Remodeling in kuwaiti newspaper commentary titles [1]

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Abstract: The paper examines *remodeling* as a discourse mechanism in two Kuwaiti newspaper commentary titles, in an attempt to shed light on their thematic, phraseological and linguistic resources and to see whether ideology or policy making plays a role in the choice between a remodeled title and a commonplace one. It argues that remodeled titles inhere a semiotic power that far exceeds their ordinary counterparts due to their possessing properties such as appeal, amusingness and informativeness. In terms of phraseology, collocations and clichéd expressions emerge as the most exploited material for creating remodeled titles. As for linguistic resources, writers fall back on semantic, structural, and prosodic strategies in the process of remodeling titles.

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The production and reception of discourse (be it spoken or written) is a dynamic, interactive process whereby explicit as well as implicit propositions are smoothly produced and received. The propositional content of human discourse inheres the affective (phatic) and referential (informational) input at varying degrees with a discernable dominance of one over the other in various discourses. This functional and fluid division of labor, so to speak, captures the usually intertwined interactional and transactional functions of human communication in its entirety (Brown and Yule 1983).

The expression of propositions in discourse by language users embraces two complementary principles: the Open Principle (OP) and the Idiom Principle (IP) (Sinclair 1991). The OP emphasizes the productive (generative) nature of human communication which enables humans to produce and comprehend novel propositions by utilizing a finite set of rules whose functionalization rests on already learned vocabulary items. By contrast, the IP stresses the parroted (memorized) component of human communication which enables humans to fall back on a huge amount of multiword units (canonically including idiomatic, proverbial, and formulaic expressions, among others) to produce and receive previously encountered propositions. By way of illustration, the propositional content of *Cats love dozing under palm trees* may turn out to be a novel one (being the product of the OP), whereas that of *Birds of a feather flock together* is a familiar one (being the product of the IP).

Remodeling is a creative discourse mechanism whereby a word such as a proper/common noun or a multiword unit such as a familiar collocation, proverb or line of poetry functions as input for the creation of a fresh lexeme/phraseology whose communicative import is usually different from the original, despite the relation of dependency it bears with its parent unit. However, the new communicative import may or may not harmonize with the import of the source expression. The *Watan* (2005) commentary title *al-buduun wa maa 'adraaka ma-l-buduun* 'Biduun and you don't know what *Biduun* means' conveys the intricate and enigmatic nature of the issue of the *Biduun* ('Kuwaitis' without passports) in Kuwait the same way the Quranic verse *al-qaari'ah wa maa 'adraaka ma-l-qaari'ah* 'the doomsday and you don't know what the doomsday means' enigmatizes and mystifies the issue of 'Doomsday'. Hence the remodeling agrees with the original import. Similarly, the *Qabas* (2006) commentary title *'idhakuu tasihhuu* **3** 'Laughing makes you healthy' reminds the reader of the familiar Prophet Mohammed's saying *suumuu tasihhuu* 'Fasting makes you healthy'. The writer simply hijacks the Prophet's statement by way of remodeling it to talk about the benefits of laughter. By contrast, the *Watan* (2005) commentary title *al-qanaa'atu kanzun yatabaxxar* 'Contentment is a treasure that evaporates', which remodels the proverb *al-qanaa'atu kanzun laa yafnaa* 'Contentment is a treasure that does not end', contradicts the original import, though it owes its very existence to the availability of the parent proverb. Likewise, the *Qabas* (2006) commentary title *sibaaq al-taraawiih wa qitaal al-fatuur* 'Taraawiih race and the breakfast battle' satirically remodels the familiar collocations *salaat al-taraawiih* 'taraawiih prayers (night prayers in *Ramadan*)' and *'aaðaan al-fatuur* 'the mosque's call for breakfast (in *Ramadan*)', in order to criticize Kuwaitis' behavior in *Ramadan* (They have turned *taraawiih* prayers into a race, i.e. who will finish first, and the period before breakfast into a battle with their cars crazily racing about, thus defeating the true meanings and virtues of fasting in *Ramadan*).

3 Underlining in the transcription of Arabic sounds indicates emphatic Arabic consonants (d, ð, t, s) and the pharyngeal fricative /h/.

Looking at remodeling from a different perspective, it stands out as a paradigm example of intertextuality, where the newly created version intertextualizes with the existing one. The concept of intertextuality, which originally emerged within the context of literary theory (Kristeva 1969; Barthes 1977), soon claimed legitimacy in all genres of discourse. It turns out that any text, regardless of the discipline it comes from, cannot be treated as an isolated entity; it should be considered as a mere building block within the realm of human discourse, where new texts dynamically evolve from pre-existing ones by intertextualizing with them, or, as Kristeva (the concept's introducer) puts it "any text is the absorption and transformation of another" (1969). To Renkema (1993:36), intertextuality (which he lists as a source of poeticness, alongside rhyme and parallelism) simply means "a sequence of sentences [a text] is related by form or meaning to other sequences of sentences [texts]".   In particular, intertextuality is often cited in discourse analysis and text-linguistics as one of the standards of textuality, treated on a par with cohesion and coherence, among other ones (Beaugrande de 1980). In its simplest form, intertextuality manifests itself when a text quotes directly from another text. In more subtle forms, a text can paraphrase, summarize, criticize, or even plagiarize other texts. In remodeling, as one manifestation of intertextuality, the speaker/writer creatively hijacks a pre-exiting unit (which is assumed to be psychologically real in the minds of hearers/readers) and twists both its form and content.

Pragmatically, remodeling genuinely flouts the maxim of Manner (most importantly the submaxim 'Be orderly') for a communicative purpose (for details about conversational implicature and floutings, see Grice 1975; Levinson 1983; Thomas 1994). The deliberate formal alteration of an existing self-contained unit is meant to generate a conversational implicature (i.e. it is done for a communicative purpose). For example, the *Watan* (2005) commentary title *kull-utturuqi fii 'iraana tu'addii 'ilaa … Qum* 'All roads in Iran lead to … Qum' flouts the maxim of manner by introducing some formal changes in the familiar proverb *kull-u-tturuqi tu'addii 'ilaa roomaa* 'All roads lead to Rome'. The source proverb communicates the message that there are different equally good ways to carry out the same task or state of affairs. The remodeling, however, conveys the conversational implicature that the only way to deal with any state of affairs in Iran is to visit *Qum* and get the approval of the *mullas* there, i.e. the *mullas* have full control over Iranian politics. In this way, the title succeeds in heralding a thought-world (an Iranian *mulla*-controlled politics) which can be fully explored in the body of the commentary.

2 Ordinary vs Remodelled tittles

Titles can be considered self-contained texts due to their semiotic power and significance. This becomes most visible in remodeled titles because they trigger fresh associations in the minds of readers which cannot be semiotically divorced from the source entities. The semiotic importance of titles in Arabic is usually celebrated in the familiar proverb *al-maktuubu yuqra'u min 'inwaanihi* 'What is written is read from its title', which communicates the message that it is enough to read the title of a text in order to know its content.

When it comes to newspapers, it is customary for most people to just browse the titles/headlines rather than stop to read every commentary/news report. If a decision is made to examine the whole commentary/news report, it is certain that the title has played a key role in that decision. Perhaps, informativity (the fact that remodeled titles are unpredictable), eye-catchingness (amusingness) and poeticness constitute the most effective factors in attracting a reader to a

certain title, but they are, by no means, the only factors. For instance, the content of the title may override all other factors in some cases. If the importance of content is neutralized, however, an informative, eye-grabbing and poetic title will definitely win out in a rivalry with an ordinary, straightforward one. This discoursal maneuver coheres well with the argument that the producer in media discourse is an entertainer and the receiver is a consumer (for details, see Fairclough 1995, 1996).

