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Citation Details

Baumgardner, R. J., & Brown, K. (2012). English in Iranian magazine advertising 1. *World Englishes*, 31(3), 292-311.

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English in Iranian magazine advertising¹

ROBERT J. BAUMGARDNER* AND KIMBERLEY BROWN**

ABSTRACT: In the thirty-two years since the Islamic Revolution occurred in Iran, economic and cultural globalization have affected the role of English in multiple domains in the country. Within the domain of advertising, shifts have occurred throughout the history of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Persian scholars have attributed the source of these shifts to tension between local and global identities and to shifts in government advertising policy. This paper explores a data set of 335 advertisements taken from magazines from the period 2006–2008. We contrast borrowings and language display and explore language use in the six parts of the advertisements. In roughly half of the ads, language display was evident. None of the ads were English only, although many of the Farsi² ads were Farsi only. The targeted audience appeared to affect how much English appeared in ads along with the type of product or procedure advertised. Given the current status of English-knowing Iranians, the authors conclude that English is likely to continue to have a vibrant presence in certain types of advertisements even as the government continues to promote the ideal of a modern Muslim linked neither to the West nor the East.

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1979, Iran was an Expanding Circle country with strong ties to promoting English language fluency for both instrumental and integrative purposes. There were two English medium K-12 schools, one British and one American located in Tehran, and numerous branches of both the Iran-American Society and the British Council throughout the country offering English language classes as well as access to libraries of English language texts. There were two English language newspapers, an English language television station, and an English language radio station. Individuals conducting personal and business affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could conduct their transactions in English. Both authors of the present paper taught at Damavand College, an English-medium undergraduate institution that also offered an MA TEFL degree until all universities were closed during 1980–1983. Our experience at a time of change allowed us to watch the role of English shift before our eyes: students who once used English in the corridors of our English-medium college for general communication purposes with both fellow students and Persian and foreign teachers shifted to the use of Farsi in just a few months. Brown (1983) suggests that just before the Islamic Revolution, English was on a path to shift from being simply an exogenous language studied at the university level to being an endogenous language serving numerous functions within the country, both formally and informally. Tollefson (1994) further explores shifts that occurred during the revolution.

Since 1979, English in the Islamic Republic has gone through many functional changes. In trajectories thoroughly explored by scholars documenting both the status of English

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language education as well as the current use of English in both print and visual media (Riazi 2005; Petersson 2007; Razmjoo and Riazi 2006a; 2006b; Sharifian 2008; 2010), it is argued here that English has gone through an instrumental phase (utility) to a pastime phase (hobby) to an imperialist phase (*Weststruckness*) (cf. Al-e Ahmad 1983), then back to an instrumental phase. As the language of a globalized economy, English has maintained a high utilitarian function in numerous domains in the country, for example, media and social media, tourism, product and nutrition labels; has remained a popular language of study in both formal and informal quarters; and is used routinely as a link language in business and trade. Advertising and marketing are two domains where English carries a positive valence and where its use has actually increased since the early 1980s. Our intention in this paper is to examine descriptively what seems to be occurring in the common press *vis-à-vis* English and Farsi. Without such data it is difficult to examine deeper topics linked to globalization and advertising. We hence introduce readers here to information not commonly available in order to later reflect on changes occurring in the tension between local and global identities. Drawing upon a convenience sample of 300+ advertisements found in six popular magazines currently in print in the Islamic Republic of Iran, we explore the representation and use of English. Our work follows a long tradition of such exploration within the general fields of advertising (Mooij 1994; 2005; Mueller 2004), applied linguistics (Piller 2001; 2003), and more specifically within world Englishes research (Bhatia 1992; Hilgendorf and Martin 2001; Martin 2006; Baumgardner 2008a).

Since the Islamic Revolution (1979), a handful of scholars have examined shifts in advertising in Iran (Amouzadeh 2003; Amouzadeh and Tavangar 2004; 2008), shifts in English language use (Rahimi, Riazi, and Saif 2008; Pishghadam, Torghabeh, and Navari 2009), and implications for the economy (*Electronic commerce law 2004; Cosmetics and toiletries in Iran 2006*). Following a background profile that highlights aspects of current English language education as well as the use of English in advertising, we present the methodology of this study, followed by the presentation of our data set, discussion, and conclusion.

