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# Linguistic Deviations In The Language Of Advertisement

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## ABSTRACT

Nowadays, advertising is becoming an integral part of our daily life and is playing an increasingly significant role in modern society. Many studies have been carried out in this field, and among them the study of advertising language has attracted particular attention from social linguists. The application of language deviation technique is an efficient way in this connection, especially morphological deviation, Phonological; Syntactic and Semantic based deviation. Many questions arise when we talk about linguistic deviation in language of advertisement. For example, why advertisers make use of various linguistics components, especially morphological deviation in language of advertisements? What are the main exploitative means involved in relation with customers and traders when linguistics devices are utilized in advertisements of Pakistani print Media? In employment of linguistics deviations, copywriters more often do not follow linguistics rules and regulations, then why recognition and acceptance is given to language of advertising at large scale? Do linguistics deviations yield any contribution in innovation of language? My study is to find out answers of such questions. Linguistic deviations, chiefly morphological deviation are responsible to promote products and betray customers.

**Keywords:** Linguistic deviations, Language of Advertising, Morphological deviation, Phonological deviation, Semantic contextual system, Syntactic deviation, Foregrounding, Orthographic, Coinage, Blending, Clipping, Acronym, Compounding, Stylistics.

## INTRODUCTION

### LANGUAGE AND ADVERTISING

Advertising strategy always tends to be catchy and easy to remember. Advertisers use language quite distinctively. Advertising is an inevitable part of the modern capitalist consumer society whose outstanding feature is its competitive fight. In its simplest sense, the word advertising means “drawing attention to something”, or notifying or informing somebody or something. The driving force to allure public in advertisement is its deviations having strong impact on minds of consumers. Advertising is a form of persuasion which is directed at large numbers of people.

Advertisement has become an integral part and parcel of our life. It seems we are living in realms of advertising world. Language of advertisement has worth significance so far as it diversities or more appropriately deviations are concerned. Advertisers presently make use of deviations extensively to attract consumers. Language of advertising is against the norms and conventions of a standard language, but even then preference is given to this language on account of its varieties. Such variations tempt customers and pave way for products sale. So key emphasis here is to analyze linguistic variations found in structures of advertisements (Weijters, Puntoni, & Baumgartner, 2017).

According to the free encyclopedia Wikipedia, "Advertising, generally speaking, is the promotion of goods, services, companies and ideas, usually performed by an identified sponsor. Marketers see advertising as part of an overall promotional strategy."

The American Heritage Dictionary says that the advertising is:

1. "The activity of attracting public attention to a product or business, as by paid announcements in the print, broadcast, or electronic media.
2. The business of designing and writing advertisements.
3. Advertisements considered as a group: This paper takes no advertising."

Another definition of advertising is according to the Investor words glossary:

"Description or presentation of a product, idea, or organization, in order to induce Individuals to buy, support, or approve of it."

Factual analysis of all abovementioned definitions reveals a unanimous finding that advertisement provides a solid and compatible platform for up gradation of products, ideology, and anything associated for uplifting of goods. The prime objective in this connection is to inject persuasive appeal into minds of consumers to buy the products.

### **ADVERTISERS AND MARKETERS USE LANGUAGE DIVERSITIES**

Semantic, lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic deviations etc. are deliberately used by commercial persons in their advertising language to convince buyers effectively. The term 'deviation' indicates an unconventional manifestation of words that are contrary to standard and established norms mutually based on agreement in societal set up. Such deviation against norms might adopt many forms, for instance, grammatical, lexical, syntactic and morphological.

Field of advertising take its origin from the 'advertere', a word derived from Latin, implies; 'a mean utilized to grab the attention of common folk toward something which drive them to some specific path and destination. Domain of advertisement is a complex phenomenon because, it involves two interacting process, namely, communication and persuasion, and both processes are many-faceted (Donnell & Todd, 1980). Therefore, advertisers frequently use language in ways which depart from convention. They produce stretches of language which cannot be explained by an English grammar while interpretable (Widdowson, 1972). Since advertising became popular, analysis on the ad text or script has also emerged in large numbers. Numerous studies have been carried out and many linguistic phenomena in advertisements including deviation have been discovered and studied. My focus is to discover potential diversities employed by advertisers in the text or script of language of advertising in print media.

