Diglossic Code-Switching Phenomenon in Jordanian Newspaper Satirical Articles

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the functions that the diglossic code-switching between Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic serves in Jordanian newspaper ironic articles. It also explores Jordanians' attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon. Data were collected through mixed methods; a content analysis of numerous diglossic code-switched expressions in the target articles, an interview with a Jordanian satirist and a questionnaire distributed to 140 Jordanians. The qualitative analysis of the diglossic code-switched expressions and the interview revealed that diglossic code-switching serves specific sociolinguistic functions including an implicit criticism of crucial political, economic and social issues, presenting distinctive sociocultural features, expressing national identity as well as insulting and cursing. The diglossic switched expressions appear as key linguistic elements full of social and cultural distinctiveness. They are found powerful, purposeful and creative tools for conveying specific ironic messages that may not be efficiently communicated through MSA only. Diglossic code-switching also fulfills certain discourse functions encompassing quotation, clarification and elaboration, reiteration for emphasis, inserting parenthetical comments and interjection. The interviewees reveal positive attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon except with the idea that it may pose a long-term negative threat to the mother tongue. The results demonstrate that written diglossic-code switching constitutes part of the linguistic variation in Jordan and is a good technique for attaining linguistic accommodation with the audience as it increases simplicity and clarification and decreases the language barrier with readership. The study concludes with some theoretical and pedagogical implications and recommendations for further promising research.

Keywords: Code-switching; diglossia; Jordanian Arabic; sarcastic articles; sociolinguistic functions

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INTRODUCTION

Code-switching (henceforth CS) is one the most significant linguistic phenomena that have long attracted researchers' attention, particularly in sociolinguistics and language contact fields (Al-Ahdal, 2020; Kremin, et. al., 2022; Le, 2022, Zipagan, et. al., 2022; Driouch, 2023). It is widely known as switching between languages, dialects, styles or registers at intra- or inter-sentential levels in the same context (Myers-Scoton, 1998). The present study focuses mainly on diglossic code-switching (henceforth DS) which is an alteration between high and low varieties (i.e. Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) and Jordanian Arabic (henceforward JA) that encompasses certain social meanings and functions related to specific speech communities. The term DS stems from the notion of diglossia by Ferguson (1959). It constitutes a part of speakers' communicative competence that enables them to interact effectively with others (Myers-Scotten, 1998).

CS means that speakers vary their model of speech by proactively using various linguistic resources intentionally to achieve specific communicative effects. Audience design investigates the responsive dimension of style shift. The researchers in the current study assume that sarcastic writers shift their style from standard to non-standard or from the H to the L variety to accommodate with their audience and achieve certain sociolinguistic and discourse functions. This assumption is based on the distinction between the high variety (MSA) which is used mainly for formal contexts and the low variety (JA) which is the everyday informal means of communication (Bassiouney, 2020). Using the same audience's language variety enables satirists to be close to the audience and facilitates their understanding of their intended statistical messages. Thus, the current study draws insights from Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) as the theoretical framework of both interpersonal and inter-group communication (Giles, 1980). It anticipates and elucidates why, when, and how speakers vary their linguistic behavior during social interaction and the resultant social consequences. CS is perceived as an accommodation strategy for shaping language considering the speaker's audience. Speakers often vacillate from high (H) to low variety (L) even in formal settling since the H only does not meet their daily-life communication needs (Al-Haj Eid, 2019). This technique can be viewed as a convergence strategy since speakers want to sound more similar to their addressees. This convergence fulfills significant interpersonal and intergroup motivations including the desire for social acceptance, enhancing the effectiveness of communication, preserving a positive social identity and assimilation into the group's perceived social norms (Merrill & Hernandez, 2013).

CS linguistic behavior has become prominent in Jordanians' everyday communication and mass media discourse (Al Nashash,2020; Abutayeh, 2021; Alomoush, 2021). DS has garnered scholarly attention in linguistics primarily due to its structure and sociolinguistic functions and meanings within discourse. All social media forms of communication, TV channels, radio stations and newspapers represent a rich area of DS, which intends mainly to attract the attention of readers and consumers and to fulfill certain sociolinguistic functions. Even though MSA is the language of the press, DS appears to be a growing phenomenon in certain contexts as in sarcastic articles. Research shows that conversational CS is the primary focus of previous research (Al-Ahdal, 2020; Zhong et al., 2023). Linguists have treated CS mainly as a spoken genre, but this does not mean it does not occur in written texts. Written code-switching is an under-researched area even though CS can also be noticed in written tests such as websites, newspapers, advertisements, street signs etc. The CS appears in both monolingual and multilingual pieces of writing. Many previous studies have investigated Arabic with English code-switching in TV programs and newspaper advertisements (Abu-Melhim, 2012; Abuhakema, 2013). However, JA expressions in sarcastic

articles in Jordanian newspapers are vital linguistic tools that have not received enough attention from linguists though they play a vital role in developing satirical writing in Jordanian newspapers. Such sorts of writings represent people's attitudes toward certain social, cultural and political themes. The spread of such types of articles could be attributed to media openness, freedom of speech, and the socio-political conditions of Jordanian citizens. Therefore, there is a need to investigate DS in different contexts and as used by different groups or individuals.

