?
- What attitudes do the texts and images convey to potential customers?
- What can a multimodal analysis of the selected adverts reveal about the features of Arabic health-related promotional advertising?

## 4. Analysis

The interactive participants targeted by the selected visual images can be defined as any obese reader/viewer. These participants are invited to empathise and/or sympathise with the represented participants who are projected as obese and vulnerable to many diseases; and/or respond to the visual gaze of the represented participant(s) and to the second-person address used in the discourse. The ultimate aim behind each advertisement is to persuade these interactive participants that they are endangering and/or spoiling their lives if they do not take action and eliminate the causes of obesity. The advert producers attempt to realise this aim through manipulating visual and verbal elements.

The most common images which appear across the adverts represent two kinds of social actors: obese men/women and fit men/women. Both types of social actors are prominently positioned, typically occupying the top central part of the advert, thus receiving a high degree of salience and special significance. They tend also to be represented in isolation, with no other social actors and with their gazes directed either towards or away from the viewers. The images, occupying such a prominent position and being of relatively large size, immediately grab the viewers' attention.

Figure 1. Dr MZ



(https://www.facebook.com/DrZetawi - last accessed 15 January 2021)

In Advert 1, the woman is depicted on the left side as if taking off an outfit with difficulty. In a visual metaphor, the outfit is shown to be her obese body. The upper half, which is already freed, is fit and slim. The woman looks with disgust and pain toward her lower half, which is still obese. There is also a picture of a stomach, on the right side of the visual image, showing the procedure of sleeve gastrectomy and how it would get rid of most of the stomach. In the bottom right, there is a picture of the surgeon wearing the operation room outfit and having a smiling face and folded arms. His relaxed posture conveys his confidence and potentially gives the impression that the operation is easy.

Figure 2 DR SH



(https://www.facebook.com/dr.sherif.Hathout - last accessed 15 January 2021)

In advert 2, a man is sitting on a small chair directing his gaze at the viewers. He looks puzzled or as if he is contemplating an idea. There are small circles coming out of his mind to give a glimpse of what he is thinking about. The little circles link to a bigger circle to his left on the right side of the advertisement, in which there is an image of a man taking off a fat-suit. The same metaphor in Advert 1 is also used here with the outfit representing the man's obese body. The upper half, which is already out, is fit and slim, and the man's gaze is directed at his lower half which is still obese.

Figure 3. Dr MZG



(https://www.facebook.com/ProfDrZakaria - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 3 shows an obese man sitting on a chair, with his eyes closed and his head leaning on his hand. There is a table in front of him with 4 bottles of tablets, in addition to a collection of various tablets. The man looks tired and sick and the presence of so many different medications indicates that he is suffering from many diseases.

Figure 4 Dr IE



(https://www.facebook.com/wardanyclinic - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 4 shows an obese young lady directing her gaze at the viewers and putting her hand on her cheek, in a way that shows that she is bored and also thinking of or evaluating something. There is a statuette of a couple, a bride and bridegroom, in front of her. The presence of the statuette, together with her sad look, implies that she wants to get married but obesity is an obstruction to fulfilling her wish.

Figure 5 Dr SA



(https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 5 presents an obese woman wearing casual clothes. The woman, however, looks with sadness towards a t-shirt much smaller than her size. Her look can be interpreted as a yearning to lose weight and be able to fit into such a small size.

## Figure 6 Dr SH



(https://www.facebook.com/dr.sherif.Hathout - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 6 shows, from an oblique angle, an obese man eating junk food: a large beef burger, fries and a large soft drink (which in the context of this type of meal is likely to be taken as Pepsi/Coke/7up). He is wearing a suit and has a laptop in front of him, which suggests a sedentary lifestyle. On the left side, there is a dark silhouette of another big man carrying a knife and attacking the man who is eating the meal. Viewers can detect a metaphor in this visual image linking leading a sedentary lifestyle, eating junk food and obesity to death.