I am optimistic that we can bring this unconventional phenomenon back into a linguistic field in advertisement context. My article further explores that deviations successfully utilized can

truly help advertisers to apply the deviation strategy efficiently and successfully. Variation is a characteristic of language: there is more than one way of saying the same thing. Speakers may vary pronunciation (accent), word choice (lexicon), or morphology and syntax. Language variation is a core concept in sociolinguistics.

## **CHARACTERISTICS OF ADVERTISING LANGUAGE**

Advertising is a powerful social and cultural tool, a force in society. Advertising has been attributed as being both a mirror of societal values and a molder of our beliefs, conventions, and norms (Holbrook, 1987; Lantos, 1987; Pollay, 1986). In fact, many would argue that, with the current level of media and technology available, advertising and the mass media have become more powerful than other institutions such as education, religion, and even the family (Pollay, 1986). With advertising's ability to yield both economic and cultural power, it is important for advertisers, consumers, and researchers to understand how it is both influenced by and influences individuals in society.

Power of advertising is like a magic bullet penetrating straightway into minds of people. People would see ads and be manipulated by them to go and buy the products advertised (Pope, 1991). The language of advertising is, of course, normally positive and emphasizes why one product stands out in comparison with another. Advertising language may not always be "correct" language in the normal sense. For example, comparatives are often used when no real comparison is made. An advertisement for a detergent may say "It gets clothes whiter", but whiter than what?

Language of advertisement consists of following characteristics and techniques:

### **1. SIMPLICITY**

If a message is designed in such a way that it is plainly perceived, then it imparts long lasting impact on minds of reader. Although it is difficult to execute, but greatly influential. Such simplicity is one of prominent features of advertising.

### **2. CONTEXT**

Context is important when it comes to effective communications. Whether in marketing or in any other discipline, the knowledge of the environment is crucial in which a message is going to be issued, will give us some guidelines in the selection of words, references, tones and proper resources that will permit a forceful penetration of the brand's premise in its target. So contextual awareness is paramount and is integral part of advertisement.

### **3. STORY**

Linking a brand with a good story allows consumers to associate it with emotional aspects and be more receptive to its message and more likely to its consumption and acceptance.

### **4. CONCISENESS**

A brief, precise and clear message always produces better results in contrast with an entire passage written in detailed description. We as advertisers need to keep in a realm of minds about discrimination between brief and short message as Andres Neumann puts it as:

"It is not the same the brief than the short: the brief shuts up on time, the short shuts up early".

Conciseness is a powerful medium to convey a message about products and is utilized by advertisers excessively. It is just like Sir Francis Bacon's Essays-sounding strong appeal of worldly wisdom through their concise and conceited style.

## **5. SYMBOLOGY**

It is art of expression by symbols; it is the study or interpretation of symbols. We have associations in our minds that are detached with reality. Alex Grijelmo describes in his book "Seduction of the Words", that advertising uses phrases, such as "Free as the Sun" to promote liberating qualities in certain products, which are inaccurate. Understanding certain terms that serve as positive or longing symbols, though perhaps inaccurate, we can build a powerful and emotionally provocative message to the end target thereof.

## **6. RHETORIC**

Rhetoric is the art of discourse wherein a writer or speaker strives to inform, persuade or motivate particular audiences in specific situations. Aristotle gives us the best definition of rhetoric. He considers it a counterpart of both logic and politics, and calls it "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. To take advantage of a language, it's necessary to know about it - its rules, resources, figures, structure, etc.

Only he who has knowledge of its proper application can communicate accurately, and convey ideas to consumers. Rhetorical figures make it possible for grouping concepts, making allegories, highlighting qualities and wrapping up the receiver in a story well told intensifying their attention.