There are many satirists in the Jordanian daily newspapers and electronic websites but Ahmad Az-Zu'bi is considered one of the foremost Jordanian columnist, playwright and ironist. He rose to prominence due to his weekly column writings known as "Sawaleif" in the state-owned newspaper, al-Rai. It has become one of the most-read columns in which the writer satirically addresses political, social, and economic problems facing the Jordanian community. DS is notable in Az-Zu'bi's articles. The JA's expressions are abundant in his satirical articles. His articles were a rich area for exploration by different linguistics and translation researchers (Wahsheh, 2010). He tackles the daily problems that the Jordanian community suffers from in a humorous way by using the JA and MSA and a mixture of both. Using these varieties is recognized as his distinctive style for tackling the daily problems that Jordanians suffer from in a humorous way (Wahsheh, 2010).

Arabic is one of the most well-known languages that exhibit distinctive diglossic features (Chelghoum, 2017). The phenomenon of Arabic's diglossic situation is gaining a lot of attention in Jordan given that Jordan is a diglossic society where JA, a low variety, is a distinctive feature that is widely used even in various official institutional settings to serve various sociolinguistic functions (Al-Haj Eid, 2019). However, no previous study has examined DS in Jordanian sarcastic newspaper articles. This could be attributed to the fact that DS between MSA and JA is not easy to explore as CS between different languages since these two varieties share many lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties (Owens & Bani-Yasin, 1987; Sa'aida, 2016). Researchers contend that Arabic dialects are directly descended from classical Arabic, the predecessor of MSA (Versteegh, 2014). Thus, there are degrees of overlapping between H and L (Badawi, 1973). The degree of linguistic overlap and convergence across these varieties makes it difficult in certain cases to discern between them in writing without the use of accent diacritical marks or phonological information. Considering that a large portion of their vocabulary overlaps, they can seem more similar lexically when written down, but not always when spoken aloud. Because the structure of L is not too different from that of H, most linguists believe that JA is similar to MSA.

In addition, satire is a fascinating linguistic device that has recently attracted researchers' attention (Baider & Constantinou, 2020; Mohammed, 2023). It plays a crucial role in human communication and is widely for humorously expressing social criticism (Hayder & Al-Ebadi, 2021; Al-Ghezzey, 2023). Thus, examining satiric news could be intricate as they mingle entertainment with critical information and sensitive opinions (Burgers & Brugman, 2022). Furthermore, despite the significance of JA expressions in newspaper sarcastic articles being vital linguistic tools that reveal a lot about people's wishes, feelings, and hopes towards social, political and cultural issues, they have not received enough attention from linguists.

Therefore, this study attempts to bridge the research gap by unmasking the functions of DS from MSA to JA in satirical articles in Jordanian newspapers. It also endeavors to elicit readers' attitudes towards DS to determine the impact of the DS on the target audience (i.e. community of readers). The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- 1. What are the functions that diglossic code-switching from MSA to JA serves in newspaper satirical articles?
- 2. What are peoples' attitudes towards diglossic code-switching in sarcastic articles in Jordan?

This study contributes to knowledge particularly in the field of sociolinguistics through shedding light on CS as a reflective phenomenon of social reality. It also provides a better understanding of this under-searched phenomenon in written discourse by illustrating the way two or more linguistic varieties occur and combine in media, especially in the press. It can hopefully provide significant implications for language teaching and planning.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Diglossia is a concept derived from the Greek word "dio" which means two and "glossa" which means language (Zughoul, 2007). Jordan is a diglossic speech community since Jordanians use JA in their daily conversations and MSA in political speeches, religious sermons and written discourse and sometimes a mixture of JA and English in the youth community. DS has been brought to scholarly attention in linguistics in particular not only because of its structure but also its sociolinguistic functions and meanings within the discourse. A variety of functions has been identified by scholars (Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1998; Baker, 2006). Gumperz (1982) mentions six functions of code-switching including quotation (a quote is code-switched), addressee specification (a code-switched message aims at addressing particular/different addressee), interjection (an interjection is code-switched), repetition (a code-switched message repeats what has just been said), message qualification (i.e. a code-switched message elaborates what has been said) personification or objectification (a codes witched message implies a "personal" or "objective" tone).

Research shows that DS serves various functions. They encompass introducing parenthetical phrases and fillers, presenting indirect quotes, simplifying ideas, marking a shift from a serious to a comic tone, introducing daily-life sayings and insulting (Albirini, 2011). He concludes that CS helps speakers reproduce the division between SA and DA by aligning different functions with one variety or the other based on their importance, prestige, seriousness, and sophistication. Al Alaslaa (2018) demonstrates that Saudi Twitter users switch to SA to accentuate the significance, sophistication, seriousness and prestige. Their SD was intended to express satire, informality, low-prestige and daily-day themes.

Al-Haj Eid (2019) revealed that the DS in religious discourse delivered by Jordanian preachers in Friday sermons serves several functions among which are providing clarity, simplicity, directions, warnings, etc. Alrashidi (2022) studied the motives for DS between MSA and the Najdi Arabic dialect (ND) among Saudi users of Twitter. The results show that the DS shows seriousness by quoting certain Quranic verses and prophet narrations. Switching to the ND help users present culture-specific expressions, voice sarcasm and humor and offend or attack someone or something.