Remodeled titles are an important vehicle for generating interest in newspaper commentaries. They do so by flouting the maxim of manner and, as a result, produce fresh associations that are readily brought to the consciousness of the reader, due to their being anchored to pre-existing, psychologically real entities. By way of illustration, the *Qabas* (2006) commentary title *'ixtala*ţ*a al-qalbu bi-l-'li*ḏ*aam* 'The heart and the bones are mixed (confused)', which remodels the clichéd expression *'ixtala*ţ*a al-ḥaabilu bi-l-naabil* 'Lit. The rope camel leaders were mixed (confused) with the arrow throwers in battle (i.e. It was utter chaos)', satirically and effectively communicates the message that 'the situation in some Kuwaiti hospitals has become so bad that the staff do not distinguish a heart from a bone patient'. The semiotic and communicative potentials of this title far exceed those of a commonplace one such as *al-mustašfayaatu laa tufarriqu bayna mariiḍu al-qalbi wa mariiḍu al-'iḏaami* 'Hospitals do not distinguish a heart from a bone patient', despite the fact that the propositional content of the two titles is identical. The additional impact which a remodeling produces is a correlate of discourse pragmatics.

In some cases, the subtlety of a remodeling may render it opaque to readers who are lacking in a good general education. Witness the *Watan* recurring commentary title *ta'abba*ţ*a ra'yan* ... 'He put an opinion under his armpit', which remodels a medieval Arab poet's nickname *ta'abba*ţ*a šarran* 'He put an evil thing under his armpit' . The historical implication of this intriguing remodeling can be deciphered only by readers with good knowledge of Arab literary heritage. Hence, the resulting impact may be considered as a function of that awareness. A commonplace title like *al-ta'assubu li-r-ra'yi* 'Lit. ' Fanaticism to one's opinion, i.e. one being opinionated' will definitely be no match for the remodeled title above.

It may be argued that remodeled commentary titles promote exaggeration due to their noticeably felt poeticness and, consequently, act against moderation by appealing to the reader's senses more than his/her intellect. If this is the case, the choice between remodeled titles and commonplace ones may reflect how propagandist or conservative the discourse of a newspaper is. Witness how sensational and intriguing the following *Qabas* (2006) commentary title *wazaaratu al-qahrabaa' wa maarii 'intwaaneet* 'Ministry of Suppricity (a blend of *suppression* and *electricity*) and Mary Antoinette' sounds. The title succeeds in associating the Kuwaiti Ministry of Electricity with 'suppression' by remodeling the ministry's name (Employing the fresh blend *al-qahrabaa'* from *al-qahr* 'suppression' and *al-kahrabaa'* 'electricity' instead of *al-kahrabaa'* 'electricity'). It further associates the 2006 power crisis in Kuwait City with what French Queen Mary Antoinette said in the 18th century about people demonstrating in front of Palace of Versailles to ask for bread by her naively suggesting that they eat biscuits. In effect, the title's historical allusion satirically asks Kuwaitis to look for alternatives to electricity.

3 Previous studies

Despite the fact that various multiword units are a familiar research topic in the literature (Alexander 1978; Cowie 1981; Strassler 1982; Benson 1987; Sinclair 1987, 1991; and Farghal and Obeidat 1995, among others), remodelings (which mainly derive from multiword units), have remained virgin ground. Similarly, they

have escaped discourse analysts and text linguists' attention as a subtle manifestation of intertextuality, which has also generated a noticeable amount of research, though to a lesser extent than multiword units (see Beaugrande, de 1980 and Renkema 1993). As a concept, the term remodeling was employed in Allan and Burridge (1991) in the context of euphemisms and dysphemisms, e.g. 'Son of a gun' is a euphemistic remodeling of 'Son of a bitch'. It is surprising that we have not found any mention of this term in the context of other multiword units in particular and discourse studies in general.

4 Objectives of study

The study aims to address the following research questions:

1. What themes (religious, literary, political or otherwise) and categories (collocations, clichéd expressions, proverbs, verse, etc.) of multiword units, or otherwise, are common inputs for remodeling in Kuwaiti newspaper commentary titles?

2. What structural, semantic and prosodic strategies are employed in remodeling such titles?

3. Does the newspaper's general policy or ideology (e.g. the promotion of conservative vs. liberal discourse) affect the choice between a commonplace, straightforward title and an evocative, remodeled one?

5 Data and analysis

The data in this study comprise 200 authentic remodeled commentary titles drawn from the columnists' pages (a two-page segment) of 115 issues in two Kuwaiti daily newspapers: *Al-Watan* and *Al-Qabas* of 2006. The bulk of the issues (more than 90%) are corresponding (same day) issues, which is meant to neutralize the impact of the content of the course of events on the option for remodeled titles. The choice of these two newspapers is deliberate, as they are assumed to generally reflect conservative and liberal discourse, respectively. This assumption is derived from the fact that *Al-Watan* is owned by one of the Sheiks and assumed to have strong ties with the ruling family, whereas *Al-Qabas* is reputed for being an independent newspaper.

The data analysis shows that 118 remodeled commentary titles come from *Al-Qabas*, whereas *Al-Watan* remodelings comprise 82 titles. To address the third Question first, the noticeable difference in the number of remodeled titles in the two newspapers (the *Qabas* surpasses the *Watan* by 36 remodelings (19%)) may provisionally validate our assumption that the frequency of remodelings may correlate with the option for liberal vs. conservative discourse, which derives from the newspaper's general ideology and policy. This conclusion, however, should be taken only tentatively in the Kuwaiti context, where the freedom margin in the daily newspapers is probably the greatest in the Arab world, especially when it comes to columnists. We have observed that columnists (who belong to different religious denominations and political persuasions) in the two dailies freely dealt with a diversified range of domestic and international affairs. With reference to the July 2006 Israeli war against Lebanon, for example, one can find on the same page in both papers commentaries that highly commend the heroic *Hezbollah* fighting and others that devastatingly condemn what *Hezbollah* did, highlighting the disastrous consequences of the war on Lebanon. It is this kind of discoursal polemic that permeates the atmosphere of writing commentaries in both dailies, regardless of how sensitive the topic is.

Another limitation that should qualify our tentative conclusion is the fact that we only included remodelings proper, thus excluding a host of commentary

titles that intertextualize with clichéd expressions, proverbs, Quranic verses, lines of poetry, etc., by just quoting them verbatim. Such titles usually take one directionality by intertextualizing rather than contratextualizing with original themes (see below), but they, though less amusing/creative than remodeled ones, do have special semiotic power and are indicative of liberal rather than conservative discourse. Their inclusion, it should be admitted, may change the statistical picture above.

6 Typologizing remodelings

Broad Thematic Analysis

Thematically, the two newspapers' remodeled titles feature four main resources: social, political, religious and artistic/literary references. It should be noted that Kuwaiti columnists are well aware of their cultural heritage (both at the pan-Arab and local level); hence one of their main considerations when they title commentaries is to fall back on one of these resources, in an attempt to remodel or just quote psychologically real segments of that heritage. Following are four examples representing these categories, respectively:

1. jaasim al-ṣaqr .. lam yatruk la-hu 'aduwwan (Al-Watan)
   Jasim the-Saqr not leave for-him enemy
   (Jasim Al-Saqr .. didn't leave one enemy)

2. al-xaybatu-l-'arabiyyah (Al-Qabas)
   the-disappoinment the-Arab
   (Arab disappointment)

3. 'ašaddu-n-naasi'adaawatan   (Al-Watan)
   strongest the-people enmity
   (people with the strongest enmity)

4. 'usuudun fi- l-xiṭaabaat wa na'aamun fi-l-muwaajahaat
   lions in the-speeches and ostriches in the-confrontations
   (Lions in speeches and ostriches in confrontations) (Al-Qabas)

The four titles above intertextualize with social, political, religious and literary culture, respectively. In (1), the writer falls back on a social value as embodied in a familiarly clichéd observation *lam yatruk lahu ṣadiiqan* 'He (the referent) didn't leave even one friend (i.e. He was a much hated person)'. However, the social import of the remodeled title has taken an opposite directionality, i.e. a positive import rather than a negative one (that is, the referent was a much liked person). Likewise, (2) ridicules a familiar Arabic political collocation *al-qimmatu-l-'arabiyyah* 'Arab Summit' by remodeling it, thus communicating the message that Arab summits are mere disappointments. In (3), the writer employs religious culture by having his elliptical title embrace Prophet Mohammed's *hadith* (saying) *'ašaddu-n-naasi 'adaawatan lakum humu-l-yahuudu* 'The people with the strongest enmity for you are the Jews'. Similarly, the writer in (4) embraces Arabic poetry by echoing the familiar theme in the hemistich *'asadun 'alayya wa fi-l-ḥuruubi na'amatun* 'A lion against me but an ostrich in battle' through a remodeling that ridicules the Syrian president Bashar Al-Asad (literally 'Bashar the lion') harshly after his unprecedented criticism of Arab leaders (describing them as 'half men') in his fiery speech immediately following the July 2006 Israeli war on Lebanon.