Figure 7 Dr SA



(https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 7 shows a picture, taken from an oblique angle, of two standing men. The two men are facing each other. The man on the left side is fat and has a very big belly and a gloomy face, while the man on the right side is fit and has a smiling face. It is clear that both men are two versions of the same man: one obese and one slim.

Figure 8 Dr IE



(https://www.facebook.com/wardanyclinic - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 8 shows the silhouette of a very obese man carrying a huge ice cream. Inside the dark silhouette, there is the brighter image of a fit, muscular young man who seems to be imprisoned inside. The body movement of the man trapped inside conveys a sense of his suffering and his yearning to get free.

Figure 9 Dr SA



(https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 9 shows a beautiful woman facing the viewers. Her look, her firmly pressed lips and her clenched fist give an impression of determination. The woman's gaze towards viewers constructs a visual 'demand', and hence, establishes a social relation with viewers. Her smile further highlights the proximity between her and viewers, thus forming a relationship of relaxed social affinity.

#### Advert 10 Dr SA



(https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 10 presents the close-up of a happy-looking woman and, thus, positions viewers relatively close to the represented social actor. Her happiness and determination are evoked by her wide smile, her raised arms and clenched fists. There is an image of a bar showing the amount of loading behind her head, which is almost full. The visual image metaphorically depicts losing weight as downloading an app or software, which is a very common, swift and easy process.

Figure 11 Dr SA



(https://www.facebook.com/DR.SamehAbogabal - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 11 presents a long shot of a woman. Her back is shown to the viewers while she is walking on a path. She has both her arms raised and her fingers form the V gesture of victory. This visual image evokes the frames of sports, competition, winning and losing to attract viewers to identify with the model and be part of these frames.

Figure 12 Dr MZG



(https://www.facebook.com/ProfDrZakaria - last accessed 15 January 2021)

Advert 12 foregrounds the image of a slim man, with his back turned to the viewers, his arms raised, and fists clenched as a sign of determination, while looking into the far distance towards an obese man running on a race-track. Both men can be taken as representing the same person before and after losing weight. We can see the whole body of both men in the long shot and see the long course between them which metaphorically represents the action that should be taken to lose wight. The slim man is foregrounded to make him closer and more desirable to viewers since he represents the target that the obese man wants to reach.

# **Interactive Meaning, Information Value and Salience**

Viewers can be drawn into an 'imaginary relation' with the represented participants by three principles: eye contact evokes interaction; size of the model relative to the image relates to social distance; and angle of the shot suggests social relations (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 116-148). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 124) argue that close-ups evoke a close and personal relationship with

the represented participants. Close-ups are provided for both fit and obese models to invite viewers to engage with them. However, whereas close-ups of fit models convey a sense of intimacy and engagement, thus, encouraging viewers to identify with these models; in the case of obese models, close-ups create an emotional distancing between the represented participants as objects of contemplation and viewers who would not like to be/remain like these models. Obese men/women in the adverts 1 to 7 are photographed in close-up, from a horizontal angle, affording viewers a clear and frame-filling shot of the body, particularly the upper half and belly of each model, thus showing them as exposed and vulnerable. Fit models, on the other hand, are featured in close-ups in Adverts 7, 9 and 10 and in long shots in adverts 11 and 12. The long shots depict the models as targets to be reached and, hence, give viewers hope and ambition.

All the adverts, except adverts 6, 7 and 8, have a frontal angle to include and engage viewers. The adverts that use an oblique angle intentionally distance viewers from the represented participants to intensify the gravity of the problem of obesity, which can be seen as murdering oneself and imprisonment. Indeed, all the adverts tend to ideologically represent images of obese men/women in a negative way. Adverts 1, 3, 5, 6 present them as "offers", as dehumanised, objectified entities mainly to be looked upon and contemplated rather than getting engaged with. The close-ups in adverts 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, which should have typically indicated an intimate, personal relationship (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), function as a way of typifying these men/women as obese and presenting them as objects of horrified contemplation.

