Code switching and code mixing in Arabic written advertisements: Patterns, aspects, and the question of prestige and standardisation

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Abstract

This study investigates code mixing (and code switching) that are becoming a norm rather than an exception in Arabic written commercials in Jordan and Palestine. The analytical framework of the study draws on the notions of the communicative competence approach and hybridity theory. The study reveals that there are identifiable patterns, though inconclusive, of code mixing and code switching, and that written advertisements (ads) are impacting the evolution of written Arabic as a diglossic language. The study results highlight salient lexical and morpho-syntactical aspects of vernacular use in the area of verbs, prepositions, question words and idiomatic expressions. The study concludes that equating standard with prestige is increasingly becoming a questionable assumption, and that the use of the vernacular in the written mode is not arbitrary, and serves linguistic and sociocultural objectives. In other words, vernaculars are penetrating ads as a literary genre where they function as forceful communicative and persuasive devices. The study also concludes that the use of the vernacular in writing aligns with certain age groups, certain businesses, and socio-economic statuses of the targeted audiences. The role of language academies is being undermined. The ads can be a very rich resource for instructional materials for teaching the vernacular which will also fit the learning styles of visually oriented learners. Other pedagogical and socio-cultural implications of the use of this widely spread genre are drawn.

Key words: *code switching, code mixing, diglossia, Arabic advertisements, sociolinguistics*

Introduction

Definition and conceptual framework of code switching/code mixing

Code switching refers to the mixing of words from different languages at a grammatically clausal level or beyond. Confirming Poplack's conclusion, Leung (2006), in her study of code switching in Hong Kong and Sweden, notes that the most prominent type of code switching is the intra-sentential, and the most code-switched part of speech is the noun phrase. Speakers of a particular language code switch for different reasons. Takashi (1990) explains that people code mix because the mixed foreign words (1) fill a lexical gap,(2) are more technical terms than the native equivalents, (3) are used as a euphemism technique, (4) reflect modernity and sophistication, and (5) are trade names used without translation.

Code mixing, on the other hand, has been defined as the mixing of words of various languages, or various varieties of the same language in the same sentence (Poplack, 1980). Nonetheless, Poplack (2001) and Myres-Scotton (2002) suggest that, it is difficult, in many cases, to determine whether a particular case is a code-mixing or borrowing[i]. Code mixing, as suggested by Hudson (1994), happens when the situation is ambiguous, and neither language [or variety] on its own expresses the intended message. The balance of the two languages, he adds, is to get the desired effect on the audience as a "linguistic cocktail" (ibid., p. 53). Since code mixing can be interpreted as a sign of language incompetence, Holmes (1993) uses the term "metaphorical switching" that is used when the speaker

wants to elevate his/her speech level to demonstrate a higher level of education or linguistic competence. In this type of switching, each code "represents a set of social meanings" (ibid., p. 49).

Contextual background of code mixing

Code mixing (or diglossic switching) has traditionally occurred in spoken, but not in literary Arabic. Usually, Arabic words that are used in literary Arabic go through a process of Arabicization undertaken by language academies. It is relatively recently that writers started to incorporate the vernacular in their writing, particularly in short stories, and novels. Much of the free verse done nowadays is also done in or incorporates features of the vernacular. Chambers (2003) even suggests that urban dialects are competing with Standard Arabic (SA) as prestigious varieties, and "it [SA] cannot fill the role of the [spoken] standard variety in the social stratification" (p.160).

In the world of written ads, using the vernacular is one mean advertisers use to address the customers persuasively, attract their attention and promote their products and services. Bassiouney (2005) says that it is expected that advertisers will use the language variety of the audience targeted. In other words, an advertiser "will modify his language towards the predicted variety of his audience in order to gain his approval" (ibid., p. 47).

Many discoursal features of ads such as outline and the use of verbal and visual metaphors may overlap across cultures. Yet some have their own peculiarities. In Arabic ads, for example, and due to its diglossic nature, one important decision a copywriter may want to make is about the language level or code, including the vernacular, to be used. Traditionally, Standard Arabic (SA) has been regarded the "high" and literary language. On the other hand, spoken dialects have been used mainly for oral communication, and have traditionally been regarded as "low" languages. Recently, using the vernacular has become more widespread, and more acceptable in literary genres.

The overlap between MSA and dialects in advertisements

The ongoing debate among Arabic language professionals concerning the role of spoken dialects in literary Arabic, and the current serious attempts to incorporate the vernaculars in the language curriculum is not fully settled. Proponents contend that spoken Arabic is instrumental in everyday communication, while opponents say that SA is the high language and should be taught first to learners. Although popular textbooks integrate the spoken and the literary, it is still, in many instances, that the literary variety is emphasized. The questions as to what dialect to teach and how are still lingering questions. Palmer (2007) points that although more students want to learn the vernacular, their teachers lack the same level of enthusiasm and do not provide sufficient support. As a means of communication, delivery and instruction, ads are an area where both can be right. There are ads that are written in pure SA, ads that are written in the vernacular and others where copywriters mix language codes and levels. This study examines such patterns and explains when and why these patterns are used. While code switching and code mixing are common linguistic phenomena in spoken languages, particularly Arabic, they are becoming more common in writing, especially in mass media. New technology makes it possible to have more written texts with mixed codes that target both monolingual and bilingual speakers. The study thus makes a distinction between code switching and code mixing and regards them as two linguistic phenomena. The ads that mix words at the clausal level are considered examples of code switching, while ads that mix words at the phrasal level are treated as examples of code mixing.