## **LINGUISTIC DEVIATIONS AND FOREGROUNDING**

Writer makes use of different, unique and untraditional language to show his writing creative, inventive and influential. He can give his readers unexpected surprise leaving strong impression on their minds. This kind of use of language is technically known as Linguistic Deviation. The original language is deviated from the standard norms of literary convention or language in daily routine. G. H Leech in his famous book, 'A Linguistics Guide to English Poetry' gives a concept of foregrounding with linguistic deviation:

Anyone who wishes to investigate the significance and value of a work of art must concentrate on the element of interest and surprise, rather than on the automatic pattern. Such deviations from linguistic or other socially accepted norms have been given the special name of 'foregrounding'... The foregrounded figure is the linguistic deviation, and the background is the language.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### LEECH'S THEORY OF STYLISTICS- A THEORY FOR LINGUISTIC DEVIATIONS

Geoffrey Neil Leech was a specialist in English language and linguistics. He was the author, co-author, and editor of over 30 books and over 120 published papers. Theoretical Perspective 'Deviation in literature' is an aspect of his style. Therefore, this paper engages the theory of stylistics as expounded by Leech and Short (1981) to analyze how deviations are constructed in a domain of advertising. Leech and Short (1981) defines stylistics as the manner in which language is used by a certain person in a specific context to achieve a certain objective. Stylistics mainly investigates how language is used in a text or literary works. It entails an analysis of stylistic features in a literary text that can be attributed or associated with a certain writer.

The main objective of stylistics is to explain the relationship between language and its artistic role in a piece of work. Wamitila (2008) says that the theory of stylistics deals mainly with the analysis of language use. The analysis of language is aimed at showing the creativity in that language and how it assists in the understanding of a text or literary work. An analysis of style can be done in two perspectives. The first perspective is the traditional one which separates what is said (theme) and how it is said (form). The second perspective investigates how the message or meaning is presented by using different ways and means intended to have a certain aesthetic effect to the audience. Linguistic knowledge can be applied to describe stylistic features found in literary texts. These linguistic features can be phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic features. In this particular research paper, I delve into the morphological features used in language of advertisement.

Leech has written extensively on the stylistics of literary texts. The two stylistic works for which he is best known are, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (1969), and *Style in Fiction* (1981; a 2nd edition. 2007), co-authored with Mick Short. The approach Leech has taken to literary style relies heavily on the concept of foregrounding. In Leech's account, foregrounding in poetry or prose is based on deviation from linguistic norms, which may take the form of unexpected irregularity, for example, uses of parallelism in Shakespeare play *Othello*– 'I kissed thee ere I killed thee.' Further, Leech has distinguished three levels of deviation:

**Primary deviation:** deviation against the background of general linguistic norms.

**Secondary deviation:** deviation against the norms of conventional poetic regularity, as in metrical variation and run-on lines in verse.

**Tertiary deviation:** deviation against norms established within a literary text.

### MAJOR LINGUISTIC DEVIATIONS IN LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISING

#### LINGUISTIC DEVIATIONS

Out of eight linguistic deviations mentioned by Geoffrey Leech, following four major linguistics deviations are discussed in detail and Morphological Deviation is mainly focused in present study. Following deviations are mainly knitted in language of advertisements:

## **1. Lexical/Morphological Deviation**

## **2. Phonological Deviation**

## **3. Semantic based Deviation**

## **4. Syntactic Deviation**

### **MORPHOLOGICAL DEVIATION**

Neologism is a term used in relation with creation of new words. Such production of words under terminology of Neologism is in continuous process to meet the challenges of advertising competition in a modern era. This tendency of invention of new words paves the subsequent way for morphological deviation. This morphological deviation is used in frequent practice by modern copywriters because it yields more power of attraction and persuasion on part of common folks. Leech (1969) thinks neologism is not merely a “violation of lexical rule”, but rather “an existing rule is applied with greater generality than is customary: that the usual restrictions on its operation are waived in a given instance.” The creation of new morphemes to cope with modern requirements in advertising sector, combination of one word with another word so called compounding exists in general practice.

A representative morphological deviation is coinage, emergence of new morphemes, phrases, and idioms etc. to existing ones in language of advertisement. Coinage technique is widely employed in a field of advertising on account of its matchless power of attraction. This strategy is immensely used in advertisements to bridge the gap between products and customers. Being original and creative, words or expressions can always pull readers’ attention; therefore, the technique of coinage is broadly accommodated in English advertisement. For example;

(1) “The Orangemostest Drink in the world.” (Orange juice)

This advertisement creates the word of “orangemostest”, adding “most” and “est” as dual suffix after “orange”. Firstly, the new word would fresh readers’ mind and be impressive. Also, the repeated emphasis on the supreme quality of the orange can win some credit up to some extent for the product.