The images of obese men/women present a mixture of demand (2, 4) and offer (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8) images with participants either depicted looking away from the viewers as if seeking to avoid the attribution of stigma from the viewers' gaze (Harvey, 2013) or gazing at the viewers but with a sad, confused look as if seeking help. In most cases, however, these social actors are presented as visual offers, so that the viewer can observe them, empathise with them and relate to their apparent unhappiness. They also tend to appear isolated with no other participants with them to indicate their loneliness or appear with a slim version of themselves to indicate their yearning to lose weight. The adverts display a pattern of depicting obese people as vulnerable and socially isolated. In Advert 5, for example, presented with a close-up of the upper half of a woman's body in the centre of the visual image, the viewer's gaze is unavoidably drawn to the woman's big belly. With her gaze turned away from the viewer and directed towards a t-shirt much smaller than her size, the woman's picture constitutes an "offer" (Kress and van

Leeuwen, 2006). She is presented to viewers as an object of contemplation, but we can gauge that her facial expression expresses sadness and yearning for that smaller size. There is an association between weight loss and desirable clothes. The yearning to wear smaller size clothes is realised not only through the visual image but also through the syntagm, the verbal segment of the advert in Kress and van Leeuwen's terms.

Unlike images of obese men/women, the participants represented as fit men/women are typically able to engage viewers; they either confidently direct their gaze into the viewers' gaze and demand attention or close their eyes or even give their back to viewers but still show confidence through their body movement which suggests determination and/or victory. That is, viewers are invited by these represented participants to enter into a relationship of "social affinity" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 118) with the slim social actors, who are specifically nearly always shown smiling, happy, and confident. The depiction of happiness and determination ascribes a certain appeal to the slim social actors, who are represented as iconic embodiments of health, ideal body shape and thus happiness, and invites viewers to identify with these fit men/women, seeing them as the kinds of people they themselves would aspire to be. As a result, viewers are encouraged to put their confidence into the clinics advertising they could help them achieve their target of getting an ideal body shape, and hence, getting the happiness and self-confidence associated with it.

In terms of information value, the Centre/Margin configuration is employed in the adverts. The element in the centre of a visual image is assumed to be the 'nucleus' message (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 196-197). Prominence of the central element, however, can be related to its size, i.e., the bigger the centre, the more eye-catching and attention-grabbing it will be (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 202). The represented participants tend to be placed in the top and/or centre of the adverts and to be portrayed in a large size occupying the majority of the space, and hence, get more salience.

In addition to this, some adverts employ either horizontal or vertical layouts, or a mix between both. Adverts 2, 8, and 12 employ the horizontal layout, which signals a contrast or 'opposition' between the elements placed on the left (representing 'the given, the established, the known') and those placed on the right side (representing 'the new, the to-be-established, the to-be-agreed-on'). For example, in advert 8, the position of the obese man is on the left side of the Given and the status quo, which creates the impression that action has to be taken. In this

advert, the action is expressed in the syntagm, which is located on the right side and coloured red to stress its value, urgency, and effectivity.

Adverts 6 and 10 employ the vertical layout (Ideal-Real), signalling a contrast or 'opposition' between the elements placed in the upper part (representing 'what might be') and those placed in the lower part (showing 'what is') of the advert (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 186-187). Advert 10 presents a close-up of a happy-looking woman and, thus, positions viewers relatively close to the represented social actor. The top of the visual image is occupied by the syntagm and the picture of the loading bar while the woman occupies the rest of the image. The absence of the woman's gaze towards viewers, since her eyes are closed, constructs her as a visual 'offer', and hence, invites viewers to evaluate her situation and gain a sense of her happiness and determination which are evoked by her wide smile, her raised arms and clenched fists.