Narrow Categorization of Remodelings

A close examination of the remodeled titles in the corpus shows that they intertextualize with 6 categories: collocations (32%), clichéd expressions (23%), art (15%), religion (15%), Proverbs (7%), and proper/common nouns (11%). The distribution of the categories of remodlings across the two newspapers (*Al-Qabas* and *Al-Watan* respectively) is as follows: collocations 30% vs. 34%, clichéd expressions 23% vs. 22%, art 14.5% vs. 15.5%, religion 11.5% vs. 12.5%, proverbs 7% vs. 7%, and proper/common nouns 13% vs. 9%. As can be noted, the distribution of the categories across the two newspapers is largely similar. This indicates that columnists fall back on similar resources when remodeling their titles regardless of the newspaper they write for. Below is an in-depth analysis of representative examples from the six categories noted above.

Collocations

Collocations emerge as the most frequent input for remodelings, accounting for almost one third of the data. This is quite predictable because they constitute the largest category of multiword units and manifest a wide-ranging distribution in human language. The data show that writers can title their columns subtly and effectively by remodeling familiar collocations, as can be illustrated in the following examples:

5. 'al-'amsu-l-mušriqu 'abadaa (*Al-Qabs*)
   the-yesterday the-bright for ever
   (Bright past for ever)

6. al-muttahamu-l-mudallalu (*Al-Qabas*)
   the-defendant the-pampered
   (The pampered defendant)

7. jalaalatu-l-muwaḏḏafi (*Al-Watan*)
   majesty the-employee
   (His Majesty the employee)

8. mazaad niyaabii (*Al-Watan*)
   auction parliamentary
   (A parliamentary auction)

The example in (5) remodels the collocation *'al-āadu-l-mušriqu* 'bright future' in order to show that the Arabs are always interested in their past rather than their future. The writer in (6) remodels the collocation *at-tiflu-l-mudallalu* 'the papmpered child' for the purpose of criticizing the lenient way Saddam was treated during his marathon trial in Iraq. For its part, (7) remodels the collocation *jalaalatu-l-maliki* 'His (the king's) Majesty' to show how indifferent and irresponsible some employees in Kuwait are – they behave as kings rather than civil servants. Finally, the example in (8) remodels the collocation *mazaad 'alanii* 'an open auction' in an attempt to depict Kuwaiti 2006 Parliamentary Elections as a commercial rather than a political act. As can be seen, collocations are a rich resource for remodeling that can achieve critique and satire effectively and intriguingly in all walks of life.

Clichéd Expressions

Clichéd expressions present themselves as another important material for remodelings, accounting for nearly one fourth of the entire corpus. Unlike collocations, which involve transparent meaning, clichéd expressions are mainly transparent and

occasionally opaque as to their semantics; hence, some of them may qualify for 'idiomatic expressions'. They overwhelmingly function as sloganized and trite expressions. Following are some examples that remodel clichéd expressions:

9. 'ameerka wa-l-'arab been boošeen (*Al-Qabas*)
America and-the-Arabs between two Bushs
(America and the Arabs between two Bushs (Senior and Junior Bush))

10. rifqan bi-l-kuwait (*Al-Qabas*)
be kind with-the-Kuwait
(Be kind with Kuwait)

11. ya'iiš baaba 'abdallah (*Al-Watan*)
live Papa Abdullah
(Long live Papa Abdullah)

12. tankar li-kul muwaaṭin (*Al-Watan*)
truck-borne tank for-every citizen
(A supply of a truck-borne tank of water for every citizen)

The example in (9) remodels a clichéd expression that refers to some referent(s) being *been naareen* 'between two fires', thus communicating the message that both Americans and Arabs have suffered tremendously as a result of being sandwiched by the eras of two 'Bushs' (George Bush and George W. Bush – the father and his son as Presidents of the United States). The title in (10) rephrases the clichéd expression *rifqan bi-l-qawaariir* 'Be kind with women', which comes close to an idiomatic expression as most native speakers of Arabic are aware of this expression and can use it appropriately though many do not know what *al-qawaariir* lexically means. Notably, this expression is used as the input for a few other remodelings in our data. The next example (11) takes as its parent expression the sloganized Kuwaiti expression *ya'iiš baaba jaabir* 'Long live Papa Jaber (the late Emir of Kuwait)'. Interestingly, the columnist hijacks this slogan and applies it to King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia for the purpose of urging the Kuwaiti government to follow in the footsteps of the Saudi government who announced an official holiday as of day 18 till the end of *Ramadan* (Muslims' fasting month). Likewise, the last example (12) remodels the electoral slogan *bayt li-kul muwaaṭin* 'A House for Every Citizen' to criticize satirically the Kuwaiti government's handling of the 2006 water crisis in Kuwait city.

Art (Literature and Entertainment)

Art comes third in frequency as input for remodelings. The examples derive from literature (mainly poetry) and entertainment in general, as can be illustrated in the remodelings below:

13. ḍaḥikat al-'umamu (*Al-Qabas*)
laughed the-nations
(The nations laughed)

14. la-na-l-āaduuuuu .. (*Al-Qabas*)
we-the-women for-us-the-tomorrowww
(We women have the future)

15. 'aakli-k mineen yaa ḥamaas (*Al-Watan*)
eat-you where oh Hamas
(Where shall I start eating you, *Hamas*?)

16. maa 'ila-k 'illa ḥayfa (*Al-Watan*)
not for-you but Haifa
(No one for you but Haifa)

The two examples in (13) and (14) remodel poetry. The former derives from a familiar hemistich *yaa 'ummatan ḍaḥikat min jahliha-l-'umamu* 'A nation whose ignorance is laughed at by other nations', which laments the state of the Arab nation in the twentieth century. The writer of (13) used the third and last word of the parent hemstitch to title his commentary and echo the same theme in the context of the Arabs' reaction to the blasphemous Danish cartoons of Prophet Mohammed. The latter (14) similarly roots the remodeling in a lyrical hemistich *naḥnu-š-šabaab la-na-l-āadu* 'We youths have the future'. Not only does the writer, a woman, claim the future semantically, but she also does so phonologically by lengthening the short vowel at the end of the last word indefinitely, thus doubly emphasizing the fresh message.

The other two remodelings (15 and 16) fall back on entertainment as input for their formation. For its part, (15) cogently and amusingly remodels a popular song's segment *'aaklik mineen yaa baṭṭa* 'Where shall I start eating you, duck?' to show how critical *Hamas*' position has become, both regionally and internationally. Equally interestingly, (16) remodels the name of an LBC (Lebanese Satellite TV station) entertainment sport program (presented by a scantily dressed woman called Haifa) labeled *maa 'ila-k 'illa haifa* 'No one for you but Haifa'. The remodeling aims to trivialize *Hezbollah*'s threat to hit *ḥaifa* 'Haifa' (a coastal Israeli city) by linking it up with an entertainment TV program; the commentary harshly criticizes *Hezbollah*'s previous adventure (the kidnapping of three Israeli soldiers), which ignited the 2006 Israeli July war against Lebanon.