BACKGROUND PROFILE

The Islamic Republic of Iran was formed in 1979, following a revolution that overthrew Mohammad Reza Shah, the reigning monarch of the country. A partner in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), Iran's 2007 gross domestic product was estimated to be \$852.6 billion (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). A key player in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), Iran was exporting 4.15 million barrels of oil per day in 2006. Today, its top export partners are Japan, China, Turkey, Italy, and South Korea; its top import partners are Germany, China, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (Muslim-Trade Network 2008). Iran shares no common language with any of its trading partners with the exception of the UAE; there are roughly 80,000 speakers of Iranian Persian living in the country. SIL International also estimates there to be roughly 200,000 speakers of Gulf Arabic along Iran's southern coast and roughly 1,200,000 speakers of Mesopotamian Arabic in Khuzestan Province in the south of Iran (Gordon 2005). A multiethnic, multi-lingual country, Iran's dominant ethnic groups are: Persians (51%), native speakers of the country's official language, Farsi; Azeris (24%), native speakers of Turkish and Turkic dialects; and speakers of numerous other indigenous Iranian languages (see Windfuhr 2010).

Iran's population of 66 million people has a literacy rate estimated at 77 percent (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). Today it has more than 18 million Internet users and represents the fourth-largest population of bloggers around the world (Alavi 2005).

A public cultural profile of the nation, focusing on Iranian core values articulated by the government and promoted throughout the education system, reveals a country that has consciously distanced itself from the West and the English language, as well as economic goals that specifically promote frugality and non-consumerism. However, while Mehran (1989; 1999; 2003) indicates that there is a deliberate intention within the education system to disengage from the West, formal documents articulating this process have not always been passed along to those involved in education. In spite of the tacit promotion of these ideals, the current reality of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 2010 and beyond may be at variance with them. Numerous Persian sources we have referred to seem to indicate a greater move towards openness to Western products and ultimately the values associated with them (*Electronic commerce law 2004; Cosmetics and toiletries in Iran 2006*).

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine in detail how English language teaching and ultimately English language use in Iran have changed since the revolution, several points are in order. English is currently introduced in middle school. Razmjoo and Riazi (2006a; 2006b) characterize the instruction from middle school on as still highly dependent on either grammar translation, audio-lingualism, or situational language instruction with some attention to a stronger focus on reading. At the high school level, English is taught about two hours per week with a focus on situational and reading approaches. In general, students proceeding through the general public education system are acquainted with English, in particular with the alphabet and targeted vocabulary words. Most Iranians are thus able to parse either Persian transliterations written in Roman script or read English words written in Roman script even if they are unfamiliar with the meaning. Scholars such as Monajemi (2008: 8) see a future for Iran that is closely linked to English as a language of modernity:

Generally speaking, we need to know English well; it is a necessity that cannot be ignored in any society . . . English as a second language should be used as the scientific language at our universities. English textbooks should be used instead of Persian ones, particularly in science courses. The professors should try and teach in English and the students should pass the exams in English as well.

This notwithstanding, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2006 called for a decrease in foreign words in the press (Associated Press 2006). However, Sadeghi (2001: 29) suggests that Western words are being introduced at an unstoppable rate into everyday life in Iran in spite of work on the part of the Iranian Academy of Language and Literature to restrict their introduction.

ADVERTISING IN IRAN

Iranian law, Islamic values, and Iranian core values all determine what products will be advertised in Iranian media and how. National commerce and marketing regulatory agencies as well as the Health Ministry all manage pieces of the advertising regulatory matrix. Compliance with international protocols crafted by the World Trade Organization, the United Nations, membership-based organizations such as the International Advertising

Association and regional associations such as ASEAN also play a role in advertising in Iran.

The MuslimTrade Network (2008) suggests that Iran has specific guidelines for the labeling of pharmaceutical, health and beauty products, and foodstuffs imported into the country. They indicate 'It is advisable that labels, instructions, and description of imported goods be in Farsi (Persian)' (Section 303). A report dated 2006, *Cosmetics and toiletries in Iran*, indicates that privatization has allowed an increase in importation of cosmetics and toiletries. Further, in this report the Iranian Ministry of Hygiene has recommended, but not required, that these imports have Farsi labels that include 'production/expiration date, hygienic permit number, the name of company, and manufacturer's country,' adding that the product label 'shows that it is approved by the Ministry of Hygiene of Iran and its quality corresponds to standards' (*Cosmetics and toiletries in Iran* 2006). This site also indicates that all legally imported products must have labeling in Farsi and that stores can be shut down if they do not comply.

In an apparent contrast between rules and actual behavior, *Cosmetics and toiletries* (2006) in Iran also suggests that while the state has banned advertising of foreign products, this in fact is not the reality in print, television, and radio advertising:

The Iranian government banned advertising for all foreign goods and cosmetics including via the media, TV, sponsors, promotional cars or public places on January 2005 . . . However, at the time of writing, advertisements of foreign brands are still very common on the major streets of Tehran. The ban turns out to be nothing more than only part of the political pose of the Iranian government. Nevertheless, some domestic manufacturers keep complaining about the unfair pressure from imported goods, and the government tries to support them by its general policy against Western products (*Cosmetics and Toiletries in Iran* 2006).