Adverts 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11 employ a combination of horizontal and vertical layouts. According to these configurations, the top right part tends to be occupied by a syntagm inviting the potential customer to take action and undergo surgery, functioning as the Ideal/ the New; obese people occupy the left side, functioning as the Given; fit people occupy the right side, functioning as the New; and in many adverts, the surgeon's contact details are provided at the bottom, functioning as the Real. These configurations foreground the need for change as well as the means to effect it. This is shown in Advert 1 which places the image of the obese woman on the left side of the visual image, as 'Given'. On the other hand, the illustration of the stomach and how it would be handled in the surgery as well as the picture of the surgeon occupy the right side of the visual image, which represents 'the New', or 'to be established', or 'to be agreed upon' elements in the discourse. The position of participants in the visual image, in terms of information value, constructs the surgery as the solution to the problem. The visual image presents a symbolic conceptual process since the image itself can be taken as a metaphor. In Advert 4, the solution to the lady's problem, namely undergoing the surgery, is located on the top right side. Advert 7 shows a picture of two men facing each other. The man on the left side, which stands for the Given and known elements, is fat and also has a very big belly and a gloomy face, while the man on the right side, which stands for the New and to be established, is fit and has a smiling face. It is clear that both men are one and the same man and obesity is the only difference between them. The left-right position in the image and the reactional process, which involves the direction of the gaze between the supposedly two participants, depict losing weight as the Ideal and the goal to be aspired. The syntagm is positioned on the upper part in the space between the two men, to represent the Ideal, what should happen if the barrier between both of them were removed.

The adverts highlight people's need for obesity surgeries, normalise these surgical procedures, foreground their benefits, and finally construct them as easy and risk-free. The theme that obesity surgery is easy is reinforced with the use of close-ups of women looking happy, positive and determined rather than gloomy women who are concerned about undergoing surgery. In the adverts, the processes involved in the surgical procedures and clinical settings, including consulting rooms and actual operating theatres, are not brought into the adverts at all. The adverts, on the other hand, foreground notions of transformation and the happiness and self-assurance associated with it. This serves to background the seriousness and risks of surgery and construct the surgery as an easy process.

## **Stance and Engagement Markers**

The syntagms, i.e., the texts accompanying the images in each advertisement, are analysed here in terms of stance and engagement markers. The verbal segments in the selected adverts are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2 The verbal segments in the adverts and their translation

Advert	Verbal segment	Translation
1	غير حياتك مع الدكتورعملية تكميم	[Change your life with Dr through
	المعدة ب أحدث التقنيات	sleeve gastrectomy with the most
		recent technologies]
2		[Obesity surgery]
3	إجراء واحد هيخلصك من الأمراض	[One procedure will rid you of
	المزمنة	chronic diseases]
4	كمميها	[Use sleeve gastrectomy (on your
		stomach)]
5	هتخسي و تلبسي اللي انتي عايز اه	[You will lose wight and wear what
		you want]
6	اقتل جو عك	[Kill your hunger]
7	شيل الحاجز اللي ما بينكو	[Remove the barrier between you
		both]

8	دور علي اللي جواك – مع عمليات السمنة	[Search for the one inside you – with
	بالمنظار هتلاقي نفسك	Laparoscopic obesity surgery you
		will find yourself]
9	هتوصل لوزنك المثالي	[You will reach your ideal weight]
10	Loading (جاري النزول في الوزن	Loading - weight loss is in progress]
11	ار ادتك اقوي من السمنة المفرطة	[Your will is stronger than extreme
		obesity]
12	عاوز تخس أكتر من ٦٠ كيلو؟	[Do you want to lose more than 60
	زيارة واحدة هتغير حياتك	Kgs? - One visit will change your
		life]

Promotional discourse generally seeks to create, through the use of conversational styles, a sense of "ordinariness" in order to construct a personal relationship with audiences (Delin, 2000, p. 135). In the selected adverts, there is a noticeable use of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic together with medical vocabulary. The most noticeable conversational device is the use of direct address, which is a notable engagement marker. The use of direct address does not only inform readers/viewers through the text but rather implicates them in it (Toolan, 1988, p. 54; van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 150).