Religion and Proverbs

The utilization of religious material (mainly the Holy Quran and Prophet Mohammed's tradition) in remodelings ranks fourth, while that of proverbs comes last. One should note, however, that some of Prophet Mohammed's statements also qualify for proverbs but are listed in our typology as remodelings with religious etiology. This overlap has worked in favor of the category of 'religion' in the data. Following are illustrative examples of both categories:

17. laa 'aaṣima la-kumu-lyawma min ṣanaadiiqi-l-'iqtiraa'
    no protector for-you-today from boxes the-electoral
    (No one can protect you today from electoral boxes.) (*Al-Qabas*)

18. 'in lam tastaḥi .. (*Al-Watan*)
    if not decent
    (If you are not decent, ...)

19. al-yaa'u-llatii qaṣamat ḏahra-l-maqaal (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-yaa'-which broke back- the-article
    (The alphabet 'yaa' which broke the article's back.)

20. ḥukmu-l-maḥaakim wa laa ḥukmu-l-fawḍaa
    rule-the-courts and not rule the-chaos
    (The rule of Islamic Courts rather than chaos)

The commentary title in (17) remodels the Quranic verse *laa 'aaṣima la-kumu-lyawma min 'amri-llaah* 'No one can protect you today from God's order' by comparing 'electoral boxes' in parliamentary elections to 'God's order' in the above verse in terms of weight. The example in (18) remodels one of the Prophet's statements by dropping the result clause in the parent conditional sentence *'in lam tastaḥi faṣna' maa ši'ta* 'If you are not decent enough, do what you please'. Notably, this statement is also used proverbially. The title in (19) remodels the

proverbial expression *aš-ša'ratu-llatii qasamat ḏahra-l-ba'iir* 'The hair that broke the camel's back'. This remodeling is motivated by a typo in one of the writer's previous commentaries in which the alphabet *yaa'* was inadvertently dropped, thus changing the word *'ayyad-naa* <1y1dn1> 'supported-we' to *'adan-naa* <1d1n1> 'condemned-we' in reference to an act by the Kuwaiti Parliament. Note that in the absence of vowelling, which occurs in transcription, the two words are orthographically identical in Arabic without the /y/. Last, (20) remodels the colloquial proverb *ir-ramad wa-la-l-'amaa* 'Better to have inflamed eyes than be blind', thus advocating the option for the lesser of two evils, i.e. the rule of Islamic Courts, in the Somali context.

Proper/Common Nouns

This category comes fifth in frequency, lagging only by one item from religion. The bulk of the examples are remodeled proper nouns (there are only very few common nouns), as can be illustrated below:

21. sa'du-l-kuwait (*Al-Qabas*)
    good omen the-Kuwait
    (Kuwait's good omen)

22. 'abuu ḥamzah al-kuwaiti
    Abu Hamza the-Kuwaiti
    (the Kuwaiti Abu Hamza)

23. laas failaka (*Al-Watan*)
    (Las Failaka)

The title in (21) remodels the name of the Kuwaiti ex-Regent *Sa'd Al-Abdullah Al-Sabah* by changing the first name of the referent *Sa'd* to a predicate meaning 'good omen'; thus the proper name is remodeled to mean 'Kuwait's Good Omen'. The example in (22) remodels the well- known Egyptian Islamist *'abuu ḥamzah al-maṣrii* 'Abu Hamza Al-Masri' (who is seeking refuge in England and is currently being sued by British authorities for promoting terrorism). Through remodeling, the title utilizes the parent label to criticize Islamists in Kuwaiti Parliament. As for (23), it remodels the well-known American tourist attraction *Las Vegas* by hijacking the first part and having it, by way of satire, modify the name of a Kuwaiti island called *Failaka*. The writer of the commentary wants to criticize the Kuwaiti Ministry of Works for actively following tourist projects, while giving little attention to the more important housing projects.

Inter- vs. Contra-textuality

As a cover term, intertextuality is employed to refer to cases where language users fall back on pre-existing discourses when producing their own texts. Apart from quoting, this may or may not agree with the theme/attitude of the parent text. When it does, the textual interrelation is called intertextuality (an identical hyponym of the cover term) and contratextuality when it does not (Lemke 1985; Hatim and Mason 1990). The corpus of remodelings in our study instantiates both manifestations of intertextuality. Let us examine the two remodelings below, which have a common parent clichéd expression but differ in their mode of intertextualizing with it:

24. wa 'ala-l-naaxibiina tajuur-d-dawaa'ir (*Al-Watan*)
    and on-the-voters lean on the-electoral zones
    (Electoral zones do injustice to voters.)

Both remodelings fall back on the clichéd expression *wa ʻala-ḏ̣-ḏ̣aalimiina taduuru-d-dawaaʼir* 'Oppressors will get punished'. Exploiting Arabic polysemy (*dawaaʼir* can mean 'circles' and 'electoral zones'), however, (24) contratextualizes with it by communicating the message that the division of Kuwait into electoral zones in the 2006 parliamentary elections does injustice to Kuwaiti voters, i.e. 'the voters' in this remodeling, in contrast with 'oppressors' in the parent expression, are viewed as victims. By contrast, (25) genuinely intertextualizes with the parent expression by just substituting *al-mufsidiin* for *aḏ̣-ḏ̣aalimiin* while adhering to the original theme. Following are two sets of examples of intertextuality (25) and contratextuality (26):

25.   a) laa ṣawta fawqa ṣawt-l-ḥubbi (*Al-Qabas*)
      no voice above voice-the-love
      (The voice of love is the loudest.)

      b) bijaanibi kuulli muraššaḥin ʼimraʼah (*Al-Qabas*)
      beside each candidate woman
      (There's a woman beside each candidate.)

      c) ʼiðaa waʻada ʼanfað (*Al-Watan*)
      if promises(he) executes(he)
      (If he promises, he executes his promise.)

      d) nakbatu-l-buduun (*Al-Watan*)
      plight-the-Bodoun
      (Biduun's plight)

26.   a) al-muʻaaraḍah wa-s-saraab (*Al-Watan*)
      the-opposition and-the-mirage
      (Opposition and mirage)

      b) zaman waʼdi-r-rijaal (*Al-Watan*)
      age burying-the-men (alive)
      (Age of burying men alive)

      c) taariix fi-l-faḍaaʼiḥ (*Al-Qabas*)
      history in-the-scandals
      (A history of scandals)

      d) ka-l-bunyaani-l-mufattat (*Al-Qabas*)
      like-the-bricks-the-loose
      (Like loosely, built bricks)

Let us first explain the intertextuality data in (25). The example in (25a) intertextualizes with the parent expression *laa ṣawta yaʻluu fawqa ṣawti-l-maʻrakah* 'No voice is louder than the voice of battle', which was Egyptian President Naser's well-known slogan after the Arabs' humiliating defeat in their war with Israel in 1967. Similarly, (25b) echoes (though satirically) the clichéd expression *waraaʼa kulli rajulin ʻaḏ̣iimin ʼimraʼah* 'There's a woman behind every great man'. For its part, (25c), which refers to the late Emir Jaber Al-Sabah, intertextualizes with the Prophet's statement *ʼiðaa waʻada ṣadaq* 'If he promises, he keeps his promise', which generically refers to true believers. The last example in this set (25d) intertextualizes with the collocation *nakbat filisṭiin* 'Palestine plight' (the establishment of the Jewish State in 1948), thus likening the *Biduun* problem in Kuwait to the Palestinians' plight.