Goods from the United States were specifically banned from advertisements in a ruling in 2002 (*Cosmetics and Toiletries in Iran* 2006). In support of evidence found in the magazines examined for this paper, the report further suggests that 'The government still does not allow any advertising of [health and beauty] products via the media or in public due to the strict Islamic code. Nevertheless, some adverts for lipstick, nail polish, mascara, fragrances, and skin care can be found on glossy women magazines.'

A significant number of academic papers have been published that explore various aspects of advertising in Iran (see, e.g., Amouzadeh 2003, Amouzadeh and Tavangar 2004; 2008). Amouzadeh (2003) has indicated that there has been an increase in direct links since 2002 to products either sold in the US or approved by the US Food and Drug Administration, something he indicates was not possible in roughly the first two decades after the Islamic Revolution (1979–1999). Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2008:132) call the period of 1997–2005 the 'reform era' and contrast advertising conventions dominant during the first two decades after 1979 with those evident in that period. These include the appearances of women in ads during the reform era as well as more references to 'Americanization' via the inclusion of specific reference to the standards of the US Food and Drug Administration as opposed to Europeanization or general westernization. During this so-called 'reform era,' Americanization, therefore, was no longer primarily linked to US imperialism, but also to the more positive concept of health standards. Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2008:136) have also noted that the use of English in Iranian advertising represents elements of 'modernity, Europeanization, and reliability.'

METHODOLOGY

Our analysis of 335 advertisements is based on data found in a convenience sample³ of six Iranian magazines published in Tehran in 2006, 2007, and 2008: *Khanevadeh* [Family] October 2007 (Ordibehesht 1386 in the Persian year); *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* [Happy Family] (November 2007/Aban 1386) ; *Mufaqqiat* [Success] November 2006/Aban 1385; *Rah-e Zendegi* [Way of Life] (November 2007/Aban 1386); *Shad Kami* [Success] November 2006/Aban 1385; and *Zan-e Ruz* [Today's Woman] (July 2008/Tir 1387). Two magazines in our database, *Khanevadeh* and *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz*, are aimed a general readership and contain family-oriented articles; *Mufaqqiat* and *Rah-e Zendegi* target both a male and female readership and contain articles about popular culture. *Shad Kami* is an Iranian business magazine and *Zan-e Ruz* is a women's magazine published by the Iranian government.⁴ English in advertisements in the present article is analyzed according to the Bhatia (1992) and Piller (2003) frameworks of English in magazine advertising. Our six component parts include: (i) the signature line (or product name); (ii) the attention-getter (a word, sentence or phrase used to catch the reader's attention); (iii) the slogan (a word, phrase or sentence used by a product as a linguistic identifier of a particular product); (iv) the body copy, or information about a product; (v) illustrations (and captions); and (vi) standing details, or contact information for a company or product, including address, telephone number(s), fax number(s), e-mail address and/or website address.⁵

A number of arguments have been offered in the past to explain the commercial appeal of the use of English in global advertising. Haarmann (1986; 1989) terms it the 'ethnosymbolic value' of language while Kelly-Holmes (2000; 2005) in her seminal studies of the use of language in advertising refers to the use of English in this way as a 'language fetish.' She believes that we have transformed language from a communicative medium into an 'object' devoid of its original informative function; language now represents an idealized stereotype of otherness that Bhatia (2006: 610) calls a 'mystique factor'. In this paper we use Eastman and Stein's (1993) term 'language display' to refer to this special use of language in advertising. For example, when the English attention-getters *Start Your Passion* and *the one and only* are used in Taiwan in an otherwise all-Standard Mandarin Chinese ad for Japanese car-maker Honda (*Car News* January 2008:13) and the slogan *Always in Style* is used in an otherwise all-Spanish ad for Nextel in Mexico (*Gente y la Actualidad* [people and today] January 2009:121), a 'modern' identity is brought to mind, since for many around the world English represents modernity, advanced technology, and 'coolness.' The language is utilized by multinational organizations to make their products more appealing to the global public, and as a number of studies of the use of English in advertising have pointed out (see, among others, Haarmann 1986; 1989; Kelly-Holmes 2000; 2005), it is not important that readers understand the language being displayed; the important point is that they identify with the modernity of the language and the product. Bhatia (1992: 204) argues that such mixing of language in advertisements indexes internationalism, modernism, technological and scientific achievements. As regards Iran, Amouzadeh (2003: 203) avers: '[I]n pre-revolutionary times, the use of European language (verbal and visual) was mainly an indication of westernization, but in the post-revolutionary period the use of European language often indicates the ideology of religious modernism . . . In other words, it implies that Iranians do not have to follow all western values in order to gain western high quality or technology.' Thus we see an example of a group appropriating an exogenous language

for its own purposes—English for utilitarian purposes without being ‘struck’ by the West (Al-e Ahmad 1983).