The study

Several studies investigated the use of the vernacular in Arabic media. Ibrahim (2010) examined the use of Egyptian dialect in the opposition newspapers. She also explained that such use, though minimal, appeared in the Lebanese newspaper *Al –Hayaat* in 1997. Samin (2010) examined the discourse of two Saudi internet bulletin boards where he explained how youth used certain codes of language behavior to express their identity.

This study focuses on Arabic commercials for several reasons. Previously, very few studies examined code switching and code mixing in Arabic written ads. The first study to analyze the discourse of ads in Arabic media was Gully (1997), who assessed television ads and, to a much lesser extent, the ads in Egyptian print media. Gully's study was pioneering but "preliminary," as he described it. It was also

broader in that it assessed the discourse of those ads where code switching was one facet of the analysis. The second study was Bassiouney (2005) in which she only examined code switching in Egyptian television ads. Her goal was to discuss the relationship between code choice, on one hand, and the nature of the product and the target audience on the other. These and other sociolinguistic studies have, mainly, emphasized the phonological level of the language used. Thus there is a need to investigate linguistic uses in other contexts and at all levels (Al-Wer, 2007). Van-Mol noted that "until now there are no statistical data available as to what extent dialectal features occur in written media and in what article (p.67)." Also, as ads are evolving and are influenced by social, political and technological advances, a thorough analysis of ads of another region in the Arab world, which exclusively focuses on written commercials, is necessary. In addition, while SA has been the literary language historically, ads deviate from this pattern. In particular contexts, copywriters use spoken Arabic and other codes, mainly English, to market their products and services to their audiences.

Investigating both Jordanian and Palestinian written ads is justified and appropriate. The two societies have much to share, and cherish. The West Bank of River Jordan and East Jerusalem (hereinafter referred to as Palestine)[ii] had been historically part of Jordan until they were occupied by Israel in 1967 (I focus on the West Bank and east Jerusalem, as the two Palestinian newspapers I selected for the study are published there). Due to the successive waves of Palestinian refugees to Jordan as a result of the 1948 and 1967 wars, it is estimated that more than two thirds of the people living presently in Jordan are of Palestinian origins (Al Abed, 2004)[iii]. The two societies are intricately interconnected. Many Palestinians have relatives in Jordan through kinship or marriage relations and vice versa. More importantly, the vernaculars used in the urban areas in both Jordan and Palestine are very similar, as a result of the interaction between the two peoples over the last few decades following waves of forced immigration, and, also, as a result of the modernization process that took place in Jordan, mainly Amman, the largest metropolitan region in Jordan, in the 1970s and beyond. This is consistent with Parkinson's (2010) notion of "communities of use" where he suggested that "large communities usually co-equal with countries or even larger regions, which are isolated enough from other regions that they have developed a large number of consistent but idiosyncratic choices where *fuṣḥa* [standard] gives them a choice" (p.59). Finally, while learning English as the most code-switched foreign language in both contexts is not as stigmatized as it was, it has been viewed as a symbol of internationalization and modernity, and thus its use has become more popular, particularly when public schools in the 1980's started teaching English at the first grade rather than the fifth grade. In many of the higher education institutions, English is also the language of instruction.

Data

The study investigates 270 written commercial ads in Jordanian and Palestinian daily newspapers published between the months of March and October, 2012. The newspapers the study examined include two major Jordanian newspapers: *Al Ghad* and *Ad-Dostour*, and two Palestinian newspapers *Alquds* and *Al-Ayyam*. All of these newspapers have online versions in PDF format, making them accessible for broader audiences. *Ad-Dustour* and *Al-Ghad* are two of the top three Jordanian newspapers by circulation rates: *Al-Ghad* (45,000-50,000 copies), *Ad-Dustour* (30,000) (Media Sustainability Index, 2008). While *Alquds* entertains the highest circulation rate in Palestine with 20,000 copies, *Al-Ayyam* comes second with 10, 000 copies (BBC, 2006). Duplicates of ads across newspapers were excluded from the study. Similarly, trade and classified ads were not included.

Analytical framework

Communicative competence

The study draws on the communicative competence approach that

> involves knowing not only the language but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in a given situation. Further, it involves the social and cultural knowledge speakers are presumed to have which enables them to use and interpret linguistic forms. (Saville-Troike, 2002, p. 18)

Therefore, communicative competence incorporates linguistic knowledge, interaction skills, and cultural knowledge. For the ads to function as a communicative move, one of the skills copywriters must have is the ability to choose the appropriate language code and level that fulfills the ultimate goal of advertising, i.e. promoting products or services to a target audience.

Hybridity

The study also adopts the notion of hybridity that is based on heterogeneity of any given texts, and intertextuality involved in creating such texts. As Buell (cited in Gilmetdinova, 2010) notes, the study of hybridity of codes incorporates code identification, motivation and interpretation of the texts. He adds that code switching or mixing can be based on cross-cultural communication differences, ideological shifts, or rhetorical emphasis on a certain part of the text. This study will focus on the textual analysis, primarily code switching and code mixing, of ads that are regarded as literary texts. It will also discuss how the texts of these ads are motivated and how they can be interpreted by addressees.