Turning to the second set in (26), the first example (26a) contratextualizes with a familiar novel title *al-ḥaqiiqah wa-s-araab* 'truth and mirage' by substituting *al-muʻaaradah* 'opposition' for *al-ḥaqiiqah* 'truth', thus associating Kuwaiti opposition's endeavor with *mirage* rather than *truth*. Likewise, (26b) contratextualizes with the collocation *wa'di-l-banaat* 'burying girls alive to avoid future disgrace' (a pre-Islamic practice), thus communicating the message that men in our age (the Arab context) are not manly enough, so they, rather than girls, should be buried alive. The next example (26c) similarly contratextualizes with the collocation *taariix fi-l-'injaazaat* 'a history of achievements' by just replacing *'injaazaat* 'achievements' with *fadaa'iḥ* 'scandals'. Last, the example in (26d) contratextualizes with the Prophet's phrase *ka-l-bunyaani-l-marṣuus* 'like tightly, built bricks' (which refers to the texture of Islamic society), thus the remodeling conveys the import that Kuwaiti society is the antithesis of that – 'like loosely, built bricks'.

7. Multiple discourses

In terms of content, as can be seen above, the data show that Kuwaiti newspaper columnists utilize a diversity of discourses including political, literary and religious genres when creating remodeled titles for their commentaries. Multiple discourses in remodeled titles also affiliate with different levels of Arab culture: classical Arab culture, contemporary pan-Arab popular culture, and Kuwaiti subculture. Notably, Kuwaiti columnists effectively mobilize their knowledge of these three parameters of Arab culture in order to reach all types of readers, including exoteric and esoteric audiences. Following are examples representing the three categories:

27. a) li-yalḥaqa šannun ṭabaqah (Al-Qabas)
let-follow Shan Tabaqah
(Let Shan follow Tabaqah)

b) kaada-l-muʻillimu'an yakuuna haṣuura (Al-Watan)
was about-the-Muallm that be lion
(Al-Muallim (Syrian Foreign Minister) was about to be a lion)

c) maxaaṭiru jammatun wa-l-'iraaqu waaḥidu (Al-Qabas)
dangers lots and-the-Iraq one
(Lots of dangers but Iraq is one and the same)

28. a) yasriquuna nafṭa-naa éumma yaštakuun (Al-Qabas)
steal (they) oil-our then complain
(They steal our oil and then they complain)

b) ya maal .. is-saamba (Al-Watan)
oh brand the-Samba
(Oh, Samba brand)

c) 'illi jaraḥ-na'ixallaṣ-na (Al-Qabas)
who wounded-us rescue-us
(That who wounded us should deliver us)

29. a) nabii-ha taḥaaluf (Al-Qabas)
want-it (we) Tahaluf
(We want it Tahaluf (name of a satellite TV station))

b) ṭab ṭab leeh (Al-Watan)
Tab Tab why
(Why Tabtaba'i (name of Dean of *Shari'a* Faculty at Kuwait University))

The remodeled titles in (27) fall back on classical Arab cultural heritage. The example in (27a) remodels the classical proverb *waafaqa šannun ṭabaqah* 'Shan and Tabah match well', which disapprovingly communicates the message that two people are getting along with each other well. The remodeling twists this import by expressing approval of x (Shan) having the same bad fate as y (Tabaqah). The other two titles make use of classical literary heritage. With his/her tongue-in-cheek, the columnist in (27b) falls back on the celebrity hemistich *kaada-l-muʻillimuʼan yakuuna rasuula* 'The teacher was about to be a prophet', which pays great tribute to the role of teachers in society. He/she invests the Syrian Foreign Minister's family name, which coincides with the word for 'teacher' in Arabic, to show how assertive Syrian politics has become. For its part, (27c) remodels another celebrity hemistich *taʻaddadati-l-ʼasbaabu wa-l-mawtu waahidu* 'Lots of reasons but death is one and the same'. It should be noted that the linguistic code used in remodeling classical material is Classical Arabic (the High variety). Therefore, case markers (the accusative –a, the nominative –u, and the genitive –i) are included in our transcription although they do not show in Arabic orthography. This is necessitated by the fact that when reading classical Arabic material aloud, these case markers ought to be pronounced **4**.

Contemporary Arab popular culture provides the input for the examples in (28). The title in (28a) remodels the colloquial Arabic proverb *ḏarabni u-baka u-sabagni w-i taka* 'He hit me and cried and went ahead of me and complained', which means that the aggressor rather the wronged claims the right to complain. The remodeled title refers to Iraqis who, according to the writer, steal Kuwaiti oil on the borders, and then file complaints in this regard. Surprisingly, the writer employs Standard Arabic although the parent expression is colloquial. A colloquial version such as *sarag nafṭni w-ištaka* 'He stole my oil and then complained' would have been a more effective trigger of the parent expression. The other two titles (28b and 28c), by contrast, successfully utilize colloquial Arabic (Levantine and Egyptian Arabic respectively). Enthralled by the good performance of the Brazilian football team when they played against the Kuwaiti national team in Kuwait, the producer of (28b) falls back on the Levantine popular/folkloric song *ya maal-iš-šam yallah ya maali* 'Oh Sham (Damascus) brand! Oh God! Oh my brand!'. Similarly, the writer of (28c) remodels a celebrity Egyptian song's segment *ʼilli šabakna ʼixallaṣna* 'That who entangled us should deliver us', which refers to falling in love. The writers of (28b) and (28c) utilize relevant Arabic vernaculars, which is the norm when Kuwaiti columnists employ familiar pan-Arab popular culture in their remodeled titles.

The last set of examples in (29) falls back on Kuwaiti subculture, which renders them incomprehensible to Arab readers who are not familiar with the Kuwaiti context. The first title in (29a) remodels a well known electoral slogan *nabiiha xams* 'We want it five', which was widely used in the 2006 parliamentary elections to demand the division of Kuwait into five electoral zones. The remodeled title simply used the slogan as input to protest the Kuwaiti government's objection to licensing a new TV satellite station by the name *taḥaaluf* 'alliance'. The second title in (29b) takes as input the name of a Kuwaiti personality *at-ṭabṭabaaʼii* 'Al-Tabtabaiʼ (Dean of the Faculty of *Sharii'ah* (Islamic Studies) at Kuwait University). The analysis of the name into rhyming syllables creates the effect of pet names and the impact is further heightened by the fact that these syllables ring the bell of a light, romantic popular song titled *ʼaṭabṭab ʼadalla'* 'I pat, I pamper'. These

humorous elements in the title mobilize forces to disapprovingly pose the question 'Why Tabtaba'i?' in reference to his *fataawaa* (religious statements). Finally, the title in (29c) remodels the expression *saaḫati-l-'iraadah* 'the will arena (parliament)' by falling back on Kuwaiti Arabic, viz. *al-qarraadah* is a Kuwaiti word for *al-qaraad* 'mites', thus likening Kuwaiti MPs to 'mites', which habitually suck the blood of their victims. As can be seen, the employment of Kuwaiti subculture in titles involves social/political aspects as well as linguistic features, a fact which makes such titles opaque to other Arab readerships.

In addition to the multiple discourses discussed above, there are two recurring titles in the *Watan* data that fall back on interlingual material to create remodeled titles, as can be illustrated in (30) below:

30. a) doot kuum
     dot com
     (.com)

     b) doot niit
     dot net
     (.net)

Both titles (which are originally parts of standard international electronic addresses) are employed to indicate that the topic in the column is discussed briefly and succinctly. This new, creative import of such interlingual material may be accessed only by computer literates. Such remdelings may be thought of as attempts by some writers to show that they possess a good education that goes beyond national as well as pan-Arab contexts.