ENGLISH BORROWINGS IN IRANIAN PERSIAN

When the English lexical item *box spring* is used in an advertisement for Rosen furniture store in Bogota (*Semana* [week], December 15–22, 2008: 8), when *kits* is used in a Colombian automobile ad for Chevrolet (*Cambio* [change], December 18–22, 2008: 45), and when *light* is used in an ad for Neutrogena gel (*Cromos*, 20 December 2008: 11), we are not dealing with instances of language display, but English borrowings in Colombian Spanish. All three lexical items (*box spring*, *kits* and *light*) are established borrowings in not only Colombian but also in numerous other varieties of Spanish. Gumperz (1982: 66) defines established loans or borrowings as ‘the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures.’ ‘Some scholars,’ further notes Gumperz (1982: 67) ‘make a further distinction between established loans and more recent introductions, which either because of their newness or because they retain some salient non-native characteristics are often seen as foreign.’

In their study of the use of English in advertising in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, Gerritsen, Nickerson, Van Hooft, Van Meurs, Nederstigt, Starren and Crijns (2007) accept only those words that appear in a recognized dictionary of the borrowing language as an established borrowing. The authors of the study acknowledge, however, the drawbacks in this methodology: ‘We accept that dictionaries do not always entirely reflect a society’s use of and attitude towards language at a given point in time, such that words that do not appear in an authoritative dictionary may still be considered by some native speakers as part of their language’ (Gerritsen et al. 2007: 301). The difference, then, between English borrowings versus the use of English as language display is that native speakers of a language will at least understand established borrowings while they may or may not understand language display.

In the present paper we maintain the distinction between borrowing and language display. From an historical perspective, Farsi, an Indo-European language, has undergone numerous periods of cultural influence and lexical borrowing. The Arab invasion of Iran in the 7th century left the indelible print of Islam on Iranian culture and language; Iran’s contact with the West in the 19th century brought borrowings from Russian, French and English, among others, into the language (Jazayery 1966; Ahsan 1976; Tabataba’i 1982). As Modarressi (1993: 91) notes: ‘Generally speaking, the process of massive borrowing from western languages in general and English and French in particular continued in Persian under the social, political, cultural, and technological influence of the United States and some European countries until the end of the prerevolutionary period.’ Thus, beside Farsi’s Arabic word for ‘thank you,’ *tashakor* [تشکر] or *motshakeram* [متشکرم], stands the equally-used French import *merci* [مرسی]. With the technological revolution of the 20th and 21st centuries, English has become the primary donor to contemporary secular Persian lexis (see Doostdar 2004 for some interesting examples, e.g. *blog*, *hack* [v.], *hacker*, *hit*, *internet*, *link*, *post* [v.] and numerous English/Farsi compounds and blends). Hence, as powerful as the 1979 Revolution was, it has not halted lexical borrowing.

مولینکس
Moulinex

مایکروویو
مدل AFW2

ظرفیت ۲۸ لیتر واقعی
دارای ۵ عملکرد پخت و سیستم بیخز دای
دارای گریل، فن هوای گرم و سیستم برشته سازی
دارای جوجه گردان و کباب پز عمودی
سیستم استفاده همزمان از دو ظرف

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www.badr.sun.com

با ضمانت
بدرسان

Figure 1. Moulinex appliances
Source: *Mufaqqiat* (November 2006, back cover).

Take, for example, an advertisement for Moulinex appliances in *Mufaqqiat* [Success] (November 2006/Aban 1385, back cover) in which the borrowings *microwave* مایکرو ویو, *laser* لیزر, *model* مدل and *system* سیستم are used in the illustration and body copy. (see Figure 1). Three of these four words (*laser*, *model* and *system*) are found in Miandji's

Table 1. Magazine advertisement types with percentage breakdown

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page ads	13(15%)	71(85%)	84(100%)
Half-page ads	7(28%)	18(72%)	25(100%)
Quarter-page ads	20(48%)	22(52%)	42(100%)
Smaller	116(63%)	68(37%)	184(100%)
Total	156(47%)	179(53%)	335(100%)

فکس (see Shahvar 2008), is used in the standing details (Figure 2). Furthermore, the Canon slogan *You Can* also appears in large lettering at the bottom left-hand side of the ad. This is obviously not borrowing, but language display. This distinction between borrowings and language display will be maintained throughout the paper. The 335 ads we examined covered a wide range of products and services:

Health: weight loss/weight gain (dietary products), male enhancement, feminine hygiene, and exercise equipment

Beauty: cosmetics, skin products, body cleansing and deodorizing, shampoo, hair products

Foodstuff: groceries and chewing gum

Large and Small Appliances: cars, washing machines, microwave ovens, electric razors