Results and discussion

Patterns of language level and code

This study identified five of recognizable patterns of code switching, and code or metaphorical mixing in the ads examined. The following table shows the distribution of those patterns, including ads where SA and English are solely used. Below the table is an explanation of these patterns:

Table 1. *Distribution of Identifiable Patterns in Ads Analyzed*

Standard Arabic$_1$	Code switching	Code mixing	Code switching and code mixing	English only	Total
94	68	58	24	22	270
35%	26%	21.5%	9%	8%	100%

The use of Standard Arabic

The entire ad is written in pure SA, and no other codes or language levels are mixed. This pattern still resembles a higher percentage (35%) than other patterns, but does not constitute a majority. Ads of schools, academic institutions, and religious organizations use this pattern. We also find this pattern with some auto ads. While this pattern indicates that SA is still the preferable code in written ads, the rate tells us that this status is deteriorating, and other patterns are replacing it. It is also noticeable that advertisers using pure SA represent certain enterprises such as academic and religious institutions where SA is expected to be used by the targeted audience. Using this pattern by some auto advertises may have to do with prestige, but this cannot be generalized. Auto advertisers also use other patterns as discussed below.

Code switching

In this pattern, SA is used throughout the ad and the name of the product is written in a foreign language, mainly English. These constitute 26% of all advertisements analyzed. When English is used, the words have either no equivalents or they are trade names. For example, in an ad for iPhones and iPads applications, found in *Ad-Dustour,* the Jordanian daily newspaper from which many ads were taken, the entire ad is written in SA except for these foreign names that do not have Arabic translations: iPhone, iPad, iTunes Store and PDF. Using English to fill this lexical gap becomes a linguistic necessity and meets pragmatic needs. But it is also a reflection of the verbal communication where these expressions are used without any changes (albeit phonological changes that are not expressed in the written form). It is also true that these are brand names that have no equivalents in Arabic, nor is the audience accustomed to seeing them transliterated (although the word "store" in iTunes Store can be easily translated). The same pattern has also been observed in automobile and electronics ads. However, ads of private educational institutions that use bilingual curricula and academic programs that provide programs in English (local and foreign) are also well known for this

pattern. This pattern is widespread implying that SA is still the dominant and prestigious literary variety of Arabic, and that integrating new foreign words to become loanwords is not an easy or smooth process. Taking into account the types of goods advertised and the audience targeted, presumably educated, or at least familiar with the services and products, copywriters have no escape but to use this pattern. While foreign terms such as the ones mentioned can be seen in transliteration, this is not the most predominate pattern.

Code mixing

In this pattern, the ad is in SA (or Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) discussed on page 7 infused with vernacular lexemes which tend to be common, or catchy phrases. This pattern represents 21.5% of all ads analyzed. This pattern is known as intra-sentential mixing. These lexemes may be used stylistically such as creating a rhyming scheme, or because of the cultural or social value that the SA equivalent may not fulfill. In a Mistsubishi advertisement, the slogan says:

> raja' shahr ramḏaan..wa raja'at 'uruḏuna kamān

> 'The month of Ramadan returned .. and so did our offers.'

The slogan is entirely written in SA, except for the word *kamān* 'and so [did our offers].' Using this lexeme created the rhyming effect between the two parts of the clause: Ramadan and *kamaan*. The lexeme *kaman* is commonly used in the vernacular and is being used for stylistic purposes. The SA equivalent *'ayḏan* could be used but the rhyme would not be maintained. Other common lexemes include *balāsh* or *bibalāsh* 'for free,' which can be observed in this and other patterns like it are another way to attract customers' attention to the price or offer being provided. Such use then serves the ultimate objective of advertising.

Another version of this pattern is where the ad is in SA mixed with aspects of the vernacular, and the names of foreign products are transliterated in Arabic. Examples of this are usually found in many international, mainly American, fast food restaurants. For example, a McDonalds' ad promoting a new menu deal reads:

wₐjba grānd tshikin diluks	'grand chicken deluxe meal'
wajba big teisti	'big tasty meal'

While the word for 'meal' is translated as *wajba*, 'chicken,' 'big' and 'tasty' are not. Since these are stable items on the menu that is foreign, translating them does not sound as authentic, nor does it sound fashionable. In fact, translating them into Arabic may create havoc on the part of some restaurant employees who are accustomed to using the foreign names, most likely from the training they receive. Since foreign fast food restaurants are a sign of westernization and sounding trendy, translating even words such as "big" and "tasty" defeats the appeal of the ads and consequently the marketability of the product. It is worth mentioning that McDonalds and other similar restaurants are found in bigger towns where exposure to English is broader. This type of code switching is therefore not pragmatically but socially motivated. It aims at directing the reader's attention to the embedded meaning in the code switched term(s). The code switched words are also short and easy to remember, and commonly used. For instance, the term "deluxe" is found on almost on every new apartment building that is for sale in either country and it is spelled in Arabic letters. Arabic equivalents are not used. Additionally, There is no law in either country that requires advertisers to use equally legible Arabic translation as is the case in France (Martine, 2002), although Arabic is the official language and there is a language academy in Amman, Jordan.

Code switching and code mixing

In this pattern, there is a combination of code switching and code mixing (9%). The foreign words are used in translation or transliteration, and the remainder of the ad is written in SA or a combination of both SA and the vernacular. This is a very identifiable pattern in ads promoting convenience products and restaurant menus that serve foreign dishes. Some of the ads transliterate such items, others present them Romanized, while others translate them into Arabic (where translations give the intended meaning). In a McDonald's ad for a new item on the menu:

> *'ajniḥat 'ad-dajāj* 'chicken wings'

māk wingz	'Mac wings'
ḥalāl	'lawful' (according to Islamic shariʻa)
'aladh foţour yabda' bilqarmasha	'the most delicious breakfast begins with snacking'
wa sahrāt ramadān btikmal maʻ wufil koun	'Ramadan evenings are not complete without a waffle cone'

The ad is an excellent example of code mixing and code switching. The ad uses SA, vernacular, transliteration and translation at the same time. For example, while the ad starts in SA, the name of the new product 'Mac wings' is in English. The word *halal* is not Romanized, and the fourth line in the narrative is in SA. Yet another product 'waffle cone' is Romanized while the remainder of the sentence is in SA and while the verb *btikmal* starts with the aspectual marker *b-* which occurs only in the vernacular (as will be discussed later).