8. Failed Remodelings

In the heat of searching for amusing titles, newspaper commentary writers may fall short of utilizing appropriate ones. In some cases, the writer may not be aware of negative associations which may arise from his well-intended titles, as can be illustrated below:

31. al-badriyyuuna-l-judud
     the-Badris-the-neo
     (the neo-*Badris* 'after *Badr*, the first battle in Islam')

32. aš-šaix naasiri-l-'aḥmadi-ṣ-ṣabaaḥ ṣamata
     the-sheik Nasir the-Ahmed the-Sabah was silent
     dahran wanaṭaqa duran
     age and said diamonds
     (Sheik Naser Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah was silent for ages, then he out wisdom)

33. hijrati-l-maktabaat
     migration the-libraries
     (Library migration)

34. il-waad ṭali'laa-buu-h
     the-boy take after for-father-his
     (The boy takes after his father.)

In (31), the writer, who expresses his admiration of the *Hezbollah* fighters' performance in the Israeli 2006 July war against Lebanon by likening them to the fighters of *Badr* (the first battle in Islam), unknowingly lands himself in remodeling a negative expression (collocation) frequently used by Arabs in the context of American politics, that is, *al-muḥaafiḏuuna-l-judud* 'neo-Consevatives/

Conservative Christians' or *al-mutaṣahyunuuna-l-judud* 'neo-Zionists'. The above title, therefore, immediately reminds the reader of these two pejorative collocations, which are widely used in Arab politics these days. Similarly, though aware of remodeling a clichéd expression, the producer of (32) does not succeed in erasing the negative connotations of the parent unit *ṣamata dahran wa nataqa kufran* 'He was silent for ages, then he spoke out infidelity (nonsense)'. This is because changing the second half positively while maintaining the inherently negative first half simply does not do the job. The competent reader may wonder how this inappropriate twinning of the two halves in the remodeled title could cohere. The next remodeling in (33) falters as a title of a commentary that explains how college students in Kuwait have deserted university libraries; the writer has fallen victim to a phonological miscue, viz. *hijratu-l-maktabaat* vs. *hajri-l-maktabaat* 'Library migration vs. Library desertion'. Based on the title alone, the competent reader would take it as a remodeling of the collocation *hijratu-l-ʻuquul* 'brain drain', which, unfortunately, does not cohere with the body of the commentary, which is about college students' deserting university libraries. Finally, the title in (34) constitutes the second part of a song segment whose first part comprises a string of rhyming nonsensical words, viz. *ʼiṣṣaḥḥin baḥin buu*. Based on the title, the reader would expect the commentary to be about some personality who resembles his father. Surprisingly, however, the commentary is about illegitimate children of non-Kuwaiti mothers who bear no resemblance to their alleged Kuwaiti fathers, who entitle them to obtain Kuwaiti nationality. In the hands of a more experienced writer, such a title would read *il-waad taaliʻ la-jaaru-h* 'The boy takes after his neighbor' or *il-waad taaliʻ la-mmu-h* 'The boy takes after his mother'.

9. Formal strategies in remodelings

Structural Strategies

The data instantiate five structural strategies in remodelings: substitution, deletion, negation, interrogation, addition, and word order. As predictable, substitution (substituting X for Y in a familiar expression) is the most frequent structural strategy for creating remodeled titles; it accounts for 78.5% of the examples. Substitution ranges between replacing one word with another that belongs to the same word class (which accounts for the bulk of the examples) and replacing the whole expression with another that bears the same structural features. Following are some examples that show different manifestations of substitution:

35. al-ḥub minʼawwal maṭrah (*Al-Qabas*)
     the-love from first rainfall
     (Love from first rainfall.)

36. maa haakaðaa yakuunu raddu baaḥiéin ʻilmiyyin ʻalaa ʼaaxar
     not this way is answer researcher scientific on another
     (This in not the way for an academic researcher to respond to another) (*Al-Qabas*)

37. ḥukmu-l-maḥaakim wa laa ḥukmu-l-fawḍaa (*Al-Watan*)
     rule the-courts and not rule the-chaos
     (Better the rule of Islamic Courts than chaos)

The examples in (35-37) illustrate word, clause and whole utterance substitution, respectively. The title in (35) remodels the clichéd expression *al-ḥub min ʼawwal na__rah* 'Love at first sight' by just replacing the count noun

naẓrah 'a glance' with the colloquial count noun *maṭrah* 'rainfall', thus bringing out the solacing impact of rain by associating it with the passion of love. The remodeling in (36) rephrases the Classical Arabic clichéd expression *maa haakaðaa tuuradu-l-'iblu* 'This is not the way to take camels to water' by replacing the embedded clause with another. The last title in (37) only remodels the syntactic form of the parent proverb *ir-ramad wa-la-l-'amaa* 'Better to have inflamed eyes than be blind' by replacing the whole proverb with a remodeled expression.

The second frequent structural strategy is deletion **5** , which lags far behind substitution, accounting for only 9% of the data. Remodelings featuring deletion function as triggers for activating parent expressions, as can be illustrated in the remodeled titles below:

38. yaa xabar bi-fluus (*Al-Qabas*)
     oh news for-money
   (Oh a piece of news against money)

39. bi-l-jawwi āeem (*Al-Qabas*)
     in-the-sky clouds
     (clouds in the sky.)

40. layta-š-šabaabu (*Al-Watan*)
     wishing-the-youthhood
     (wishing youthhood)

41. maṣaa'idu qawmin **6** (*Al-Watan*)
     snares people
     (people's snares)

The title in (38) triggers the colloquial proverb *yaa xabar bi-fluus bukra-b-balaaš* 'A piece of news against money now, tomorrow for free, i.e. One should not pay for news, it'll come for free'. Similarly, the title in (39) activates a song segment in the reader's mind, viz. *'arjuuki-'ib'id 'ib'id taraa bi-l-jawwi āeem* 'I request you to stay away because there are clouds in the sky, i.e. Please stay away as there's something fishy going on'. The example in (40) triggers a famous hemistich of a line of poetry that calls out for youth to come back, viz. *'alaa layta-š-šabaabu ya'uudu yawman* 'I wish youth would come back one day'. The last title (41) combines deletion with substitution; it echoes the hemistich *maṣaa'ibu qawmin 'inda qawmin fawaa'idu* 'Some people's plights are benefits for some other people, i.e. One man's meat is another man's poison', despite the fact that it substitutes *masaa'idu* 'snares' for *masaa'ibu* 'plights'.

Next comes addition as a structural strategy accounting for 4.5% of the data. It involves quoting the parent expression with an addition that changes the semantic import of the original expression, as can be illustrated in the following two examples:

42. id-darba-l-qaadyih faadyih (*Al-Qabas*)
     the-hit-the-deadening empty
     (A void knockout)

43. rizq-il-hubul'a-l-majaaniin .. wa-l-muhibbiin 'aydan
     livelihood-the-fools on-the-nuts and-the-lovers too
     (Fools live off nuts ... and off lovers, too.) (*Al-Watan*)

Employing addition, the title in (42) renders the parent phraseology *ad-darba-l-qaadyih* 'a knockout' paradoxical, thus communicating the message that what was intended as a knockout simply did not work. As for the addition in (43), which comes after the three dots, it is meant to expand the application of

5 In contrast with syntactic deletion (which is structure-oriented), deletion in remodeled titles is discourse-oriented. Recovering the ellipted material in such titles derives from the familiarity with the parent expression rather than structural dependencies.

6 It should be noted that complete hemistiches of Arabic poetry are not included as examples of deletion because they are self-contained expressions despite the fact that a hemistich belongs a larger unit, that is, a full line of poetry featuring two hemistiches.

the parent proverb to cover lovers. Thus, 'flower vendors' live off 'lovers on Valentine Day' the way 'fools' live off 'nuts' in the original proverb. One can argue that the writer would have produced a better remodeling by opting for substitution rather than addition, viz. *rizq-il-hubul 'a-l-muḫibiin* 'Fools live off lovers' would have been more economical, informative and amusing than the one with addition.