Services: translation, language/test preparation, medical procedures (e.g. liposuction, rhinoplasty, etc.), banking, hospitality, optical, dental

For each of the six magazines we analyzed, we divided the total 335 ads into four categories: full-page ads, half-page ads, quarter-page ads and smaller ads. Each of these categories had ads in *Farsi Only* or in *English and Farsi*. Table 1 shows the number and percentage breakdown for ad sizes for the six magazines (for a count of individual magazines see Appendix 1). Full- and half-page ads tended to contain more English (85% and 72%, respectively) than quarter-page and smaller ads (52% and 37%, respectively); quarter-page and smaller ads occurred more often in *Farsi only* (48% and 63%, respectively) than in *Farsi/English* (15% and 28%, respectively). Out of the 335 ads analyzed, a total of 179 ads contained what we are calling language display. The most noteworthy finding is that language display can be found to some extent in all six parts of the Iranian advertisements we examined. Not one ad, however, contained language display in all six parts.

The following are examples of ads with language display in the six different parts: the signature line; the attention getter; the slogan; the body copy; illustrations and the standing details. Figure 1 is an example of a product name, or signature line, in both Farsi script مولینکس and English script (Moulinex). Numerous other ads with signature lines in both scripts are also present in our database: *Always* (feminine hygiene), *Bourjois* (eye liner), *Canon* (camcorders), *Coral* (dishwasher), *Crystal Hair Serum*, *Firstline* (shampoo), *Golchineh* (clothing), *Olips* (chewing gum), *Pakshoma* (washing machine), *Pantene* (hair



Figure 3. Pantene ProV

Source: *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* (November 2007: Inside back cover)

care products), *Parker* (pens), *ProMax* (hair straightener), *Samsung* (vacuum cleaner), *Sony Ericsson* (music), *Tejarat Bank*, *VigRX* (herbal sexual enhancer) and *Zarotti* (appliances). The majority of products (including Iranian products) have ads in both scripts; however, there are ads for some Iranian products written completely in Farsi script.

The attention-getter of an ad serves to attract readers' attention to the product being advertised. The attention-getter can be either one word, a phrase or whole sentences. Normally attention-getters are in Farsi, but they also occur in English. For example, in an otherwise all-Farsi ad except for product names in illustrations, the Swiss company Mavala used the English language display question *Nail Problems?* in its full-page nail polish advertisement (*Khanevadeh* [Family] October 2007/Ordibehesht 1386, inside front cover). One word that appears often as an attention-getter in advertising world-wide is the word 'new.' This indicates that a brand has placed a new product on the market. In Farsi advertising the Farsi word جدید meaning 'new' often appears in ads as an attention-getter. However, in an ad for the French hair care product *Pantene ProV* that appeared in on the back inside cover of *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* [Happy Family] (November 2007/Aban 1386) (see Figure 3), English attention-getters were used twice in this otherwise all Farsi ad (except for an English signature line and English labeling on illustrations). In the upper left-hand corner the English attention-getter 'new' appears and in the bottom left-hand corner 'Made in France.' Both these instances of English language display serve, as Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2008: 135–6) have pointed out, to promote 'positive images such as the