Several studies tackle conversational CS in Jordan from different aspects. Gharaibeh (2010) reveals various functions that CS fulfills in Jordan radio programs namely directive, referential, and poetic and others. Abu Mathkour (2004) concludes that quotation, interjection, reiteration, message quotation, and personification vs. objectification are the functions that CS fulfills in conversations. Al-Khawaldeh et al. (2016) show that CS between English and Arabic is a common fascinating phenomenon that serves the educational process. Alhejely (2020) studied the communicative DS of five Arab students pursuing their studies in the UK. The analysis reveals

that the students used various linguistic varieties to construct different macro- and micro-level identities. Welsh and Foster (2023) reveal that the DS of linguistic selection of pronoun selection reflects the social positioning of speakers and serves as a key indicator of societal power dynamics that broadly link to cultural norms.

Few studies have investigated written CS in Jordan. Al-Shomary (2011) shows that CS to English in print advertising in Jordanian newspapers and magazines provides technical terms (i.e. English is mainly used to provide websites, email addresses, and phone numbers). Al-Khatib and Sabbah (2008) reveal that Arabic–English CS in mobile texting by Jordanian university students is a communicative strategy used for facilitating communication by lowering language barriers and consolidating cultural identity.

Reviewing the literature, the DS linguistic behavior appears to be a growing phenomenon in Jordanian speech community. The conversational CS is the primary focus of the previous research. Written code-switching is an under-researched area despite the fact that it can also be noticed in written texts such as websites, newspapers, advertisements, street signs etc. Previous literature has primarily focused on translating colloquial expressions used in newspaper articles, rather than explaining their functions within the discourse (Wahsheh, 2010). Thus, the present study is the first of its kind that examines DS between MSA and JA in written discourse particularly sarcastic articles from a sociolinguistic perspective. Its importance stems from its distinct focus on linking significant concepts of diglossia, CS and sarcasm in satirical newspaper articles. Unlike previous research which relies on mere text analysis of the code-switched expressions based on making suppositions concerning real linguistic communication, the current study follows a distinctive within-subject approach. This approach draws connections between the actual performance of linguistic communication and the writer's underlying perceptions and interpretation of it. This helps in offering a more multi-dimensional perspective through giving an insight into the writer's cognitive pattern, implicit ideologies and actual communicative behaviour. Integrating the perception aspect along with the linguistic act facilitates understanding the causal connection between the interviewee's beliefs and communicative actions.

METHODOLOGY

This is a mixed-method research study. Both qualitative and qualitative approaches were used to analyse the collected data. For the first research question, the researchers adopt the sociolinguistic approach (Bullock & Toribio, 2009) to investigate the functions of DS in Jordanian satirical newspaper articles. The analysis of the functions of DS relies on the researcher's content analysis of the code-switched expressions and the writer's interpretation of them as appeared in the interview. First, a random sample consisting of 80 ironic articles published during the period of (2015-2016) was selected. The corpus of the selected articles was mainly elicited from the Jordanian daily newspaper al-Rai and the satirical column "Sawaleif" written by the Jordanian sarcastic writer; Ahmad Az-Zu'bi. They were purposefully chosen as they covered various topics and themes (i.e. political, social, cultural, economic, personal, emotional etc.) and appealed to different groups of readers. Through a content analysis of the selected articles, the researchers identified the diglossic code-switched expressions, which were then transliterated and translated into English. The researchers conducted a primary thematic analysis of the functions of these expressions. First, the units of meaning were identified and coded considering the context, they were then labelled into coding patterns which were classified into themes (functions) and subthemes. The identified diglossic code-switched expressions were then used to interview the satirist

to uncover the functions he intended to serve through them in his sarcastic articles. The semistructured interview with the satirist is a within-subject approach representing a good way to take into account the writer's interpretation of DS. This helps in probing deeper into more specified detailed and accurate explanations and reaching more reliable results concerning the interviewee's perceptions of his real linguistic behaviour and experiences without being influenced by the interviewee's standpoint. Two interviews were conducted and each one lasted from 20-40 minutes. The qualitative analysis of the interview revealed a set of sociolinguistic and discourse functions of the target expressions.

To answer the second research question, a 5-point Likert Scale questionnaire was designed by the researchers and validated by a jury of experts. It was then administered to 140 Jordanians who were university students to elicit their attitudes toward the DS phenomenon. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. Where the first part gathers the participants' personal information, the second part elicits information about the participants' attitudes toward DS. The questionnaires were quantitatively analysed using SPSS. The participants' responses were divided into three categories: items whose mean was between (1.00) and (2.33) were considered to have a low level of agreement; those whose mean was between (2.34) and (3.67) were believed to have an undecided agreement. Finally, those whose means were between (3.68) and (5.00) were considered to have a high level of agreement. To ensure the validity of the questionnaire, a jury of specialists in linguistics was consulted for their overall evaluation of the questionnaire's clarity and ability to answer the target research question. The questionnaire was piloted by ten Jordanians, who were then excluded from the sample of the study, to ensure its reliability. The was also a high level of agreement between the researcher and the writer in their clarification of the functions of code-switched expressions.