The other structural strategies (negation 2.5%, interrogation 1.5%, word order 1% and those unidentifiable 3.5%) collectively account for only 8.5% of the data. The following examples are illustrative:

44. jam'iyyaat laa ta'aawuniyyah (*Al-Watan*)
    co-ops not cooperating
    (unco-operative co-ops)

45. hal tušaabihu-l-laylata- .. l-baariḥata (*Al-Watan*)
    is similar the-tonight the-yesterday
    (Is tonight similar to yesterday?)

46. qadaaya-s-saa'ati min-al-'ahammi 'ila-l-muhimmi
    issues-the-hour from-the-most important to-the-important
    (Current issues from the most important to the important)
    (*Al-Qabas*)

47. al-mutaṭarrifuuna ḫulafaa' ... wa law 'ixtalafuu (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-extremists allies and even they differ
    (Extremists are allies even when they differ from each other.)

The title in (44) remodels the parent expression *jam'iyyaat ta'aawuniyyah* 'cooperative societies, i.e. co-ops', which are a common feature of Kuwait city, by negating it, thus directing harsh criticism at the way they are run. The example in (45) rhetorically questions the clichéd expression *maa 'ašhaha-l-laylata bi-l-baariḥah* 'How similar to yesterday tonight is!', which compares present to past. It should be noted that interrogation in remodeled titles embraces rhetorical rather than generic questions – the answers to the questions are always in the affirmative. The ordering of segments is the locus of the remodeling in (46), where the two parts of the parent collocation *min-al-muhimmi 'ila-l-'aham* 'from the important to the most important', which are linked by a preposition, are interchanged. Finally, the remodeling in (47) bears a blurred structural resemblance to the Prophet's statement *kaðaba-l-munajjimuuna wa law ṣadaquu* 'Oracles lied even when they told truths, i.e. Oracles lie even when they tell truths', because the verbal clause in the first part is changed to a copulative one in the remodeling; hence it does not qualify for substitution. Had the writer maintained the verbal clause, his remodeled title would have been more felicitous.

Semantic Strategies

The data show many semantic strategies that writers employ when they create remodelings. Semantic deviation, word formation and specification are the most noticeable among semantic strategies in the corpus.

The use of semantic deviation seems to be the most available strategy for creating remodelings. It stems from trespassing on collocational and/or selectional restrictions for the purpose of offering fresh phraseologies. Following are some illustrative examples:

48. xilaafu-l-'aqzaam (*Al-Qabas*)
    disagreement-the-dwarves
    (disagreement among dwarves)

49. an-naṣbuʿala-ṭ-ṭariiqati-l-ʾislaamiyyati (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-bluffing on-the-way-the-Islamic
    (Bluffing the Islamic way)

50. saraabu-l-ʾaḥzaab (*Al-watan*)
    mirage-the-parties
    (parties' mirage)

51. qutila sahwan (*Al-watan*)
    was killed inadvertently
    (He was killed inadvertently.)

All the titles in (48-51) instantiate semantic deviation which involves breaking the normal patterning of word company/selection for communicative purposes. So, what is commonly known as *xilaafu-l-ʾaqlaam* 'disagreement among pens/writers' is pejoratively remodeled as 'disagreement among dwarves' in (48), what is familiarly reputed as *að-ðabḫu ʿala-ṭ-ṭariiqati-l-ʾislaamiyyati* 'slaughtering (livestock, of course) the Islamic way' is remodeled as 'bluffing the Islamic way' in (49), what is proposed as *qaanuunu-l-ʾaḥzaab* 'parties' law' is depicted as a mere illusion in (50), and what is routinely lexicalized as *saqaṭa sahwan* 'dropped/omitted inadvertently' is applied to an act of killing in (51). Such deviations from lexico-cultural norms seem to provide an indispensable, rich resource for writers when creating remodeled titles.

Word formation constitutes another strategy for creating remodelings whereby the semantics of a lexeme is twisted for communicative purposes, as can be illustrated in the examples below:

52. *al-mutaʾaslimuuna* yakšifuuna-l-wajha-l-qabiiḥ (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-so-called-Islamists disclose-the-face-the-ugly
    (The so-called Islamists disclose their ugly face)

53. *al-qawmajiyyuuna*-l-ʿarab (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-so-called-nationalists-the-Arab
    (The so-called pan-Arabs)

54. wazaarat-il-*qarabaaʾ* … (*Al-Qabas*)
    ministry-the-suppression + electricity
    (Ministry of Supprecity)

55. *al-waw* (*Al-Qabas*)
    the-waw
    (the alphabet *waw*)

56. *doot kuum* (*Al-Watan*)
    dot com
    (.com)

The italicized words in (52) and (53) pejoratively remodel the lexemes *al-ʾislaamiyyuuna* 'Islamists' and *al-qawmiyyuuna* 'pan-Arabs' by way of creative derivation. The italicized remodeling in (54) blends the two lexemes *qahr* 'suppression' and *kahrabaaʾ* 'electricity'. For its part, the title in (55) remodels the lexeme *al-waasṭah* 'connections' by abbreviating it. Last, the title in (56) is a recurring *Watan* interlingual remodeling; the meaning of the borrowing is twisted to convey the message that some issue is dealt with succinctly and to the point.

The data also instantiate specification as a semantic strategy whereby a general lexeme is replaced with a specific one, as can be illustrated in the examples below:

57. bidaayatu-l-āayéi *'i'tiraafu-š-šatti* (*Al-Qabas*)
beginning-the-rain confession-the-Shatti
(Al-Shatti's confession is just the beginning)

58. rifqan bi-*d-duktoorah fooziyyah* (*Al-Qabas*)
be kind with-the-doctor Fouziyah
(Be kind with Dr Fouziyah)

59. 'iraaqu maa ba'da-*z-zarqaawiyyah* (*Al-Qabas*)
Iraq what after-the-Zarqawism
(Iraq after the death of Zarqawi)

60. wa li-*l-muraššaḥiina* fii ši'aaraati-him maðaahibu
and for-the-candidates in slogans-their ways
(Candidates employ different philosophies in their slogans) (*Al-Watan*)

The parent expression of the title in (57) is *bidaayatu-l-āayéi qatrah* 'The beginning of rain is a drop', where the lexeme *qatrah* 'a drop' is employed metaphorically, i.e. it is interpreted according to context. The remodeling, however, restricts the interpretation to 'confessions'. Similarly, the remodeling in (58) opts for specification by employing a female member of the category (Dr Fouziyyah) as a replacement for the whole category *al-qawaariir* 'women'. The currently wishful thinking expression *'iraaqu ma ba'da-l-ḥarb* 'post-war Iraq' is remodeled to specifically designate the situation in Iraq after Zarqawi's death in (59). Finally, (60) uses the specific lexeme *al-muraššaḥiin* 'candidates' as a replacement for the general lexeme *an-naas* 'people' in the parent hemistich *wa-li-naasi fii-maa ya'šaquuna maðaahibu* 'People employ different philosophies in love'.

Other semantic strategies are observed in the data, though to a lesser extent. They include personification, generalization and the use of onomastics, as can be illustrated in the following examples:

61. muwaaṭinuun xaariji- t-taāṭiyah (*Al-Qabas*)
citizens outside the-coverage
(Citizens who cannot be reached)

62. faāuddi-t-ṭarfa'anna-ka min'uraybin
reduce-the-sight that-you from Arab
(Ignore the fact you are an Arab.)

63. xaalid ..wa nafiis (*Al-Qabas*)
immortal and precious
(immortal ... and precious)

The title in (61) remodels a recorded Arabic message on cellular phones in Kuwait, viz. *ar-raqmu-l-maṭluub xaariji-t-taāṭiyah* 'The required number is outside coverage, i.e. cannot be reached'. The personification is meant to show that some Kuwaiti citizens cannot be reached because they do not care insofar as public issues are concerned. For its part, the example in (62) remodels the hemistich *faāuddi-t-ṭarfa'ana-ka min numayrin* 'Ignore the fact that you are from *Numayr* (a medieval Arab tribe)' by generalizing to all Arabs. The remodeled title ridicules Arab countries' boycotting the Palestinian government led by *Hamas* following in the footsteps of the United States, despite the fact that Palestinians are their Arab brethren. Finally, the title in (63) remodels the name of the late Kuwaiti actor *xaalid an-nifiisi* by converting the two parts of his name to predicates, thus paying him great respect and homage. Clearly, the rich onomastics of Arabic proper names provides a useful resource for remodeled titles because many Arabic names coincide with words.

