

Multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of urban Jordan

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Omar Ibrahim Alomoush

May 2015

To my parents

To my wife

To my daughters

To my brothers and sisters

Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to investigate language practices in the linguistic landscape (LL) of Jordanian cities. There have been few research studies that examine the LL of Jordanian cities, and none has investigated multilingualism. This study is intended to fill this gap in LL research. By means of qualitative and quantitative methods, it aims to discover the extent to which multilingualism is reflected in the LL.

The main fieldwork was conducted in November and December 2012 in urban Jordan. Ten streets were selected in each of six major Jordanian cities, including Irbid, Salt, Zarqa, Amman, Karak and Aqaba, sixty streets in total. A LL item represents 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame' (Backhaus, 2007). 4070 signs were recorded as multilingual (c. 51%), whereas 3967 signs were categorised as monolingual (c. 49%). To discover correlations between types of signs and existing languages and scripts, and to measure these against conflicting language policies, signs are categorised as 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. The notions of 'code preference' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) and dynamics of language contact are employed to understand the semiotics of writing in the LL of Jordanian cities.

The main data findings indicate that minority languages are almost absent, so a questionnaire was introduced as an additional supportive source to the analysis of the findings, providing a qualitative dimension to the study. The study was conducted in July 2013, during which period the researcher interviewed 32 participants. The primary objective of this secondary study is to reflect on plausible reasons explaining the limited presence of minority languages in the visual public space.

The main data indicate a dominance of both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and English on signs, because they are closely related to Arab nationalism and globalization respectively. Jordanian Arabic is deleted from the top-down LL, because it is closely linked to informal domains. Classical Arabic (CA) is mainly used to convey religious functions in the LL. Mixed codes, Romanised Arabic (RA) and Arabacised English (AE), are commonly used in the LL to reflect 'glocalisation'. French, German, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Russian are found mainly to be used on brand name and business name signs for reasons of European linguistic fetishes and tourism.

The data indicate that minority languages are significantly marginalised on both top-down and bottom-up signs. Several reasons lie behind the limited visibility of established minority languages in the LL. Spatial distribution of migrant communities, the small size of minority communities, lack of (sufficient) institutional and parental support, migration and absence of close ties with families and linguistic peers are behind different stages of language maintenance and shift among older migrant groups. Linguistic russification, hostility, instrumentality of both Arabic and English and top-down language policies enacted by the Jordanian government contribute to the limited visibility of minority languages in the LL. Although foreign workers' minority languages tend to be maintained, the instrumental functions of both Arabic and English, Islam, and the small sizes of economic minority groups have each played a key role in the limited visibility or invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

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List of the transcription symbols used for Arabic letters

Arabic letter	Transliteration
أ/إ	AA
ب	B
ج	J
د	D
ه	H
و	W/OU
ز	Z
ح	H
ط	TT
ي	Y/II
ك	K
ل	L
م	M
ن	N
س	S
ع	9
ف	F
كس	SS
ق	Q
ر	R
ش	SH
ت	T
ث	TH
خ	KH
ذ	TH
ظ	DH
ظ	DH
غ	GH

Acknowledgement

In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful

I would like to express gratitude to those who have offered me support and advice throughout the writing of my thesis. First and foremost, I want to thank Dr Karl Simms, my primary supervisor, who have supervised me in the fourth year of study after my previous supervisor, Stefania Tufi, have had health problems recently and was unable to continue supervising my PhD. I am also thankful to my previous primary supervisor for her comments and suggestions throughout the first three years of my PhD study.

I am grateful to Dr Robert Blackwood, my secondary supervisor, for his suggestions throughout my PhD study. I want to thank Dr James Hawkey, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, for approving the questionnaire. In addition, I would like to thank Dr Chris Harris, Head of Department, and Dr Kate Marsh for providing advice. I am also thankful to all those who participated in the study.

I'd like to thank the examiners Professor Chris Kennedy, University of Birmingham, and Professor Kay Richardson, Department of Communications and Media.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. The linguistic landscape and introductory comments

Since the publication of Landry & Bourhis' academic article in 1997, the study of the linguistic landscape (LL) has gained importance in the field of sociolinguistics. For example, LL research has examined a range of issues in a variety of urban settings, including multilingualism in Tokyo (Backhaus, 2007), language policy and globalisation in Mekele, a regional capital of Ethiopia (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009), and the LL of two regions in France: Brittany and Corsica (Blackwood, 2011).

Landry & Bourhis (1997) view 'linguistic landscape' as a newly established approach in the field of language policy and planning, which aims to examine multilingualism in speech communities. Nowadays, the field of LL has been investigated from different approaches, including but not limited to sociolinguistics, language policy and discourse analysis.