RESULTS

The content analysis of the selected sarcastic articles reveals numerous examples of code-switched expressions in them. This indicates that DS is a key feature distinguishing Az-Zu'bi's style of writing in which he shifts from MSA to JA and vice versa.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DIGLOSSIC CODE-SWITCHING

The analysis of the interview data demonstrates multiple functions of DS driven by psychological, linguistic, and socio-political factors. Concerning the psychological factors, the writer asserts that DS to the colloquial variety enables him to show loyalty to the Jordanian culture and share a story or a dialogue from everyday life events. This makes him sound more real and convincing. He adds that as a satirist this feature helps him make use of tone shifting to express feelings of sarcasm, optimism, pessimism, sadness, contentment, angriness, bitterness, compassion, doubtful, passion, impersonal, respect, friendliness, nostalgism, mocking, and reservedness. Regarding the linguistic factors, the writer confirms that he uses this communicative feature to benefit from some syntactic patterns of the colloquial verbs and lexis so as to efficiently convey a particular theme or message in his articles. It is a good technique to follow for attaining linguistic accommodation with the audience as it increases simplicity and clarification and decreases the language barrier with readership. Concerning socio-political factors, the writer highlights the significance of the themes addressed in the sarcastic articles as they touch upon crucial social and political issues in Jordanians' lives such as political, social and financial corruption. DS is found an effective way to satirically criticize such social and political issues and represent and reflect on their reactions

towards any related decisions affecting their lives humorously and sarcastically. It helps writers speak on behalf of the majority of silent citizens who have no choice but to refuse any harsh political decisions.

Discussing some examples from the corpus of the classified code switched items with the writer shows that this phenomenon has prominence in this type of writing since it serves various significant sociolinguistic functions clarified below with examples:

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS BEHIND CODE-SWITCHING

IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF CRUCIAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Criticizing political, economic, and social issues humorously is the core theme of the sarcastic articles. It is recognized that the JA colloquial expressions help writers implicitly convey specific messages that might be difficult to deliver to the audience using MSA. Such types of expressions could be seen as a vital linguistic tool revealing a lot about people's viewpoints and attitudes toward political and economic issues in Jordan. In the example below, the writer criticizes the government's policy of appointing individuals to high positions, such as the Prime Minister and ministers. The policy appears to rely more on the candidate's political bootlicking background than on their qualifications and experience. The writer employs the term (at-tashīdʒiah / 'التسحيحية') which means clapping but, in a political context, refers to bootlicking.

"We started appointing officials taking into consideration his bootlicking background and not his CV and qualifications, just to fill the existing job vacancy."

In the second example, the writer uses two JA ('کَانَّة') $k\bar{a}\underline{t}\underline{t}ah$), ('مَا بِتَخَاصِش') $m\bar{a}$ -btixlaṣif) and 'بَايزة' $b\bar{a}yzah$) terms to highlight the negative impact of Jordan's economy-related major economic challenges such as poverty, debts and unemployment, and low salaries on the living conditions of the Jordanian people. The following example tells the readers how the government budget is in a miserable state due to the budget deficit.

"The general situation in the country is similar to the condition of an old man in his 80s though the budget is broken, the aid has dropped very much.....the debts are on the rise ... the revenues are going down, the monitoring institutions are dysfunctional and the thefts never stop".

The writer uses the colloquial word (کاتّن), broken) to indicate weakness. Moreover, the word (باليزة), dysfunctional) meaning is worn out. It is used to show the failure of monitoring institutions in preventing financial corruption and the waste of public money.

PRESENTING DISTINCTIVE SOCIO-CULTURAL FEATURES

The DS helps the writer to present certain characteristics distinguishing Jordanian society and culture including customs, traditions, and formulaic expressions. Jordanians have many manners that are related to their daily life and that are rooted in their culture. The following example presents the custom of 'an-nanqūt' is which a wedding gift in Jordan. That is at wedding parties the newlywed receives usually money and gifts from family and friends called 'an-nanqūt'. These gifts could also be presents, money or foodstuff like rice, sugar etc. It is a kind of financial help to a newlywed. It is a debt to be paid back on similar pleasant occasions.

"People with small and low-income salaries are the ones who are paid the entire national National pay."

Material culture is the aggregate of physical objects such as clothing, machines and food used by a society. These objects can be viewed as social markers to mark values or identities. As demonstrated in the following example, the writer mentions names of popular Jordanian meals, especially in Jordan ($\bar{a}\delta\bar{a}n$ af-fayib / 'أَذَانُ الشَّالِينِ') (a type of sweet) and (tfa 'atfil , 'نَشَعَاتَشُيلُ') (i.e. balls of eggs and flowers cooked in yogurt).

"From this moment, leave the Korean Ambassador for me; I wish to invite him to taste the local dish...but let us see: who would invite the French ambassador to taste the traditional sweet?"

They are traditional meals that take their place in many events. Ironically, in this example, the writer is wondering who will invite the French and Korean ambassadors to eat these Jordanian meals.

Sarcastic writers use JA expressions to represent Jordanians' manners and social norms that are based on the traditions, beliefs, and values of a society. Social norms are widely acknowledged codes of conduct that a society prescribes and expects of its members. Individuals who do not follow these rules are said to have deviated from social norms. For example, greetings in JA should match the society's values of generosity, honor etc.

"He passes by students, children and staff next to him and does not offer a lift to any of them on his" way. Funerals pass by, and weddings and brides are celebrated just a few meters away from him and he does not bother himself to say, "Please accept my condolences to them or "Congratulations for what you celebrated" to those people."

The other example shows a Jordanian social norm of congratulating people to express joy for their occasions, especially weddings. The expression ('ميروك ما سويّتوا' / mabrūk mā sawwētu) (i.e. Congratulations on what you have done' is related to wedding occasions in rural and Bedouin

areas in Jordan. It congratulates a beautiful and joyful social event like a wedding. It congratulates the act of doing something beautiful and joyful as a wedding.