The advert producers employ various stance and engagement markers in the verbal section of each advert. Stance markers include hedges, boosters, attitude markers and self-mentions. Engagement markers, on the other hand, include pronouns, directives, questions, and shared knowledge.

None of the syntagms is modalised and all convey factual categorical statements, with no use of hedges. There is an intensive use of the indicative mood in the adverts in order to create an impression that the information that the advert producers are communicating is a fact. This also helps to support the credibility of the advert producers and present them as experts to achieve more powerful persuasive effects and enhance their genuine intention which is to serve people and rid them of the severe harms obesity can inflict on their health, appearance and self-esteem. The use of the future tense without hedging, as in adverts 3 (هيخاصك), 5 (هنخاص), 8 (هنخاص), 9 (هنخاص) and 12 (هيخاصات), also conveys a sense of certainty in the results of the surgery and supports the credibility of the advert producers.

Boosters are used in Adverts 3 and 12 when the adjective واحد [one or single] modifies إجراء [procedure], which stresses the simplicity and low risk of the surgery. Whereas the use of the adjective الأمراض [chronic] to modify

[diseases], in advert 3, stresses the value and benefit of the surgery, in advert 9, the use of the adjective وزنك [your weight] highlights the desirability of the surgery and tempts the customer to opt for it to reach the goal 'ideal weight'. In advert 11, two more boosters are employed: أقوي [stronger] to modify the addressed person and المفرطة [extreme] to modify (obesity], thus creating a scenario in which the addressee faces a difficult adversary but he/she is stronger and can overcome it. Indeed, the use of these boosters serve to construct obesity as a severe problem that has to be resolved and sleeve gastrectomy surgery as a solution, and potentially the best solution, to solve this problem.

Since these adverts promote the services offered by particular surgeons, self-mentions are foregrounded in all adverts. Most adverts include only the surgeon's name (adverts 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12). However, some have complete details of the surgeon's name, address and contact details of the clinics (adverts 1 and 4), and some have the surgeon's name and telephone number (adverts 2 and 8).

Linguistically, the represented participants can be presented as active or passive recipients (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.166). Social actors can be activated or passivated through subjection or beneficialisation (van Leeuwen, 1996, p.43-44). Their role allocation can be examined in terms of agency (Fowler, 1991, p.98; van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 44). In adverts, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11, potential customers, i.e., the interactive participants, are activated. In these, activation is shown in the use of the material processes: غير [change] (1), کمميها [undergo sleeve gastrectomy surgery] (4), هتخسي و تلبسي [you will lose weight and wear what you want] (5), افتل [kill] (6), سيل [remove] (7), دور [search] (8), and [you will arrive] (9). By contrast, potential customers are passivated, or to be more specific beneficialised, being the Goal in the material process of saving in adverts (3), in which a single procedure would save the recipient, and (12), in which a single visit to the clinic will change the recipient's life. When customers are passivated, the advertised service is foregrounded which also supports the clinics' goal of making their services prominent. The pattern of participation used in eight out of the twelve adverts shows that in this kind of health promotional discourse, customers are activated rather than passivated because the decision to visit these clinics to undergo the surgical procedure lies in the hand of these customers. Hence, logically their agency is foregrounded.

Engaging viewers/readers aligns with the clinics' purpose of promoting their businesses, constructing a positive image and attracting more customers. Potential customers are engaged through personalisation, i.e. the use of second-

person personal and possessive pronouns (van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 59). The use of second-person pronouns is recognised as a strategy for involving or engaging recipients in discourse, thus marking the discourse as interpersonal (Vásquez, 2014, p. 98). The use of the direct mode of address and second-person pronouns is significant in the selected advertisements. This is clear in using the second-person enclitic attached to an object as in adverts 1 عبر الإسلام [your life], 6 عبر الإسلام [your weight], 11 عبر الإسلام [your will], and 12 الرادتك [your will], and 12 الإسلام [will rid you of], 5 متناسي و تلبسي و تلبسي [you will lose weight and wear], 8 متخاصك [you will find], 9 متناسل [you will arrive], 12 متناسل [you will lose weight], and 12 المناب [will change]. The second-person enclitic is also attached to nominals in adverts 5 مناسل [what you want] and 12 المناب [what you want] مناب [what you want] المناب [between you] and 8 عبر [inside you]. The second person pronoun المناب [you] is used in advert 5. The direct mode of address is further evoked through the use of imperatives in adverts 1, 4, 6, 7, and 8.