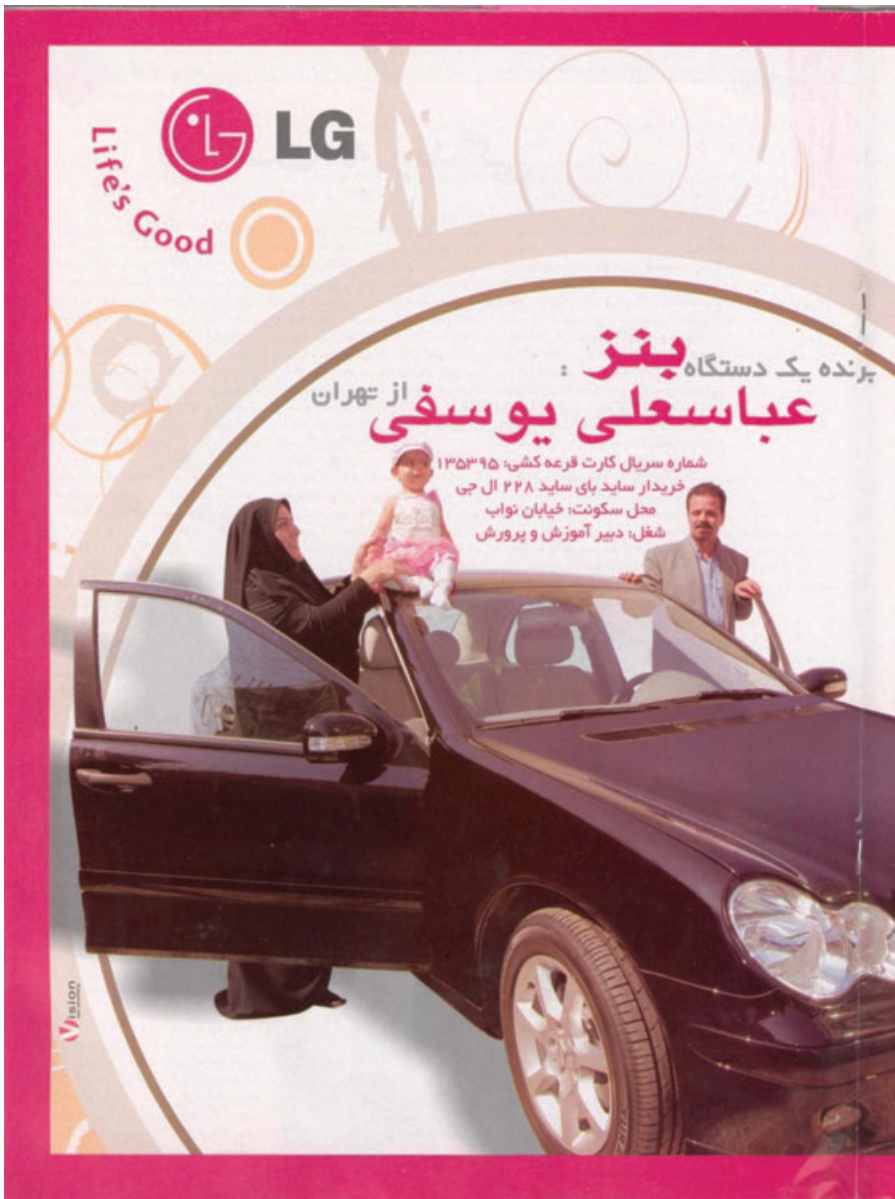


Figure 4. LG

Source: *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* (November 2007: 66)

international status of the product, modernity, Europeanization, and reliability, all of which are attached to the symbolic use of the English language in Persian advertising.'

A slogan is a word or phrase that identifies a product, a linguistic label so to speak. Slogans are very powerful advertising tools; a good slogan is a product-seller. In Iranian advertising slogans (when a product has one) are normally in Farsi. Turkish cosmetics

شعبه الکترونیکی ۲۴ ساعته

24
- Hour
Electronic Branch

گامی دیگر در راستای بانکداری الکترونیکی
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بانک تجارت

شعبه الکترونیکی ۲۴ ساعته شعبه ای است تمام مکانیزه که مشتریان دارای کارت بانکی عضو شبکه شتاب می توانند در تمامی ساعات شبانه روز از خدمات بانک تجارت استفاده نمایند. این شعبه بدون پرسنل بوده و تمامی امور بانکی توسط خود مشتریان انجام می پذیرد.

Figure 5. Tejarat Bank

Source: *Shad Kami* (November 2006: back cover)

giant Flormar uses the English slogan ‘Beauty Forever’ in international advertising. In Iran this English language display slogan is used alongside its Farsi counterpart, which translates ‘beauty is art’ (*Mufaqqiat* [Success] November 2006/Aban 1385, front inside cover). Canon Corporation uses its English slogan ‘You Can’ in Farsi advertising (*Rah-e Zendegi* [Way of Life] (November 2007/Aban 1386), inside back cover) (see Figure 2)



Figure 6. Seagull

Source: *Mufaqlat* (November 2006: 82)

as does the Korean electronics behemoth LG. In a two-page all-Farsi ad (see one page in Figure 4, *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* [Happy Family] (November 2007/Aban 1386), pp. 66–7) the ubiquitous slogan ‘Life’s Good’ appears in the upper left-hand corner of the ad above a happy, prosperous Iranian family who use LG products pictured in Figure 4.

خمیر دندان سفیدکننده

یون

سفیدکننده واقعی

یون به سلامت خانواده می‌اندیشد
عرضه در فروشگاههای زنجیره‌ای
(شهروند، رفاد، سپه، اتکاو...) و کلیه فروشگاههای معتبر

Figure 7. Pooneh

Source: *Rah-e Zendegi* (November 2007)

The body copy in an advertisement provides readers with information about products. In Iranian advertising body copy is normally in Farsi; however, many English (and French) borrowings occur, e.g. *capsule*, *clinic*, *cream*, *doctor*, *fluid*, *gel*, *lifting*, *liposuction*, *massage*, *method*, *plaque*, *plastic*, *regime*, *serum*, *soup* and *therapy*. In Figure 5 (*Shad Kami* [Success] November 2006/Aban 1385), back cover), an ad for the Iranian Tejarat Bank uses the English phrase '24-Hour Electronic Branch' in its body copy (the Farsi translation is in the upper right-hand corner of the ad). The word 'electronic' is an English borrowing

in Farsi, but the phrase itself is language display, including the use of the Arabic numerals '24' (بیست و چهار).