Prosodic Strategies

Prosodic features are an important priority for writers when creating remodelings. It remains true that if they are to battle with semantic features, the latter will usually win for the simple fact that prosody without meaning can hardly count for anything. However, when they join forces with semantic features, the output will be meaningful, poetic and amusing. Our data show some prosodic tendencies, mainly including rhyme and syllable/word structure.

Rhyme constitutes the most effective prosodic feature in Arabic based on a rich, long tradition of classical poetry where a poem of a large number of lines (sometimes over a hundred) must have the same rhyme throughout. Therefore, the attendance to rhyme in remodelings is the most efficient and contributes highly to their processability, success and impact on readers. Following are some rhyming examples:

64. šarq 'awsat 'aniid (*Al-Watan*)
    east middle stubborn
    (A stubborn Middle East)

65. hal min muāaazil (*Al-Watan*)
    Q from flirter
    (Any flirter?)

66. bayn'imra'at-ayn (*Al-Qabas*)
    between women-two
    (between two women)

67. haaða-l-miidaan yaa niswaan (*Al-Qabas*)
    this-the-arena oh women
    (This is the arena, women)

The example in (64) rhymes with the familiar American-coined expression *šarq 'awsat jadiid* 'A new Middle East', thus appropriately joining forces with the semantic import that this American-sponsored Middle East is not an easy enterprise – it is a stubborn one. Similarly, prosody combines with semantics to remodel the clichéd expressions *hal min munaazil* 'Any challenger?' and *bayn naarayn* 'between two fires' in (65) and (66), respectively. For its part, (67) rhymes with the colloquial proverb *haaða-l-miidaan yaa ḥmeedaan* 'This is the arena, *Hmeedaan* (a male proper name that can stand for any addressee(s))', which is meant for both an invitation and a bit of a challenge. The rhyming remodeled title captures the same semantic import with specific reference to women candidates in the 2006 Kuwaiti Parliamentary Elections.

Attending to word and syllable structure in remodeled titles is another prosodic resource that significantly contributes to their success and impact, as can be illustrated in the examples below:

68. nuwwaabu-t-tadaxxuli-s-sarii' (*Al-Qabas*)
    MPs-the-intervention-the-quick
    (Quick intervention MPs)

69. ḥalaat-ak faaṭir (*Al-Qabas*)
    good-you having had breakfast
    (You're great after having breakfast (in *Ramadan*))

70. zawaaj-il-miṣyaaf (*Al-Watan*)
    marriage-the-summertime
    (Summertime marriage)

The title in (68) uses the lexeme *nuwwabu* 'MPs' as a replacement for *quwwaatu* 'forces' in the parent expression *quwwaatu-t-tadaxxuli-s-sarii'* 'Quick Intervention Forces'. The substitution succeeds prosodically because the words are identical in word length, vowel and syllable quality. The same thing applies to (69), where *faatir* in the remodeling replaces *saakit* 'silent' in the parent expression *halaat-ak saakit* 'You're great when you are silent (but not when you talk)'. The last example in (70) employs lexical creation to improvise a matching prosodic structure between the coined lexeme *al-misyaaf* and the lexeme *al-misyaar* in the parent expression *zawaaju-l-misyaar* 'visitation marriage (popular in Saudi Arabia)', in order to freshly introduce a kind of marriage relating to summertime only.

10. Conclusion

Remodeled titles prove to be a robust manifestation of intertextuality where an immediate linkage is established between a psychologically-real, preexisting discourse entity and a freshly and creatively molded one. In this context, the enterprise of creating a remodeled title can be compared to stopping at an epitaph of someone you know in terms of activating memories contained in past repertoire. These memories constitute the driving force behind expressing emotions toward the deceased upon stopping at the epitaph as well as behind creating remodeled titles upon putting pen to paper when writing newspaper columns.

The process of searching for a remodeled title involves mobilization of forces that go well beyond the conveyance of straightforward messages. The writer becomes so keen to present himself/herself as an entertainer whose main objective is to promote his/her commodity (column) to an assumed consumer. The aspects of this promotion such as appeal, interestingness, provocativeness, and informativeness emerge as constituent elements of successful remodeled titles. In addition to extensive professionalism and expertise, a good education involving a far-reaching awareness of pan-Arab and national heritage, as well as a good knowledge of universal culture, is the main resource which writers fall back on when creating such titles.

The relationship between the employment of remodeled titles and the ideology/policy of the newspaper has been tentatively established in this paper. It appears that the more liberal and independent the newspaper is the more its columnists opt for remodeled titles. However, this conclusion needs to be confirmed in other contexts (countries) where the dichotomy of liberal/independent vs. conservative/government-oriented is more evident. The wide margin enjoyed by columnists in Kuwaiti newspapers, regardless of their ideological orientation, may have weakened the conclusion in this regard.

Thematically, columnists delve into all aspects of Arab culture to come up with remodeled titles. In particular, social, political, artistic, and religious materials constitute the foundation stone as input for remodelings. In terms of phraseology, remodeled titles feature a range of categories including collocations, clichéd expressions, proverbs, religious statements (*Quran* and *Hadith*), art (poetry, songs, films, etc.), and proper/common nouns. Maximally, the input for a remodeled title can be a Quranic verse, a hemistich of poetry or a proverb. Minimally, it can be a proper name or a common noun. In all cases, a remodeled title embraces an ideological move that either agrees (intertexualizes) with or conflicts (contratexualizes) with the theme in the parent expression. In either case, remodeled titles voice familiar public narratives (Somers and Gibson 1994), e.g. liberal vs. conservative, secular vs. religious, *Sunni* vs. *Shiite*, etc.

Pragmatically, remodeled titles categorically flout the maxim of Manner for a communicative purpose. By changing the existing linguistic segment in conspicuous (and sometimes in very subtle) ways, writers can put forward their narratives effectively through innovative phraseologies. Such phraseologies communicate their messages via marked expressions compared with their unmarked (straightforward) counterparts. The markedness of remodeled titles lies behind their remarkable semiotic power. Apparently, the writer's ability to intriguingly invest the *open principle* in the production of segments that are, otherwise, the output of the *idiom principle* plays a key role in increasing the impact of discoursing. It is unfortunate that this discourse mechanism does not receive due attention in discourse analysis in particular and language education in general.

Formally, remodeled titles fall back on three main linguistic codes: the local vernacular (emanating from Kuwaiti subculture), pan-Arab vernaculars (affiliating with contemporary Arab culture), and classical Arabic (affiliating with Arab heritage). These three resources enable writers to discuss a diversity of topics and reach a variety of audiences. At the ends of a continuum, a certain remodeled title can be interpreted only by Kuwaitis and those familiar with the Kuwaiti subculture while another may be understood only by highly educated Arabs who can call up deeply rooted material from Arab heritage.

Linguistically, columnists employ various semantic, structural and prosodic strategies. Semantically, deviation from collocational/ selectional restrictions of lexemes seems to be the most common strategy in creating remodeled titles. Other semantic strategies include derivation, specification, onomastics, personification, and generalization. Structurally, substitution stands out as the most used strategy in creating remodelings. Other structural strategies include deletion, negation, interrogation, addition, and word order. Finally, prosodic strategies manifest a strong tendency for rhyming items and like syllable/word structure when considering options for the creation of remodeled titles. A successful, interactive mobilization of semantic, structural and prosodic strategies in remodeling will definitely produce the best results.

11. References

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