Directives are employed in many advertisements to involve the viewers and stress the fact that they need to change their appearance and eventually their life. Some directives are physical acts since the advert producers intend to instruct, motivate and guide viewers/readers to undertake some action in the real world. The directives in advert 1 غير حياتك [change your life] and advert 4 إسماعية [undergo sleeve gastrectomy] are physical acts since they directly instruct viewers/readers to have the surgery. Other directives in the adverts can be seen as cognitive acts since they are metaphorical. They include advert 6 أشل جو عك [kill your hunger], advert 7 شيل الحاجز اللي بينكو [remove the barrier between you] and advert 8 نور ع [search for the one inside you]. In these adverts, the advert producers intend to guide the readers through a line of reasoning in order to motivate them to adopt a certain course of action, that is undergoing the surgery in the advertising clinic.

Questions are only employed once in advert 12. The interest of viewers/readers is drawn through the rhetorical question عايز تخس ٢٠ كيلو [Do you want to lose 60 kilograms?]. This is likely to motivate viewers/readers' curiosity to find out about the advertised service that would help them lose that large amount of weight.

Advert producers employ the engagement marker of shared knowledge to bring viewers/readers in agreement with themselves by constructing some kind of solidarity through evoking familiar or widely accepted frames. Advert 3 draws on the long-established scientific association between being obese and being

vulnerable to chronic diseases. Advert 4, on the other hand, constructs obesity as a 'social stigma' (Goffman, 1963). This visual reinforces this idea by associating obesity with ineligibility for marriage: being obese equals being unmarriageable. The advert evokes a current widely accepted belief that obese women are not physically attractive and that beauty is associated with fitness. Hence, it is believed that the chances of an obese girl to get married are much fewer than those of a slim girl who is deemed beautiful by the current social standards. The syntagm, at the top of the visual image, contributes to the interactive meaning since it is directed at the woman in the image as well as the viewers who suffer from the same condition, informing both that obesity is the barrier that should be removed to achieve their desire.

Physical appearance, particularly in the case of women, is seen as a measure of a person's value and moral worth (Leve et al., 2012). Hence, there is a societal urge for 'self-improvement', which leads people to spend time and money on shaping their bodies to meet the restrictive societal standards of beauty (Raisborough, 2007). The images of happy, good-looking, confident models in all adverts indirectly ask viewers to associate fitness or ideal body weight with physical appeal, self-assurance and happiness. The emphasis on ideal body weight reflects the contemporary fixation with foregrounding physical appearance (Ricciardelli, 2011, p. 183) and how the body is considered a "personal resource" and "social symbol" which gives off signals about an individual's self-identity (Shilling, 2003, p. 3). Indeed, physical appearance holds a privileged position above other aspects of identity, hence, surgeries for improvement of appearance are not just acceptable, but also desirable (Raisborough, 2007). Body shape is central to one's physical appearance and plays a significant role in the ongoing "body project" through which social actors construct idealized images of themselves and seek validation from others (Shilling, 2003).

Both textual and visual elements play a significant part in addressing readers/viewers and reinforcing certain attitudinal meanings (Martinec and Salway, 2005, p. 339), which in this case would be motivating readers/viewers as potential customers to go through the recommended surgical procedure. Through combining visual and textual elements, the advert producers strive\_to normalise surgical intervention as the solution to the problem of obesity. The advertised service, the surgical procedure, is constructed as the best measure that can and should be taken to change the customer's life and her/his physical appearance.