Illustrations and captions for illustrations in Iranian advertising can be in either English (or another Western language) or in Farsi, depending on the origin of the product. Illustrations on Iranian products are usually in Farsi, but not necessarily. See, for example, Figure 6 (*Mufaqlat* [Success] November 2006/Aban 1385: 82), an ad for the Iranian product *Seagull Vitamin C Cream*. Both *vitamin* as well as *cream* in the product name are English borrowings. The labeling on the tube of cream in the illustration is completely in English while the ad itself is totally in Farsi except for the two times the Roman letter 'C' (i.e. vitamin C) appears. On the other hand, labeling in the ad for Iranian toothpaste *Pooneh* in Figure 7 (*Rah-e Zendegi* [Way of Life] (November 2007/Aban 1386) is in Farsi (Roman script, not clearly visible in the Figure, appears on the other side of the box). In the *Canon* ad in Figure 2 above, illustrations are labeled in both Farsi and English, and in the *Pantene* ad in Figure 3 all labeling of products is in English. Both are imported products.

Finally, the standing details (contact information for a company or product, including address, telephone number, fax, e-mail address and/or website) is a part of Iranian advertising that is replete with borrowings, from well-established English/French borrowings such as *address*, *telephone*, *plaque* and *post* (as in P.O. Box, or *sandug posti* [صندوق پستی] to more recent English technological borrowings such as *fax*, *www*, *.com*, *e-mail* and *weblog*. There is not much room for language display in this part of advertisements, but it does occur. Take, for example, the names (signature lines) of the following services and their related websites: *www.nosebeauty.com*, *www.sleepenglish.com*, and *www.goodiron.com*. Telephone numbers in standing details too often appear in Arabic (as opposed to Persian) numerals.

As can be seen from the preceding data, English language display can be found in all six parts of Farsi magazine advertisements: (i) the signature line (or product name); (ii) the attention-getter; (iii) the slogan; (iv) the body copy; (v) illustrations and captions; and (vi) standing details. More English language display occurs in the signature line and illustrations; this is to be expected. But English language display in attention-getters, slogans and standing details, while rare and unexpected, is also found as we saw above. In the issue of *Khanevadeh-ye Sabz* [Happy Family] that we examined (November 2007/Aban 1386), for example, English occurs in 29 ads in the signature line, or product name, but in only seven attention-getters and five slogans. This shows the commercial appeal, or 'covert prestige,' of the language despite the political context in which it is found (commerce can trump politics). So even though Mueller (2004: 279) has found that: 'In particular, the degree to which advertising is regulated, as well as the forms that regulations take, is inextricably intertwined with the political system and the dominant religion of the country [...] [t]he political environment in a nation shapes the prevalent attitudes toward business.' Unless, that is, we are dealing with Amouzadeh's (2003: 204) concept of 'a mixed [Iranian] identity comprising nationality, modernity and Islamicity.'

Advertising in Iran is linked to both global and local contexts. At the global level, both the origin of the product and the origin of the ad may determine the level of English used in language display. Frequently, international branding calls for use of international advertising templates. In this case, there is likely to be more English evident than when local contexts have called for adaptation of the template or site-specific ads. At the local level, the degree of regulation and mindset of advertising account managers may affect the amount

of English in ads. For example, at this time, no tobacco advertising is permitted in Iran. The ban covers direct advertising and more opaque activities such as product placement. In spite of the comprehensive ban on smoking advertising, the Iranian Ministry of Health is still fearful of the future. In the World Health Organization's *A report on smoking advertising and promotion bans in the Islamic Republic of Iran* (2011), the organization suggests that future privatization of the tobacco industry could result in a stronger transnational presence. This in turn may result in a move to decrease product advertising restrictions within Iran so that product advertising more closely matches that of other countries marketing similar products. By implication, we could ask where transnational product and service domains are increasing in Iran. It is here we should look for greater use of English and by extension, greater use in the advertising domains of attention-getters, slogans and standing details.

In addition, if modernity is being stressed, it is possible to see an increase in use of English or possibly other foreign languages, both in terms of language display in advertising and loan words/borrowing. With respect to loanwords/borrowing, Sadeghi (2001: 29) argues that 'the rate of introduction of western, and particularly English, loan words into Persian is such that any attempt to stop them is almost doomed to failure.' Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2008: 150) have demonstrated that both the depiction of women and 'the symbolic use of English to denote the international status of the product' have been consistent parts of the political reform perspective evident in the *eslahat* (1997–2005) period of governance in Iran. While a superficial exploration of two more recent Iranian magazines reveals fewer women in advertisements, there does not appear to be a decrease in the use of English for language display. Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2008) explore the notion that the Islamic Republic of Iran's desire to create an image of a modern Islamic state does indeed include space for English. We believe this is an accurate characterization. It is, however, a shared space that is not and will not be exclusively English, but rather Farsi and English. This is in contrast to Baumgardner (2008b), who found all English ads in magazines from 10 Expanding Circle countries: Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Poland, Spain, Taiwan and Thailand.