A collection of colloquial formulaic expressions appears in sarcastic articles including colloquial proverbs and idiomatic expressions. They represent transition points in the written discourse to connote cultural and social implications from Jordanian society. Formulaic language "has been most recently blossoming as a major focus of attention" (Wray, 2008, p. 592). They are two or more words that have a joint grammatical, semantic, pragmatic, or textual consequence (Wray, 2008).

"Based on the previous alliances of money and authority and the principle of "Scratch my back and I will scratch yours."

This idiomatic expression (hukklī tā huklak / 'حكلي تا احكلي) (i.e.Scratch my back and I will scratch yours" is used to illustrate mutual benefits between people, companies, governments, etc. Also, it indicates cooperation in achieving the same aims. The writer switches from MSA to JA to scoff at the alliance between money (businessmen) and authority (government). The following example illustrates the writer's use of proverbs to express cultural content concerning people's economic status and powerless situations.

The problem is that we know very well "the well and its cover"

The expression ('نعرف البير وغطاه' / ni 'rif il-bīr uġ ṭāh) is a citation of a proverb which refers to someone who knows many things about your situation; Sometimes people use this proverb when they need to provide concise remarks about their economic situation, in this example, the writer tells the readers that they know well the difficult economic situation in Jordan.

The use of DS in sarcastic articles introduces daily-life sayings. The writer accommodates with his audience by introducing these sayings that could allow them to comprehend concretely the essence of an earlier thought. In this study, the sarcastic writer switches to JA to induce daily-life sayings to add a humorous and effective dimension to the readers and to provide a concise description of certain situations. In other words, daily-life sayings may minimize the rigidity of formal language. In the following example, The expression ('ترك ع السبهاء' / tarak 'as-s-sabahalah) is a daily-life saying in Jordanian society that describes a state of confusion in general.

''وأنا أقرأ النتائج قراءة متأتية بيني وبين نفسي اكتشفت ان الوطن يشبه الى حد بعيد الجسد..كلما زادت ''الحمية الاقتصادية''..وزادت جرعات 'منظومات النزاهة'' وعيارات ''مكافحة الفساد''..كلما زاد الفساد..وكلما ترك الوضع ''ع السبهللة''..بقى الفساد ضمن معدلاته الطبيعية.''

"As I was reading myself the results solemnly and carefully I discovered that the home country is very similar to a certain extent to the body. The more the "economic diet" increases and doses of "Integrity systems" and shots of "anti-corruption" increase... the more the corruption increases...the more the situation is left disorganized" ...Corruption remains within the normal rates..."

It is said to describe someone's work who starts doing things in a confused and disorganized manner. In this example, the writer states that the anti-corruption process in Jordan is not organized. Here, the writer does not switch the codes only but also the tone from serious to comic.

EXPRESSING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Certain JA words and expressions help readers construct a kind of national coherence within the community. Patriotism is known as a devoted love, support, and defense of one's country and national unity. The Jordanians are well-known for being patriotic to their country. This has been represented in the sarcastic articles through some code-switched items that carry national and patriotic connotations. In the following example, the satirist switches to his rural dialect as a marker for his ethnic group and a technique of identification where he constructs his social identity as a Jordanian citizen. Switching to colloquial items helps the writer to enforce his attachment to the country that he is writing about.

"Loving one's homeland is not false fanfare, embellishment, or glorification..."

The writer says that patriotism is not ('هريده' / harbdah). This word means nonsense and lack of reason in doing actions. The writer switches to colloquial variety to criticize fake patriotism and blind patriotism. Some politicians exploit their speeches, slogans, and tribal power as a kind of hypocrisy taking place at the highest level when it comes to loving one's homeland.

INSULTING AND CURSING

There are many offensive linguistic expressions in JA. What distinguishes this function is that it expresses anger with everyday cursing and insulting expressions as illustrated in the following examples:

"In our lives, if we want to describe someone as being highly professional or accurate we say brother of a *shilling*"

The word *shilling* means five piastres. Describing someone as (اخوشلن), 'axū filin) is a kind of expression which implies praising someone for being smart. It could also imply a curse or calling someone a bad name as being shifty and elusive in Jordanian culture. In this example, the term is colloquial, and its use is exceptional in the context of newspaper writing. Therefore, this term has a bad connotation; it is used to describe someone's skillful elusiveness to degrade him.

Till when will I be subject to deceit?

Calling someone ('هيلة' / habīlah) which means goofy is a kind of insult. The root of this word would be related to the word ('العبل' / 'ahbal) which means an idiot in MSA, which means a person who lacks mind and cognition. In this example, it stands as a comic expression in which a writer wonders how long he will remain goof. Of course, here he is speaking or wondering on behalf of all citizens who are deceived by certain governmental procedures.

DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF DIGLOSSIC CODE SWITCHING

The analysis shows various discourse functions filled by MSA to JA code-switching. The instances of DS were used to elaborate and clarify intended messages and cite significant ideas for supporting certain points. The following examples demonstrate each function.

ELABORATION AND CLARIFICATION

DS appears to provide a means of clarification and explanation or sometimes resolving ambiguity in the sarcastic articles. When the writer feels that MSA fails to convey his ideas clearly, he switches code to JA. This switching aims at explaining an idea by giving further elaboration to avoid a lack of understanding.