(2) “Give a Timex to all, to all a good time.” (Timex watch)

“Ex” being attached to “Time”, here the verb not only advertises how excellent the watch is, but also tries to express the excellence of accuracy at giving a correct time. According to market research, plenty of ads use the affix of “ex” in their advertisement words, intending to imply the “excellence” of their products.

(3) “We know eggsactly how to tell eggs.” (Egg ad)

As per language convention, the word supposed to be in the sentence is “exactly”. Here, advertiser uses the coinage of “eggsactly” instead of “exactly”, which goes against the convention; however, “eggsactly” adds some humorous element into the ad and imparts a deep impression in readers’ mind. Now, ponder over the following advertisement:

(4) “The BERD in hand is worth than two in the bush.” (The Bank of European Reconstruction and Development)

Citing the idiom of “A bird in hand is worth than two in the bush” while changing “bird” to “BERD”, at first sight, the ad is perplexing. However, coincidentally, BERD is the abbreviation of the Bank of European Reconstruction and Development, and then suddenly we feel refreshed and begin to appreciate the wisdom in this advertisement.

How the words are formed is connected with linguistic term that of Morphology. It also tells us about internal structures of linguistic sentences, how the new and present words are derived and what sort of affiliation lies among them. Such morphological components are cleverly utilized by advertisers to mislead and deceive consumers. Consequently, they jump to buy their products under shadow of quality goods which is a deception.

For morphological deviation many techniques are used by advertisers, out of many, some prominent are in the following:

### **1. Blending**

Combination of two existing words results into creation of one new word. This process is called 'Blending'. Production of new words is unique and attractive experience bringing too many people in persuasion. For instance, word 'canolive' oil is outcome of two words 'canola' and 'olive', yielding long lasting impact on minds of readers. These blended words are more powerful than vocabulary words so far as temptation of customers is concerned. <sup>1</sup>

### **2. Word Coinage**

Field of advertising is a source of innovation and conductivity. Advertisers introduce new words into prevalent vocabulary of communication. Blending is followed by word coinage technique. This advertising tool is also extensively used in a domain of advertising. In coinage formulation, base of conventional word is coined with prefix or suffix to reshape it into new form. By, taking into consideration the word 'Cheetos' the conception of 'word coinage' becomes quite clear. This word is combination of 'cheeta and os'. The traditional word 'Cheetah' coined with affix 'os' to give it new grabbing form i.e., 'Cheetos'.

### **3. Acronyms**

If we combine a first letter of different vocabulary words, then we come to have a new version of word totally remote from original words. This activity is called 'Acronyms'. For example, the acronym 'BBQ' is derived from first letters of barbeques. Another example is 'PAC' a word taken from Pakistan Aeronautical Complex kamra A renowned shopping mall in Kamra is 'MCC' an acronym formed from Medina Cash and Carry. Some other examples are PSO-Pakistan State Oil, PTCL-Pakistan Telecommunication Limited, and HBL- Habib Bank Limited etc. These acronyms incline customers by convincing them to buy the products by virtue of their versatile and long term appeal. Besides such acronyms are in brief, short and concise form that can be memorized easily by common public. Resultantly, these abbreviations increase the sale of company.

### **4. Orthographic Modification**

In this process of modification of words one deviates from standard spelling of words and includes spelling of his accord to make them look attractive to promote products Rapid and broader publicity of things is carried out by morphological deviation and orthographic modification provides a strong platform in this connection. In our daily routine of life if we ponder over advertisements of different companies then we come across many orthographically modified words like sooper biscuits, mangoes joos, ufone and canbebe etc. Products sale is uplifted by inclusion of such orthographic modifications in textual body of advertisement.

## **5. Lexical and Morphological aspect**

This aspect consists of figurative language. Metaphor, simile are key elements of this lexical and morphological aspect.

Additionally, following linguistic characteristics are part and parcel of language of advertising in connection with lexical and morphological aspect.

### **(a) Verb phrase**

Phrasal verbs are of two types:

#### **1. Finite verb phrase**

#### **2. Nonfinite verb phrase**

Field of advertisement capacitates groups of words in a highly simplified form comprised of singular word. Leech affirms it as; in advertising, “verbal groups are mostly of maximum simplicity, consisting of only one word.” (Leech 1972: 121). Phrasal verbs of both kinds are used in formulating structural material of advertisements. Words in singular and simplified form trap the customers in favor of products.