## Conclusion

This study addressed the research questions through the analysis of the visual and verbal features of the selected adverts in the light of both Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) multimodal approach and Hyland's (2005a) interactional model respectively. The adverts skillfully manipulated visual and verbal features to engage viewers and promote the service in question. The most common visual features in the adverts included the use of close-ups, manipulation of the gaze between represented participants and between represented participants and viewers, manipulating the centre-margin, left-right, and top-bottom configurations in terms of information value. On the other hand, the most common stance and engagement markers in the verbal sections of the adverts included categorical non-modalised statements, boosters, self-mentions, personalization (second-person pronouns and direct address), directives, and shared knowledge.

The adverts depicted certain social actors, namely obese and slim/fit people, and processes including undergoing sleeve gastrectomy. Faced with the visual representation of obese men/women as outcasts and miserable individuals, viewers would be potentially encouraged to lose weight through undergoing sleeve gastrectomy surgery as a means of evading the social isolation obesity is associated with. Conversely, fit men/women were represented as the attractive, confident ideal. Contrasting with the isolation of the obese models, these images casted fitness as a source of confidence and esteem and constructed obesity surgeries as both a physical intervention on the body and a social and psychological remedy. Such representations of obese and fit people were also present in other studies on obesity and wight loss (Schwartz et al., 2003; DeBarr & Pettit, 2016; Mulderrig, 2017). This study, however, dealt with Arabic promotional anti-obesity discourse. The adverts represented people who underwent medical procedures as conventionally attractive, able bodied, desirable, empowered and confident. Hence, they could serve as a marketing strategy to promote the commercial business of obesity surgeries, particularly the surgical procedure of sleeve gastrectomy as worthwhile.

To conclude, the multimodal analysis in this study sheds light on the features of the Arabic promotional discourse on sleeve gastrectomy. The same approach can be applied to promotional discourses on plastic surgeries, dental care, skin care and so on to further explore the features of health-related Arabic promotional discourse.

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## مستخلص

أصبحت السمنة وباءا متزايدا في الشرق الأوسط حيث زادت نسبتها بالشرق الأوسط عن ٣٠% وفقا لتقرير منظمة الصحة العالمية لعام ٢٠١٩. وفي مصر، اجتاحت اعلانات مكافحة السمنة، التي تدعمها العيادات الخاصة لأطباء الأنظمة الغذائية والجراحين الذين يجرون جراحات تكميم المعدة وشفط الدهون، وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي وخاصة الفيسبوك. وتعكس الاعلانات في مصر الأسلوب التقليدي للتسويق الترويجي الذي يشجع على الاستهلاك من خلال إقناع الناس بشراء الخدمات والمنتجات. وبغض النظر عن الهدف الحقيقي للإعلانات، فإن الوظيفة الأساسية لها هي الإقناع. وينصب الإهتمام الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة على استكشاف كيفية قيام الاعلانات بتصوير الخدمة ومقدمي الخدمة وكيف تتفاعل مع الزبائن المحتملين وتجذبهم. ومن أجل ذلك، تستخدم الدراسة كلا من نموذج هايلاند التفاعلي (٢٠٠٥) ونموذج كريس وفان لوفين متعدد الوسائط (٢٠٠٦). وقد تم تحميل ١٢ إعلان حول مكافحة السمنة من خمسة صفحات فيسبوك تابعة لعيادات خاصة لجراحي تكميم المعدة في مصر. وتم تحليل الإعلانات المختارة في إطار المستهدف بلختيار النكر. وتشير نتائج الدراسة إلى أن الإعلانات المختارة توظف كلا من النص و الصورة بمهارة لكي تبرز مساوئ السمنة و جاذبية الوزن المثالي وذلك في محاولة لإقناع الجمهور المستهدف بباختيار التدخل الجراحي، أو بتعبير آخر شراء الخدمة المعلن عنها.