In these patterns where English is used, many of the code switched terms are cultural and difficult to translate. Thus they are used in the original forms. The areas mainly include food, drinks, sports, electronics, and cosmetics. These also arise at a pace where attempts of Arabicization lag behind. But it is also true to assume that mixing ads is intentional since advertisers want to reach readers from the different socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Thus there is something for everyone.

The use of English

In this pattern, the ad is done entirely in English (8%). We categorize this as code switching since the ads appears in a newspaper that is printed entirely in Arabic, and such a pattern is not expected, or, at least, is uncommon. Widespread globalization and the rise of the internet might have helped promote this pattern. Since English has become the international language, it has become more common to observe English language mixed in written, and not only in spoken texts. On the other hand, these types of ads can be an attempt by the copywriter to identify with the target audience that is most likely familiar with the advertised product due to their socio-economic status. In the study, several illustrations of this pattern are found. Usually, ads for prestigious products such as luxury cars, fine chocolates, and foreign top quality appliances, such as heating systems and air conditioners, use this language code. In an ad for Ganache, a pastry shop, we find:

Ganache

Café and Pastries (very small font)

It's Time To Experience The Real Taste

Open Today @ 6 Pm

Ganache is not an Arabic word, nor is it a commonly-used term in the Jordanian context which is not regarded a bilingual community. Usually chocolate lovers and those who are sufficiently exposed to English, and chocolate products will recognize the name. Therefore, this may have to do with the socio-economic class that the ads are targeting. It is, however, observable that the text in such ads is very brief, and that there is heavy reliance on the image of the product to create the desired effect from the ads. For example, all upscale watch ads of known brands tend to follow this pattern. The ads usually exhibit a metaphorical image of the watch, brand and name, and in some cases, a slogan.

This pattern is also found in technologically-oriented ads, with the exception that the name of the store is published in Arabic. Names of the products and their features are all presented in English. In these ads, the copywriter is using scientific language to identify with the consumers (Poplack, 1980; Dyer, 1982), to sound fashionable, or because there are no native equivalents, or where the translated equivalents are rarely used, and may sound awkward.

Switching to other Arabic dialects

In an unexpected move, and in only two of all examined ads, the copywriter code switched to a completely different Arabic dialect, which is not a common technique. However, we believe that this switch is appropriate and justifiable within the context of situation. It is also a sign of the change Arabic is undergoing as a diglossic language affected by political and social elements. The first ad is about a

phone plan to call Egypt. The ad includes a slogan in the Egyptian vernacular, while the rest of the ad is done in SA:

> tuḥfa ʾitkallim maʿ maṣr bʿarḏ maḥaṣalsh

> 'tuḥfa: talk to Egypt in an offer that did not happen before'

To a speaker of Arabic familiar with Egyptian, the expression sounds very Egyptian. Firstly, the word *tuḥfa* is Egyptian sounding. While in some Jordanian and Palestinian sub-dialects, it is pronounced with a final *fatha* /a/ sound similar to Egyptian pronunciation, the urban dialect uses the *kasra* /i/ sound. Secondly, Jordanian and Palestinian dialects use the verb *ʾiḥki* to mean 'talk.' It is mostly in Egyptian that the verb *ʾitkallim* is used to refer to 'talk'. Thirdly, the expression *maḥaṣalsh,* 'did not happen,' is a common Egyptian expression used to emphasize that something has not occurred previously. The expression has the same meaning in Jordan and Palestine, but the pronunciation is different, *maḥaṣalish* with an inserted /i/ sound before the final consonant in the word. Finally, the same advertiser, in another ad for other international calling plans, uses SA throughout. The switch to Egyptian is intentional and justifiable, as an estimated 800,000[iv] Egyptian workers live in Jordan; and the phone plan is specifically to call Egypt. Thus the largest target market in Jordanian society for such a plan would be the Egyptian nationals. Appealing to this very large minority through their dialect is an effective technique to promote the new service.

The other example is used by *Mazajfm* 'mood FM,' a coffee shop promoting a musical evening program during the month of Ramadan. The entire ad is in SA. However, the last phrase in the body copy, which sounds like an Egyptian common idiom, reads:

> mazzika gamda

> 'amazing music'

We believe this is an Egyptian sounding expression for three reasons. People in Jordan and Palestine use *mūsiqa* to refer to music, while *mazzika* is an Egyptian variation. The adjective *gamda* is also common in Egypt to mean 'serious,' and 'real.' In Jordan, it would sound unappealing to use the expression in the same context, because the sound /g/ does not occur in Jordanian or Palestinian Arabic. Finally, the name of the show is *layāli ʾalqāhira* 'Cairo Nights.' It makes sense to finish the ad with an Egyptian expression, especially when the music to be played is all Egyptian, as indicated by the headline, and the images of Egyptian singers portrayed in the ad.

Although switching to other dialects is not a pattern, we thought it is interesting to see that attempts are being made in this regard, and that copywriters are seeking new techniques to appeal to their target audiences, if the situation calls for or justifies such a technique.