About a week ago, I saw a Syrian young man standing in his place and doing the same job. I asked about the Jordanian man. They told me he left because it is not rewarding for him.

In this example, the writer talks about the effect of Syrian employment forces on the Jordanian Job market. However, it illustrates how youth in Jordan did not accept certain jobs because of some social and economic factors. So, Syrian, Egyptian, and other employees replace Jordanians in the job market. The writer code switches into JA using the expression ('مثن موفيه معه 'mif mwaffyah ma'uh) to clarify and elaborate more on the reason behind leaving or not accepting some jobs by Jordanians.

QUOTATION

Direct and indirect quotations from the rural dialect were found in the sarcastic articles. Barredo (1997) explains the use of DS for role-changing and direct quotations that make the speech livelier and more real. As in the following example, the context of the previous example is Eid al-Adha (i.e. Festival of the Sacrifice) in Islamic countries when Muslims sacrifice sheep, goats, and cows as an act of submission to God's command. Here, the writer gives a piece of advice for the readers when they go to buy their sacrifices. The writer quotes the word ('``ougle of '\) / mwarwrah) meaning meager sheep from JA.

"Put your foot on the nearby iron barrier and then say in an expert's accent: ('mwarwrah' /meagr sheep)!"

REITERATION FOR EMPHASIS

"The foreheads shine and the hands shine thanks to this magical package..."

PARENTHETICAL COMMENTS

Parenthetical phrases are inserted to introduce a point that is not completely part of an utterance but adds and clarifies its message. They are phrases or clauses inserted within in effect; it interrupts another phrase or clause.

Without Physics and Mathematics, the average would be 92 You remain silent while thinking of hitting him with your elbow under his teeth.

In a comic style, the writer inserts a word from JA (' $\sqrt{lolahin}$) which means without them to mock parents who give weak justifications for their son's failure in Tawjihi (the general secondary examination). In MSA we use (' $\sqrt{lolahin}$) without them "except".

INTERJECTION

Although interjections are rarely used in academic or formal writing, some sarcastic writers use them to convey to the reader the way the author is feeling. This function is widely fulfilled by the DS among Az-Zu'bi's sarcastic articles as sentence fillers in his articles.

An old Man of (52 years) is imprisoned for five months, just for trying to hang a cat, despite the fact that his crime did not succeed entirely, it was a mere attempt ...ohhhhhhhh... if this law was applied to me personally, I would have my life in hard labour, because my first shooting exercises were throwing stones at cats living on garbage containers.

This is an example where the writer code switches to express exclamation with an ironic tone using the interjection word ('''', yuuuuuuh / ooohhhh). It is said when someone does something repeatedly and cannot count the times.

THE PARTICIPANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD DIGLOSSIC CODE-SWITCHING

The analysis of the questionnaire below reveals the participants 'attitudes toward DS between MSA and JA. As shown in Table 1, the participants' attitudes concerning this linguistic phenomenon are highly positive in general except with the idea that it may have a long-term negative impact and threat on the mother tongue. They believe that the colloquial variety helps writers to attract and persuade people, recall popular cultural heritage, tradition and customs as well as express peoples' feelings such as sorrow, joy, anger etc. in a better way with means of 4.05, 3.91, 3.90 respectively. They also believe that it helps the writer express daily life challenges that face Jordanian citizens more accurately, add more sense of humor and irony to the sarcastic article, entrench a certain cultural and social identity and establish it as a communicative variety with the audience with means of 3.84, 3.69 and 3.66 respectively. This phenomenon represents well the writer's rich vocabulary a mean of 3.49 and political critique a mean of 3.22.

TABLE 1. The participants' attitudes toward DS between MSA and JA

| Paragraph | Mean | S.D |
|--|------|------|
| 1. I think that the JA variety reflects political critique better than MSA. | 3.22 | 1.11 |
| 2. Someone who switches between the MSA and JA variety has a rich vocabulary. | 3.49 | 1.13 |
| 3. Diglossic switching between MSA and JA variety expresses cultural heritage tradition and customs in most cases. | 3.91 | 0.82 |
| 4. Diglossic switching between MSA and JA variety threats the mother tongue. | 3.97 | 0.88 |
| 5. I think that the JA variety entrenches a certain cultural and social identity. | 3.69 | 1.00 |
| 6. I think that sarcastic writers in general use JA variety as a tool to persuade and attract the target audience. | 4.05 | 0.72 |
| 7. I think that JA variety expresses peoples' feelings as sorrow, joy, anger etc. in much better than the MSA. | 3.90 | 0.92 |
| 8. I think that the use of JA variety in media establishes it as a communicative variety with audience. | 3.66 | 0.91 |
| 10. I think that sarcastic writers use the JA variety in particular to express daily life challenges that face Jordanian citizens more accurately. | 3.84 | 0.98 |
| 11. I think that JA variety helps in adding more sense of humor and irony to the sarcastic article. | 3.79 | 1.06 |

DISCUSSION

The results demonstrate that DS constitutes part of the linguistic variation in Jordan. The findings reveal that DS is a needed linguistic technique in a sort of writing where sarcasm is the main aim. DS between MSA and JA plays a major role in developing satirical writings in Jordanian newspapers. This is because the satirical message should be conveyed using simple and comprehensible terms and structures to stimulate thinking and spot negatives and weaknesses in societies. Speaking on behalf of the citizens affected by the government's decisions could be done effectively through using their language variety which is in this case the JA. Therefore, it constitutes a persuasive technique that could have a lasting impression on the addressees.