### **(b) Noun phrase**

NP are quite complex as compare to Verb Phrase in language of advertising. Pre-modified part of phrasal noun is although complex, but creates a heap of interest for people. Its structure contains unusual characteristics; uplifting public interest toward products. The efforts to unite the features of the product in hastily are firmly based upon complex phenomenon of pre-modification.

### **(c) Adjectives**

Language of ads comprises hyperbolic characteristics. This facilitates way in production of so many adjectives. These adjectives co-exist in comparative and superlative form. For example, the item for sale is cheaper, larger and most economical etc. Use of adjectives in variety of forms promptly echoes parameters of product into ears of common mobs.

### **(d) Intertextuality**

It is “the way in which one text serves as a reference to second textual portion”. This practice in advertising field is useful, and it works to strengthen view of point about product by referring another piece of text related to it. Intertextuality makes its operation in diverse forms. Phonological and morphological quotations are of worth significance in this regard. This element of intertextuality is quite obvious in great tragedies of William Shakespeare, like “Othello, Hamlet, Macbeth, and The Tempest” etc.

### **(e) Numerals**

Numerals are used in ads by advertisers to define the features of products in exact manner. Numerals define parameters about a product of which it is constituted. Description of ingredients gives informative detail about substances of which product is made of. Percentage of each item is shown with quantity and energy level for immunization. Date of manufacturing and date of expiration are all integral parts of ‘numerals’ People, especially educated society purchase products of multi brands by reading its numeral features.

### **(f) Foreign words**

These words are borrowed from many other languages to impart quality of products in more effective way. Words imported from other language endorse features of products and drag



consumers in buying products under pretext of endorsement. In, our Pakistani print media utilization of foreign words is common to induce it in people mind at broader level. Use of English language words with Urdu language is at large practice in this connection. For example, if we look into aviation industry of Pakistan like Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC), it promotes its production by showing endorsement of China aeronautical corporation (CATIC), Turkish aeronautical industry (TAI) and Lockheed & Martin aerospace firm of USA. Such endorsements in collaboration with foreign words act as brand ambassadors for PAC to actualize international contracts between different delegations of world countries for sale of training and fighter aircrafts.

### **(g) Formation of new words and phrases**

Formation of new words and phrases is a continuous unstoppable process. There is no halt in invention of new words in any language. Undoubtedly; contribution of social societies and social linguists is that of noteworthy in these regards, but participation of domain of advertising cannot be put aside. Language of advertising has introduced many new words in existing vocabulary.

Compounding, affixation, blending, shortening (contains clipping, acronyms and initialisms) etc are tools used by copywriters to introduce new word and phrases in body of advertisement. Some examples are; up to date, canolive, fone etc.

### **(h) Idiomatic Constructions**

Idiom cannot be comprehended through literal meaning. Figurative details in relation with traditional use of words in speaking community elaborate meaning of idiom. It can be defined as, "An idiom is an expression, phrase or term, whose meaning cannot be derived from the literal definitions and the arrangement of its parts, but refers to a figurative meaning that is known only through conventional use".

Idiom can be understood comprehensively by its association with 'proverb', which is in fact an idiomatic expression. It is possibly shortest, convenient and simplified way to convey someone wise counseling or right path. Proverb is quintessence of lot of experiences drawn from wisdom of elders.

Famous Urdu proverbs are mentioned in English language;

1. Andha kiya chahe do aankhein-----A wish coming true.
2. Chhota mounh bari baat-----To talk big without having a big position.
3. Dour key dhol suhaney-----The grass is always greener on the other side.

### **PHONOLOGICAL DEVIATION**

This deviation is caused by repetitive appearance of homograph; presence of rhyme at the very beginning and in the end, and rewording of alliteration in the bodily texture of language of advertisement is so called Phonological deviation. In the following we have some examples pertaining to 'Phonological Deviation'.

1. Augmentin Quality counts, count on Augmentin. (an antibiotic medicine).
2. Wild West Wind.
3. Personal Pan Pizza.

Leech mentioned three important factors related to Phonological deviation;

1. "Aphesis-the omission of an initial part of a word or phrase, e.g., 'tis for it is".
2. "Syncope-the omission of a medial part, e.g., never".
3. "Apocope-the omission of a final part, e.g., oft for often and special pronunciation for the convenience of rhyming, as when the noun "wind" is pronounced like the verb "wind".