The case of Educated Spoken Arabic

Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) is a hybrid between SA and the spoken colloquial, and is created by the interaction of the two. It does not have the desinential inflections of SA and it is "based on a colloquial matrix underpinned by key vernacular structures and processes … that relies on universally-understood spoken lexical items" (Ryding, 2009, p. 50). In print media, it would be relatively difficult to cite precise instances of ESA, mainly due to the absence of case endings[v]. But it is also related, as Bassioney (2009) notes, citing several studies, to the fact that ESA has not been well defined and the underlining rules have not been fully assessed. In his study, Gully (1997) was able to discuss this topic extensively citing television ads where ESA can be easily assessed in the spoken mode. In written ads, it is customary not to have case endings, which makes the task of detecting clear illustrations more challenging. However, some ads might illustrate its use. For example, a SmartBuy (an electronic store) ad starts with:

> ʾistarjiʿ noqudak fī ḥāl wajadt siʿr ʾaqall waḥṣol ʾala hadiyya

> 'Get a refund if you find a cheaper price, and [also] get a gift!'

The statement appears to be written in SA. One thing, however, stands out as an ESA feature. This is found in the word *siʿr* 'price.' Had this been written in SA, we would have seen a final *alif* /ā/ at the end of the word, since this is where the case ending *tanwīn fatḥa,* which is an accusative marker, should be seated orthographically, although it will not be spelled out. In ESA, the *ʾalif* drops. The rest of the vocabulary used occurs in both SA and ESA, but not in the vernacular.

In the Mitsubishi ads (8), we can be certain it is ESA that is being used, as the copywriter provides the short vowels:

> raja' shahr ramaḍān w raja'at 'orūḏna kamān

> 'Ramadan came back and so did our offers!'

First there is a *sukūn* on the first verb *riji'* 'came back,' which signifies an ESA use. While this verb in the dialect is pronounced with /i/ after the first consonant, this is not the case in this example. The same verb in the second part is vocalized and shows a *fatḥa* /a/ sound, as it is used in ESA. The word *'orū̱duna* is another clue. While in the dialect, one would not vocalize *'orūḏna* with a *sukūn* on the letter D, which marks the verb's last letter, the ads included the *ḏamma* /u/ sound which is used in SA or ESA. The expression *kamān*, 'also, as well,' is a salient vernacular feature that is also used in ESA. Hence, there is a combination of both—SA and the vernacular—which is what characterizes ESA to a great extent.

Aspects of vernacular use

Ads in both Jordan and Palestine exhibit patterns of vernacular usage. These patterns can be lexical, or morpho-syntactic. Below, we assess the most noticeable and widespread patterns.

Preposition use

Following the "principle of economy" languages undergo, Jordanian and Palestinian dialects have short forms of some prepositions. For instance, the preposition *'ala* 'on' is contracted to *'a*, while the preposition *'illa,* 'to,' is contracted to 'li' or 'la' in both vernaculars. Several examples of vernacular forms of prepositions are found in the ads analyzed. In an ad for the weekly newspaper, *Al Waseet*, and under the title, the headline reads:

> *'ammān … jawābak 'a bābak*   'Amman…your answer is at your doorsteps.'

The copywriter is using a rhymed phrase in the vernacular to promote the distribution of the newspaper. In SA, the endings *jawābak* 'your answer' and *bābak* 'at your door' would change in SA to *jawāḇuk* and *bāḇik* respectively, because of their grammatical functions within the sentence. Hence, using the preposition in its dialectal form fits perfectly, and preserves the rhyme the copywriter created. Using the standard version of the preposition *'ala* 'on' would sound awkward and would not fit. It is interesting to note that the preposition *'a'* is written independently, i.e. detached from the noun that follows, resembling the orthographic representation of its original counterpart *'ala* in SA, which became a conventional orthographic practice (albeit exceptions exist), contrary to the norm in SA, where letters are usually attached to words that follow, and cannot stand independently.

The same use of the same preposition is found in the popular Al Manqal restaurant ad:

> 'al manqal tshikin tikka ṣiḥi w 'al faḥim

> 'Al Manqal Chicken Tikka is healthy and grilled (on charcoal).'

As the expression *'al faḥim* 'on charcoal (grilled)' is a cliché that is widely used, the copywriter chooses to use it to appeal to the consumers. The expression sounds trendy to those who frequent these types of restaurants, and is shorter and lighter than the SA expression *'ala-l-faḥm*.

In describing the warrantee it offers to its customers, a Renault automobile company ad says:

> maḥsūbe 'al-masṭara

> 'calculated (referring to the warrantee) using a ruler (accurately).'

In this example, the advertiser uses a very common vernacular idiom where the preposition *'ala* is contracted to *'a*, as previously explained. Using the standard form of the preposition would defeat the purpose of using a commonly-used expression to appeal to the consumers. The pronunciation of the full preposition would also become more cumbersome, because two /l/ sounds would follow each other separated by /a/.

When the same preposition *'ala* is used in its complete form in the vernacular, it is used to mean ''at someone's expense; on the house.' This use is very common as a marketing technique in ads, and is abundantly used. For instance, in an Umniya, a mobile company ad, the ad starts:

> *maṣruf tilifoonak bshahr nīsan 'aleina*   your April phone bill is on us (on the house)

> where the preposition is attached with *eina* 'us.'

It is also used in intertextual texts. Intertextuality occurs when one text refers or echoes another text. The new text is thus read in light of the other text. The implications of the latter shape how the new text is understood and interpreted. The presupposition is that readers are familiar with and will remember the original text and its assumptions. Analyzing intertextual advertisements informs, from a media perspectives, what is regarded as "shared knowledge and thus the dominant world-view" (Van Niekerk, 2008, p. 495). For example, in a Ducati, a motorcycle company, the ad slogan reads:

> *'il'arus 'aleik…wid-darrāje 'aleina*   'The bride is on you (your responsibility).and the bike is on us'

This new text is a reframe of a very common proverb used in Arabic *yawmun lak wa yamun 'alayk* 'a day for you, and another against you.' The proverb implies that a customer would be awarded if he/she does his/her work first.