DS seems plentiful in this non-oral environment. The diglossic code-switched expressions demonstrated in Az-Zu'bi's sarcastic articles show that code-switched items from the colloquial variety, in particular, the rural variety are common and distinctive linguistic features. Such features

are full of social and cultural distinctiveness. They constitute an integral part of the communication of the intended ironic messages making their interpretation easily arrived at. They are intrasentential as they come in the middle of a sentence at both the clause level and the word level with no interruptions, hesitations, or pauses to indicate a shift.

The findings highlight DS as a creative tool for language use. It is viewed as a positive linguistic phenomenon as it can reach a wide spectrum of audiences and serve a lot of functions that address the feelings and thoughts of the public. This finding is consistent with previous research findings (i.e. Montes-Alcalá, 2005; Al-Khatib & Sabbah, 2008; Aibrinin, 2010; Eldin, 2014) that resorting to CS helps in conveying linguistic, semantic, and social information. It seems an efficient means for expressing feelings of anger and sarcasm. It helps in presenting the ideas accurately which in turn helps in facilitating the understanding of the content and the theme of the sarcastic article. Despite the consistency between the results, it should be recognized as Appel and Muysken (1987) argue that "it is by no means certain CS has the same range of functions within each community". These functions may also vary from one satirist to another according to their intentions. In this study, the satirist Az-Zu'bi tries to speak on behalf of the silent majority of Jordanian citizens who have no choice but to refuse the government's decisions or policies that affect the lives of ordinary people using their JA variety in his articles.

It appears a good means for constructing social and cultural identities. The sociopolitical context in the sarcastic articles is a combination of social and political factors. These articles depict and reflect on people's problems and suffering that occur as a result of governmental policies. They are mainly concerned with the effect of politics on society. The DS facilitates the understanding of the content and the messages of the sarcastic articles. That is why the writer confirmed that the DS is motivated by a lexical need. DS is perceived as a more appropriate and expressive variety to discuss crucial topics ironically. Many concepts and expressions do not have readily available equivalents in MSA. Therefore, the sarcastic writer has no choice but to switch to JA. Since expressing satire necessitates that the addressees infer and interpret the intended message, there is a need to find suitable colloquial expressions that can sufficiently convey a particular theme or message in the sarcastic article. He says that in certain situations nothing can help you speak your heart as using a colloquial term whose symbolization is widely known to the target audience. The writer aims to achieve lexical cohesion in his article by using lexical items from the JA lexicon. Simplicity and communicative abilities of the colloquial variety encourage the writer to alternate the codes from MSA to JA. The following example reveals the sarcastic writer's mocking of some governmental departments' strategies that affect the lives of people. It discusses the failure of Greater Amman Municipality to prepare infrastructure in winter as well as in summer.

A part from our disappointment in winter!! My dear engineer, what about our disappointment in summer when encountering garbage piles?

DS indicates the writer's cultural loyalty. Culture represents the characteristics, values, tradition, religion, cuisine, language, social habits, norms, music, arts and knowledge of a certain community. The above analysis shows that the satirist benefits from code-switched expressions in symbolizing some key aspects of the Jordanian culture in his articles by using proverbs, idioms, daily meals, customs, and social events such as weddings, funerals etc. Therefore, it appears that sharing the same Jordanian culture motivates and enables the satirists to switch from MSA to JA.

Certain colloquial expressions are efficient in clearly presenting the tone of the writer. People use colloquial variety in everyday communication, to express humor, jokes, and sarcasm. It is evident in this study that DS also helps a sarcastic writer present his thoughts in a humorous way to entertain his audience. Some colloquial expressions are put between quotation marks to indicate sarcasm. It is an effective way that enables writers to switch from a serious tone to a comic one to gain readers' attention. But in many cases, humor does not necessarily generate laughter rather it may also express criticism.

The United Nations "is happy" that 62% of Jordanian women are using contraceptives..!! ... Hey guys: Once a mother-in-law says to her daughter-in-law after childbirth while "drinking tea with cinnamon and nuts," my dear: it is an "hour forgotten"... this expression is enough and able to disrupt all plans of the United Nations Development Program together with those of the Security Council!

In the above-mentioned example, the desire to motivate the audience to humorously convey the ironic message drives the writer to switch to JA by using $('\nu)'/walk\bar{u}$ in JA, the singular form $(\nu)'/walk\bar{u}$, which is used to call someone or a group of people. Creating a sense of humor is the best choice to make the writing more enjoyable and convincing. In this example, the writer mocks the United Nations programs that encourage family planning programs. Sarcastically, he compares these programs with some Jordanian families' traditions in social gatherings that provoke reproduction.

The relational nature of satire necessitates the contextual analysis of the satirical codeswitched expressions along with the writer's viewpoints of his intended functions behind using them as well as people's perceptions and judgements of their appropriateness. Following the within-subject approach is considered a methodological contribution of this study as it allows the researcher to take into account the writer's and audience's interpretation of the target diglossic switched expressions. Thus, the study supports following a multidimensional approach in comparable cases. Using this sort of analysis of communicative satirical acts and their interned functions in different articles enables eliciting more authentic data, enhances and extends understanding and asserts the findings from various data sources. This sort of triangulation helps the researchers to assess the adequacy of the collected data to conclude reliable findings.