This brief exploration of a convenience sample of advertisements in contemporary Persian magazines has demonstrated that the Islamic Republic of Iran is dealing with the same dimensions of the globalization of English and the attendant tensions at the local level that we see reflected in other parts of the world (see, e.g., Singh, Kell, and Pandian 2002; Pennycook 2003, 2010; Saxena and Omoniyi 2010; Widdowson 1994, 1997). In Iran, as elsewhere, English does indeed belong, as Kachru (1981) suggests, to all its users.

NOTES

1. This paper is a revised and expanded version of the paper 'English in Contemporary Iranian Magazine Advertising,' presented at the 16th Annual Meeting of the International Association of World Englishes (IAWE), Simon Fraser University, 25–27 July 2010, Vancouver, Canada. We would like to thank Shoukhouh Miri for facilitating the acquisition of the magazines used as data in the paper and Anousha Sedighi, Portland State University, for her assistance with the Farsi text.
2. The official standard language of Iran is *Farsi*, or in English its cognate 'Persian.' We are aware of the issue among some Iranian scholars of referring to the language as Farsi in speech and writing in that language but as Persian in English speech and writing. In the present paper we use both Farsi (unitalicized) and Persian to refer to this Indo-European language that is written right to left in Arabic script.
3. Neither of the authors has been to Iran since 1980, but we felt it important to acquire contemporary magazines published in and designed for individuals living in Iran (many Persian-language magazines are published in the Iranian diaspora). As the term 'convenience sample' implies, we were able to acquire the subset of magazines examined in our paper through the good will of an Iranian colleague who travels to Iran on a regular basis.

4. *Zan-e Ruz* [Today's Woman] was taken over by the Islamic Republican Party during the revolution in the early 1980s at which time it changed its content to Islamic codes of behavior for women. The magazine was founded in 1964, during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shan. Our data from *Zan-e Ruz* (pictorial data *with* images of women in chaddors) are from the year 2008. Those of Amouzadeh and Tavangar (2004, 2008) (pictorial data *without* images of women) are based on issues of the magazine during two time periods: 1972–1976 (pre-Revolutionary) and 1992–1996 (post-Revolutionary) (M. Amouzadeh, personal communication, 18 June 2008). It is beyond the scope of the present paper to analyze possible differences between state-owned and private magazines although we feel this is an appropriate area for further research.
5. Bhatia (1992) included four structural components: (1) headlines/attention-getters/captions and sub-headlines and elaborations of these in title form; (2) body copy/main text, outlining the significant properties or reasoning in favor of the use of the product; (3) signature lines, giving the names of the product; and (4) slogans. Piller (2003) included six parts: (1) headline (2) illustration (pictures & music) (3) body copy (4) slogan (5) product name and (6) standing details. For an additional comprehensive framework, see Bhatia's (2001: 206) 'structural dependency hierarchy' which included (1) product naming (2) company's name/logo (3) labeling and packaging (4) pricing (5) slogans (6) main body (7) headers and sub-headers.

APPENDIX 1: AD BREAKDOWN OF INDIVIDUAL MAGAZINES

Khanevadeh (October 2007)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	1	14	15
Half-page Ads	0	3	3
Quarter-page Ads	3	4	7
Smaller	24	15	39
Total	28	36	64

Khanevadeh-ye Sabz (November 2007)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	0	28	28
Half-page Ads	0	2	2
Quarter-page Ads	2	0	2
Smaller	5	9	14
Total	7	39	46

Mufaqlat (November 2006)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	4	11	15
Half-page Ads	5	7	12
Quarter-page Ads	7	4	11
Smaller	40	15	55
Total	56	37	93

Rah-e Zendegi (November 2007)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	2	5	7
Half-page Ads	1	3	4
Quarter-page Ads	2	7	9
Smaller	38	21	59
Total	43	36	79

Shad Kami (November 2006)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	6	12	18
Half-page Ads	1	2	3
Quarter-page Ads	5	7	12
Smaller	5	7	12
Total	17	28	45

Zan-e Ruz (July 2008)

Page size	Farsi only	Farsi /English	Total ads
Full-page Ads	0	1	1
Half-page Ads	0	1	1
Quarter-page Ads	1	0	1
Smaller	4	1	5
Total	5	3	8

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(Received 7 July 2011)