Another preposition that is commonly used in the language of written ads is the preposition *bi* or *b* as an even shorter version when it means 'in'. While the preposition is also used in SA, in the examples we analyzed, and based on the situational context, the sound of the phrases in which the preposition occurred is vernacular. In a Housing Bank ad, the slogan reads:

> b-shahr l kheirat zidnal leirāt

> 'In the month of good (blessings), we increased the liras (dinars).'

The fact that the copywriter uses the word *leirāt* 'liras' (a loan word used frequently in the vernacular) instead of the SA equivalent *danānīr* 'dinars' makes us believe that the preposition used is also a dialectal feature. In fact, in the same ad, the word 'dinar' is used after a number in the body copy (15,000 dinar *yawmiyyan* 'daily') immediately after the headline. This leads us to believe that the preposition *bi* is used dialectically and not as a standard word to mean 'in,' again following the "principle of economy," and the smoother flow it creates in pronunciation, or reading.

Another similar example that reinforces our hypothesis is found in a mobile phone company ad:

> *'orūd ….gheir bshahr-lkheir*   'other offers … in the month of goodness'

Again, the preposition *bi* is used dialectally before the noun *sharh* 'month.' First there is the rhyme in *gheir* and *kheir* which are pronounced as they sound in Jordanian and Palestinian. However, what also makes it certain that this is dialectal usage is that the word *gheir* (pronounced *ghayr* in SA) cannot follow a noun. It is a negative particle that precedes a noun. Here, it follows the noun which is not permissible in SA.

Use of the aspectual prefix 'b-'

In Jordanian and Palestinian vernaculars, the prefix '*b-*' is an aspectual marker that precedes the stem regardless of gender and number of the subject of the sentence, which can be implied through other affixes. The use of this prefix is one of the most common features of verbs in the Jordanian and Palestinian vernaculars (and others). Wherever the present tense is used in its spoken form, copywriters use such a prefix. It is common, understood, widely used and accepted. Consider the following phrase that is taken from a Mitsubishi ad:

> *'ard ramadāni byirwī*   'A Ramadani offer that fulfills.'

The verb *yirwi* 'fulfill' is preceded by the prefix '*b-*' as it would normally be used in the vernacular. Its usage gives the phrase the intended meaning. While *yarwi* in its SA form still means 'fulfill,' it is also equated with 'to quench thirst.' The same verb in its dialectal use implies other metaphorical meanings, including 'to fulfill' or 'to meet.' But it also reflects the feeling of thirst Muslim people have in the month of Ramadan, the fasting month, when they are banned from drinking from dawn to sunset.

In another example, the headline of an ad by the Palestinian Wataniyya Mobile company starts with the question:

> *mfallis rasīdak*   'Are you out of (calling) minutes?'

Below, the response comes:

khidmat "ḥawwillī" bitfīdak idha fallas rasīdak

'The service (plan) "transfer to me" benefits you, if you are out of calling minutes.'

In this example, the verb *bitfīdak*, 'benefits you,' is preceded by the prefix *b-*. The prefix does not have any effect on the aspect of the verb, nor does it change its meaning. The advertiser uses it, since the ad resembles a dialogue between two conversants. To sound natural, the vernacular is used the way it is in the spoken mode. Also, gender has no role in the prefix usage. While the subject in the first example is masculine singular '*arḏ* 'offer,' the subject in the second is feminine singular *khidma* 'service, plan.'

Even where the negative occurs, the prefix *b-* is still utilized. In an ads for *Al KaseeH* sesame paste, which is an important ingredient in *fatta*, it opens with:

'al fatta mā btikmal 'illa ma'ṭaḥīnet-'il kasīḥ   'Fatta is not perfect without al Kaseeh tahini.'

The verb *btikmal* 'is not perfect' is preceded by the prefix '*b-,*' as it would normally occur in the vernacular, even though it is in the negative mode typically expressed by using the negative particle *mā* 'not.' In the previous instances and many others, this use is associated with convenience and shopping products where the target audience uses the vernacular on a daily basis, thus the choice was made to employ it to identify with the audience.

Idioms

McCarthy (1990) defines the term idiom as "a lexical item whose meaning cannot be derived from the sum of its parts" (p. 158). Idioms are condensed and memorable. They embody an experience by someone that is taken as true by many people. In the world of advertising, idioms are "usually used to "establish familiarity with the consumer" (Gully, 1997, p.20). This study reveals that idioms (proverbs and common cultural expressions) are used extensively in written ads particularly within the printed spoken register. Occurrences of these idioms are also available in SA. According to Al-Momani, proverbial expressions "function as poetic expressions in terms of their rhetorical and aesthetic functions, but they also have some symbolic meanings. They are taken from social and cultural heritage and thus are influential tool." (2012, p. 57). In the ad about Diamond Rice, the copywriter uses the following popular proverb:

byi'mal minil-ḥabbeh qubbeh   'He makes from a grain a dome'
                                   'To make a mountain of a molehill'

The proverb is a metaphorical expression to describe someone who exaggerates an insignificant issue. Although this proverb has a negative connotation, it is used here to connect with the consumer and to serve as a persuasive device. The proverb also has the effect of evoking an image. This sense, idioms and expressions are based on conceptual images and conceptual mappings as explained by Lakoff (1987) and Gibbs et al. (1997) (cited in Lundmark, 2006). First rice is a grain, thus *ḥabba* is an accurate description of the product. But this is also a testimony of the fine quality of rice—although the grains of this product are small, their effect is enormous on the dinner table. The literal meaning of *qubbeh* is 'dome.' In traditional dishes in Jordan and Palestine such as *mansaf* and *maqloubeh*, the shape of rice when served looks like a dome.