The findings have a theoretical and practical contribution. These findings lend support to Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles,1980) demonstrating its utility in elucidating intracultural communication. They indicate that DS is applied in such types of sarcastic writing as an accommodation strategy. The sarcastic writer shifts his style from H to L to accommodate with the audience. This could be explained by the linguistic accommodation theory developed by Giles (1980) as the satirists attempt to shape language and shift their linguistic styles to consider the audience. The fundamental assumptions of CAT provide a clear explanation for our findings, as it posits that accommodating the conversational pattern of speech can enhance interpersonal and intergroup interaction. The findings prove this because the writer's DS is an attempt to converge with the readers' style to decrease the language barrier, gain simplicity, clarification and humor and accurately convey criticism of crucial political and economic decisions affecting people's lives. In the personal communication with the concerned sarcastic writer, he confirms that he makes use

of DS as a powerful technique for tone shifting to express a wide array of feelings. It appears that the satirist adopts the audience's tones to express their feeling towards certain critical issues. He is passionate, respectful and friendly with the audience in echoing their sarcastic, pessimistic, sad, angry, unpleasant and doubtful sense. The study shows that the existing theories of conversational code-switching can also be applied to written discourse. On the other hand, the findings do not support Ferguson's (1959) prediction which associates each language variety with a specific topic and situation. He classifies them as separate in different socially-determined contexts. The high variety (i.e. MSA) is no longer used alone in formal situations such as the case here in satirical newspaper articles and the low variety (i.e. JA) is no longer restricted to informal situations. The findings criticize Ferguson's model of clear fixed distinction between the H and L varieties as DS exists in various situations and differs in terms of formal and informal occasions to achieve certain target outcomes.

One of the significant findings addresses the controversial issues concerning the status of MSA and vernacular in media. The development of low varieties in formal written discourse in general represents a linguistic challenge for Arab youth who write vernacular in their daily communication in different social networks. These findings form an alert to Arabic language planning experts to reconsider the eternal linguistic hegemony of MSA in the presence of DS in their language policies carefully. Though there are various attempts to develop terminologies for colloquial varieties in the Arab world, most of them are done by individuals. Despite a difference in some syntactic structures between JA and MSA, there is a growing kind of written form of spoken JA in street shop advertisements, commercials on radio or television local channels, and sarcastic articles as written discourse. Thus, it is worth further investigation by grammarians in particular the salient lexical and morpho-syntactical aspects of verbs, prepositions, and question words of JA. The analysis shows that the writer uses certain syntactic structures of JA sentences, negation, and questions. The following example depicts that the sarcastic writer employs some syntactic structure. Here, the writer uses the prefix (''itat'bt) with the verb to indicate time.

And when someone comes across you blaming you "Oh my brother, I rang you till I got tired. The easiest logical and believable answer is: "Believe me I did not hear it."

The study contributes to the existing research on both DS and communication of satire. It results in a better understanding of some distinctive unfamiliar linguistic techniques employed for expressing satire and revealing the critical socio-political issues that need to be resolved. The findings could form a good base for comparable studies used for criticizing weaknesses in societies. It also directs the attention of linguists and researchers to this distinctive linguistic process and its prevalence in formal pieces of writing. Although the colloquial variety does not have written forms like MSA, it is being used for new domains in written form such as social media websites. This may indicate that DS may become a norm rather than an exception which in turn may lead to the evolution of new written forms of diglossic language in formal communicative contexts.

The findings have further implications for researchers. The within-approach employed in the study is replicable in future research studies for examining both the production and perception simultaneously in the comparable studies as this approach identifies the aspects of the participants'

communicative behaviour which might be culture-specific and open for different interpretations. The findings have also pedagogical implications. They accentuate that teachers enhance students' communicative competence and raise their awareness about the appropriate usage of DS which should not be arbitrary but restricted to serving certain forceful communicative functions.

CONCLUSION

This study examines DS between MSA and JA in Jordanian newspaper satirical articles from a sociolinguistic perspective. The DS expressions are found essential linguistic components processing unique social and cultural characteristics in satirical articles. They appear to be strong and useful means of expressing particular ironic ideas that would not be well-communicated by MSA alone. The DS is viewed by the writer and the audience as a positive linguistic phenomenon that carries out a set of functions including facilitating the expression of implicit criticism of critical issues in the political and economic situation, presenting distinctive socio-cultural features, insulting and cursing humorously. It also facilitates reaching an accurate expression of feelings and the understanding of the content and the theme of the sarcastic article. It is found an effective strategy for achieving linguistic accommodation with the audience as it reduces the language barrier and promotes clarity and simplicity. It also helps the writer accomplish certain discourse functions including interjections, quotations, parenthetical remarks, elaboration and clarification. Despite the favourable opinions expressed by the interviewees toward DS, they believe that it should be dealt with carefully as it may endanger the mother tongue in the long run.

The study provides significant theoretical and practical insights and forms a good base for further research avenues. It has important pedagogical implications for language policymakers. Future research may investigate the MSA and JA DS in other forms of non-traditional written discourse (i.e. computer-mediated communication). More quantitative studies of DS should consider variables including gender, social class, age etc in comparable rich resources. Researchers should design an authentic corpus of JA in diglossic code-switched oral and written discourse and explore the negative consequences of the widespread thoughtless DS by youth on preserving MSA.

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