The LL examines all written language in public spaces. The primary focus of this study is to examine the LL of urban Jordan and the linguistic practices of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (HKJ) by investigating the languages used on signs. This study also investigates the context for the management of public spaces, highlighting the mutual relation between language policy, demographics and visibility of languages. The current study will help to understand how governmental policies are linguistically represented on official signs. Linguistic practices as manifested on nongovernmental signs will also give

explanations about how government-sponsored policies are experienced at the bottom-up level.

Article 2 of the Jordanian constitution has decreed that Arabic is the language of the HKJ. It is the language used in administration, legislation and education. Whilst Arabic is advocated as the official language of the state, English is widely supported in schooling and higher education for reasons of internationalisation, modernity and development by the state and the local communities. English education in Jordan used to be introduced as a compulsory course from 5th to 12th grade, but a new curriculum for schooling in Jordan was introduced in 2001 to teach English from 1st grade till 12th grade. It aims to ‘produce a cultured, informed, useful and perceptive citizen, through his ability to understand, speak, read and write’ (Ministry of Education, 1969: 1). The state’s recent educational language policy has shown awareness of the connection between English and development (Ministry of Education, 2000; 2005).

As far as the management of the LL is concerned, the law of Greater Amman municipality (1984) stipulates that Arabic should be the dominant language on a storefront sign displaying the store owner’s name with what the enterprise does; taxes will be imposed on those who break the law. In addition, the Prime minister of Jordan in 1989 wrote to the ministries, governmental bodies and public institutions to underlie the importance of the visibility of the Arabic language on business name signs, advertisements and other signs in the LL (Aljafari, 2002: 153). The municipal councils of Jordanian cities were contacted to give their opinions about the presence of multilingualism in the LL. These municipalities do not impose any language restrictions on signs. This means that local city councils have no restrictions on the use of foreign languages and that multilingual signs, particularly commercial signage, would be largely governed by economic and business ends sought out. This is reinforced by Article 41 of Municipal Law

of 2007 (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2007) that eliminates Municipal Law of 1984 (Greater Amman Municipality, 1984) and its amendments and does not impose Arabic, the official language of the state, as the only language or in combination with a specific language such as English.

There seem to be contradictions between what is forbidden officially and what people actually do. Since graffiti are unauthorised, municipal authorities in Jordan exert efforts to remove graffiti from city walls, especially if graffiti trigger offence, racism or sexism. According to Article 42 of the Village and City Organisation Act (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2007), the municipality council would inform shopkeepers to remove graffiti from their walls when graffiti harm the beautiful image of the city.

In this examination of the LL, the definition of language policy as articulated by Spolsky (2004) is introduced in the current study, particularly in Chapters Five and Six. In this respect, language policy consists of three main components, including language practices, language choices made by users, beliefs, users' ideologies and opinions towards language practices, and language management, any implicit or explicit language intervention and planning to reinforce or change language beliefs and practices. Language management might be carried out by the state, municipal authorities, public institutions, private businesses, or individuals. The term linguistic landscaping, as used by Itagi & Singh (2002), is also introduced to refer to the implementation of language decisions on signs.

The term 'minority language(s)' in Chapters Three, Five and Six is used insofar as it refers to non-territorial languages, including Circassian, Armenian, Chechen, Turkish, Kurdish and foreign workers' minority languages. The constitution of Jordan does not state the term linguistic minorities, it only stipulates that Arabic is the language of the state. However, Article 6 of the Jordanian Constitution states that 'Jordanians shall be equal

before the law. There shall be no discrimination between them as regards to their rights and duties on grounds of race, language or religion’.

1.2 Significance of study

The current study is conducted in the Arab Middle Eastern context, which is significantly understudied by LL research studies. Jordan is one of the Arab Middle Eastern states. Amman, Irbid, Zarqa, Salt, Karak and Aqaba are the country's largest cities, which provide a valuable context for examining the LL of urban Jordan. Even though many LL studies have investigated the LL of Israel (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006: Shohamy & Waksman, 2009), little attention has been paid to the LL of the Arab Middle East and Jordan in particular.

This study focuses on the functional patterns of existing languages and scripts that emanate from the primary data. In other words, it establishes links between language(s) and types of signs against a background of clearly conflicting language policies. Even though there are similarities observed on top-down and bottom-up signs regarding ‘fragmentary and duplicating multilingual writing’, as used by Reh (2004), in which the same amount of information is translated or transliterated into two codes or scripts such as MSA and English, the major differences lie in ‘complementary multilingualism’, which reflects a non-governmental tolerance of a wide range of languages and language varieties not visually permitted on government-related signs. The fact that signs in ‘complementary multilingual writing’, as articulated by Reh (2004), are the overwhelming majority of bottom-up signage reflects the involvement of other language varieties widely used by the local community such as Jordanian Arabic and European languages.