Idioms such as this one and others are common in spoken Arabic. This one is used verbatim. However, many idioms used in written ads are adaptations where the copywriters try to create or maintain a rhyme that also has an effect on the consumer. Consider the following:

jākeitak 'ala keifak   'your jacket the way you like it'

The expression '*ala keifak* 'as you like it' is a widely used expression in spoken Arabic, especially among young people. The commodity being advertised is jackets (coats) for youth who happen to use this expression frequently. The copywriter thus knows the language used by the target market, and uses it. The advertiser does not stop here. Beneath, he/she translates the expression literally 'your jacket is on your mood,' which is regarded as poor English, but is an idiom used by young people to sound foreign, westernized and keen. What is more interesting here is that the copywriter inflected a foreign word by attaching a possessive pronoun to it *muudak* 'your mood'. The same expression also occurs in an auto ad, *qassit 'ala keifak* 'finance as you like it.' The advertiser appeals to the customers by offering to give them the option to custom-finance a new car.

> 'ala qad ma<u>d</u>riyyatak iḥjiz riḥlātak   'Per the funds you own, reserve your tickets'

This new text is a reframe of a very common proverb used in Jordanian and Palestinian culture—'ala qad 'ilḥafak midd rijleik 'per the length of your blanket, stretch your legs.' The proverb is used to recommend people not to spend more than what they can afford. The ad does the same. It provides customers with cheap ticket rates and asks them to book the trip that fits their income. It is not the same proverb, but it sends the same message, and it has the same rhythmic pattern.

Use of interrogative

Questions are textual features that aim at revealing costumer's need or desire for a product. They prompt involvement which drives paying more attention to the ad. Questions are stimuli that provoke the brain to engage in internal dialogue. Most of the questions used in the ads we analyzed are rhetorical questions that seek the viewer's or reader's affirmation of the goodness of the product or service. Their use aims at arousing suspense, emphasizing what is already known or expected, and more importantly, urging consumers to pay more attention to the service or product being marketed. In other words, advertisers want to reveal to the readers their (the readers') need of the product. Five of the of seven questions found in the ads analyzed use vernacular question words.

> mish lāqi <u>t</u>alabak fis-sūq 'Can you (mas. sing) not find what you need at the market?'

> btighsil 'anha   'Do you wash (do laundry) on her (mother's) behalf?'

While these questions are yes/no questions, the readers do not answer them, and move on with their lives. They are more inclined to continue reading. Questions arouse their curiosity that will be satisfied by obtaining the information the advertiser wants to deliver. What need is the first question referring to? Who does not want to increase their salaries? But how? Who does not want to help their mother in her household chores? And again, how? It is also worthwhile mentioning that the language variety used fits the product or service advertised, or, as discussed earlier, the social context. The first ad promotes commodities, and, therefore, the vernacular is used. The second ad advertises for washing machines to be bought as a gift on mother's day. While it might be expected to see SA in this ad, the vernacular is used, since the headline, represented by the question, is addressed to family members shopping for a mother's day gift. To accomplish the desired emotional effect on them, spoken Arabic is used. The use of SA will not have the same effect, since the conversation will not be as authentic and natural.

In addition to yes/no questions, open-ended questions are also used. The first is a headline for a Samsung ad and it reads:

> leish tirḍa b 2D   'Why contend with 2D?'

Another by Zein, the mobile company:

> leish tidfa''akthar min 4 dananīr shahriyyan?

> 'Why pay more than 4 dinars monthly?'

and another by Orange that says:

> 'eish biddi 'arabaḥ   'What do I want to win?'

Both types of questions are rhetorical which the reader need not answer specifically, but rather to reflect on his/her own situation, as someone, for instance, who is not up-to-date on the latest technological advancement (as in the first example), or what product he/she does not have or cannot afford, and yet would wish to own in the second ad. In this sense, questions, as textual features or rhetoric devices, are used as persuasion devices. To identify with the target audience, the copy writers use common vernacular interrogative nouns. Using the SA equivalents may not accomplish the desired effect since that would sound artificial in these contexts.

Implications of the study

The study shows that important linguistic phenomena such as code switching and code mixing are used in ways that demonstrate how Arabic as a diglossic language is evolving. Although SA is still the preferred code, dialects are gradually penetrating literary genres, such as ads, where they function as

forceful communicative and persuasive devices. Primary urban spoken dialects are even competing to occupy a prestigious status, such as that of SA. Thus equating prestige with standard becomes a questionable assumption. Bassiouney (2009) says that "many studies have shown that for most speakers, there is a prestige variety within each country of L [low], the identity of which depends on many geographical, political and social factors within each country" (p.18).It is socially acceptable, and even expected, to find many instances of dialectal use in written ads. Nonetheless, such use is not arbitrary, and it serves special linguistic and socio-cultural objectives. While at the phonological level, the prestige of these urban dialects can be ambiguous as men tend to use the Bedouin or SA varieties, while women tend to use urban Palestinian. This phonological gender distinction is difficult to pinpoint in written ads that tend to use phonetics common to both men and women. In addition, that these ads use a language that aligns with youth use of the language highlights some aspects of the model these youth prefer. In this case, it is that urban dialect model "associated with modernity and urban cultural models but also sometimes with effeminacy and decadence" (Miller, 2004, p. 4).The fact that certain lexical and morphological features are more salient than others suggests that it may be problematic to determine the exact situation/context where particular codes are used or not (Nilep, 2006). The occurrence of many foreign words in fully SA ads is also evidence that adopting new foreign words in literary Arabic remains an unlikeable, to say the least, endeavor at the official level.