## **SEMANTIC BASED DEVIATION**

This type of deviation implies to be derailed from established path. Semantic is meant as word or phrase with multiple layers of meanings. According, to Leech “these seemingly meaningless and ridiculous sentences have specific meanings in a certain context”.

Semantic based deviation in language of advertising purposefully and knowingly departs one certain word’s conventional meaning and guides readers to read out additional meaning of the certain word. For example,

“Daylay egg” (Egg ad)

Besides, the coinage of “daylay”, the pronunciation of “daylay” is quite similar with “daily”. However, most worth considering in this ad is essence of the semantic deviation. Literally, “daylay” means the egg is laid every day; therefore, readers can easily and vividly anticipate the freshness and quality of the egg.

Semantics is related with the essential meanings of expressions. Different types of techniques are employed by copywriters at semantic level to confirm that the advertised message is fruitful, objective as well as effective in long run. Epigrams, metaphors, clichés, similes, utilization of puns and tropes in variable forms are used in semantic based deviation.

## **SYNTACTIC DEVIATION**

Construction of variety of grammatical sentences in any particular language is termed as “Syntactic Deviation. ‘Syntax in language of advertising constructed sentences for advertisement purposes is totally remote from syntactic grammar rules and regulations, violating established linguistic set standards. Despite this fact, ungrammatical structure of sentences in language of advertising conveys meanings in clarity. Sentences in advertisement do not adhere with established structure of syntactic grammar; SVO-subject followed by a verb and an object. For example; in telenor commercial; sachi yari sab pe bhari, is not grammatically correct sentence with respect to S+V+O etc.

## **REPRESENTATION OF MORPHOLOGICAL DEVIATION FOUND IN PRINT & ELECTRONIC MEDIA OF PAKISTAN**

- Meandmyheels-----Orthographic + Blending
- Sooper-----Orthographic & Clipping
- BBQ -----Acronym
- I`m Lovin It-----Orthographic
- Canbebe-----Blending + Orthographic
- Fuelink-----Blending
- Ufone-----Coinage, Ortho & Blending
- Fonepay----- Orthographic & Blending
- Canolive Oil-----Blending
- Lays Munch-----Orthographic
- Cosmosurge-----Blending
- Bigg & Pholpy-----Orthographic Deviation
- Yous & McDelivery-----Deviation by use of Coinage

## **CONCLUSION**

To conclude, morphological deviation is a useful and harmful driving force in print media's advertisements so far as facts, figures, and this study is concerned. I can say that top brands always enhance their fame and sale on account of morphological deviation fabricated in texture of print media advertisements. Undoubtedly, many other linguistic deviations also exist in advertising products, as Geoffrey Leech made a systematic summary of deviations. In his book, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (1969), he categorized deviation into eight types, i.e., lexical deviation, grammatical deviation, phonological deviation, graphological deviation, semantic deviation, dialectal deviation, deviation of register and deviation of historical period. Morphological deviation affects increasingly so far as brand's popularity and sale is concerned.

Moreover, with rare exceptions, deviations in all kinds are always in favor of brands whether national or multinational. Consumers are mostly double crossed and exploited. Morphological based deviation is an influential tool in this connection. It works dramatically and hastily. Readers always flow to elements of attraction and fascination and morphological deviation counts a lot in this regard. Product's sale and brand's popularity is right of owner, but this should be done by quality of product not merely at the base of advertisement embedded with morphological change. If product is full of quality and is advertised on base of morphological change through medium of print media or electronic channel, then it is acceptable and beneficial both for an advertiser and customer alike.

Finally, we cannot discard words obtained from deviations, because, of course these words are unconventional and against the norms, but of great credibility and acknowledgment in our daily life communication, and good addition in standard vocabulary as well. Deviated morphemes like fone, hi; bebe, fuelink, ufone, and canolive are fine examples in this regard. Undoubtedly, linguistic deviations exist in advertisements of print media; among them morphological deviation is broadly utilized. This deviation and product's sale are interdependent-closely associated to attract a heap of clients.

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