The examined ads in this study employ salient features of the vernacular that are also used in ESA, and which are rarely seen in written forms. In cases where SA falls short in the delivery of the intended messages, the vernacular is the alternative copywriters use. The audience and the type of commodities play a role in determining which code used. The study shows that Jordanians and Palestinians are tolerant of English, recognize its status as the international language, and utilize it in ads since it represents prestige, modernity and sophistication. The use of English as a rhetorical move to identify with consumers is an indication of the extent to which Jordanian and Palestinian societies have become influenced by western values as a result of globalization. In the long run, this may endanger the purity of Arabic language that language academies and religious institutions are keen to preserve and maintain. It is also correct to assume that the type of ad and the nature of audience dictate if and how English is used. Since it has a different layout, English has its layout appeal.

Size and style of ads are relevant to this discussion. Amongst the ads examined the ones in color use the most dialectal expressions and idioms, as well as code mixed into their language content. However, in the black and white ads, dialectal features were rare, but English was used in both types. Color ads cost more and, in the Jordanian-Palestinian contexts, they occupy larger space in the newspaper. Bigger companies, especially those advertising shopping products, such as mobile phones, and retail stores, are the usual advertisers. For the mobile phone companies, this can be justified. These devices are used for communication that employs spoken Arabic. It makes sense then to use the same language to communicate with expected customers. It also seems that these companies are willing to risk metaphorical mixing without fear of repercussions. The audience is more receptive and most likely expectant of such use. There are just a few of these companies and the competition is fierce in a small market such as Jordan or Palestine. Also, for the advertisers, reaching the audience regardless of the linguistic means is the ultimate goal. Sounding fashionable is a marketing strategy that has been successful. For larger companies, therefore, delivering the message takes precedence over the code choice.

On the other hand, using English is one way of catching the eyes of the Jordanian and Palestinian audiences. As the international language, English is frequently used in ads even if most literary genres remain monolingual (Leun, 2006). But it is also clear that code mixing can be associated with prestige, modernity and sophistication, as in the fine chocolate (and also wrist watch ads). Also, in the case of Jordan and Palestine, copywriters mainly code switch to English when there is no native equivalent or any similar terms following the "limited access to terms," theory suggested by Elias-Olivares in 1976 (cited in Gibbons, 1987:84). Code switching to English becomes a necessary gap filler. However, the status of SA as a literary language is still preserved. None of the schools, religious institutions, or even luxury commodities (albeit very few) ads use any form of Arabic dialect. Despite the code mixing in the examined examples, pure SA remains the dominant variety.

For language-curricula designers and educators, ads provide practical knowledge about how dialects are being incorporated in print media, and how language and culture go hand in hand. This study partly contributes to solving the dilemma of how to go about teaching spoken Arabic in the classroom, and what instructional materials to use. Lexical and morpho-syntactical aspects of the dialect and

common cultural expressions can be taught through the contextualized examples ads provide. This material will fulfill the needs of those learners who are visually oriented in an area where most instructional materials are in spoken mode.

Conclusion

This study provides concrete evidence that ads in the Jordanian and Palestinian contexts exhibit linguistic elements that might be unique to these contexts (and maybe beyond),[vi] and they have sociolinguistic, anthropological, cultural and pedagogical implications. The identifiable patterns of code switching and/or code mixing that the study revealed show that both SA and the vernaculars are acceptable and used in the language of ads. SA is still the most used variety. Dialects are increasingly penetrating ads as a literary genre. English is also used as a sign of prestige, modernity and sophistication. Thus the line between what is standard and what is prestigious becomes more blurry, and equating prestige with standardization becomes a questionable assumption. Social class, age, religion, and the nature of products advertised influence what variety is used and whether code switching, code mixing or both are acceptable. In the area of vernacular use, there are aspects and expressions that are used more than others. Context and appealing to audiences can be decisive considerations in using such aspects and expressions. It is important to investigate how those audiences perceive what and how the language is used in these ads, and whether copywriters take such perceptions into account.

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[i] Borrowing is a term used to describe a term, or a linguistic that has been adopted and fully integrated into the sot language (Poplack, 1980). The difficulty of distinguishing codeswitched from loanwords lies in that both have been integrated morpho-syntactically in the target language.

[ii] After the Oslo agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the West Bank and Gaza Strip became to be known as the "Palestinian Territories". On November 30, 2012, the General Assembly of United Nations voted in favor to recognize Palestine within the 1967 borders a non-member state with observer status in the organization.

[iii] Due the sensitivity of the demographics in Jordan, figures of Jordanian from Palestinian origin vary. Official statistics are lacking. Most agree that Palestinians comprise more than 50% of the population in Jordan.

[iv] It is interesting to notice that this issue, as a threatening gesture, appeared in Jordanian official discourse over the economic difficulties Jordan faces, partly, according to Jordanian officials, due the disruptions of Egyptian gas flow to Jordan.

[v] Case endings are markings attached to the ends of words to denote the word's grammatical function. In Arabic, there are three cases: nominative, accusative and genitive. The markings are usually unwritten except in the Qur'an, Bible, children and beginning language teaching books.