The existing data demonstrate there is a need to discuss the sociolinguistics of recent phenomena in the LL such as the popularity of Romanised Arabic (RA) and Arabacised English (AE), which are brought about by computer-mediated communication (CMC) and globalization and growingly used by young generations of Arabs in new social media. The

global dominance of English is examined in the LL of urban Jordan, which belongs to the 'Expanding Circle' (Kachru, 1992). In discussing non-standard English uses on signs, instead of following traditional and prescriptive ideas of language 'correctness' and internalised forms of standard language ideology, the current study adopts a different approach, one that involves 'grassroots literacy', as articulated by Blommaert (2013), because parts of the text just call for these concepts to be employed.

The Jordanian state's policy makers could benefit from the findings of the current study by acknowledging the linguistic rights of migrant groups in public domains. It is observed that Arabic and English have acquired 'instrumental values', whilst minority languages are affiliated with 'sentimental' ones and viewed as 'obstacles to social mobility and progress' (May, 2006: 263). In light of the wide spread of English as a global language, societal multilingualism, not monolingualism, is spreading; therefore, all people should enjoy freedom of expression and education. The Jordanian state should intervene on the behalf of older minorities, the weaker party, to prevent language shift and loss. In other words, the driving force for the state's language intervention is the whole impending language shift or language loss to the advantage of Arabic, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. That is why the advocates of linguistic human rights (LHRs) regard state intervention as a necessity in domains in which the state has an authoritative role in language planning and policy, including the educational sector (Ricento, 2006:235).

1.3 Objectives and research questions

English competes with Arabic, Jordan's official language, in the LL of Jordanian cities. Conversely, minority languages are largely marginalised in the LL. Thus, the main goal of this study is to analyse the use of languages on signs in public places in urban Jordan. It also seeks better to understand the marginalisation of minority languages in the LL via

exploring the opinions of a number of minority language participants and analysing minority languages featuring signs in the LL. The following research questions will be examined through observations and a questionnaire:

1. To what extent is the LL multilingual on top-down and bottom-up signs?
2. What are the symbolic aspects of linguistic writing in the LL?
3. How are minority languages presented in the LL? Why?

To answer these questions, the main data were analysed according to a set of themes and trends, as will be discussed in Chapter Five. A questionnaire, which was administered to 32 respondents, was designed to elicit responses from the participants. The purpose of the interviews is to understand language use among the minority groups and language attitudes and opinions about the use of minority languages in public spaces.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Subsequent to the current chapter are six chapters, which constitute the conceptual framework of the thesis, a review of literature on the LL, historical, socio-political and sociolinguistic background to Jordan, empirical data analysis and discussion and concluding remarks.

Chapter 2 presents the literature for previous LL studies as well as relevant issues relating to language policy and maintenance of minority groups. LL topics covered in the chapter include the concept of 'linguistic landscape', the geographic distribution of LL studies, the functions of the LL, authorship and actors in the LL, methodological considerations, data collection and the unit of analysis and coding signs. Language maintenance topics covered in this chapter such as definition of language maintenance and

shift, factors determining language maintenance and shift and assessment of intergenerational language transmission are included to provide a theoretical framework for relevant issues in Chapter Six.

Chapter Three aims to contextualise the results from the fieldwork historically, culturally, politically and linguistically. In addition to providing a historical, cultural and political overview of Jordan, it provides a sociolinguistic background about Arabic 'multiglossia', English and 'glocalisation'. It also discusses the mutual relationship between Arabic and Islam and the role of Arab nationalism in the construction of Jordan's language policy and linguistic ideologies. Equally important, this chapter presents non-territorial multiculturalism as well as multilingualism through discussing the lives of minority groups in the state.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology used in this study. The unit of analysis and survey areas are both described and explained. The chapter also explains the coding schemes used to codify the existing data. More specifically, it highlights the analytical categories used as a basis for analysing the main data in Chapter Five. This chapter also discusses the sample and its limitations, interview procedures, survey questionnaire and LL data collected in the areas in which members of minority groups live and work.

Chapter Five focuses on primary data findings and analysis. It will discuss the themes and trends that emerge from the main data. These themes and trends include linguistic nationalism, the deletion of Jordanian Arabic from the top-down LL, religious discourse, English and globalisation, linguistic 'glocalisation', linguistic fetishes and tourism and minority language marginalisation.

Chapter Six discusses and analyses the secondary data of the study in three sections. Within the first and second sections, the results of the analysis of language maintenance and underlying language policy relating to long-term and short-term communities are

presented and discussed. More specifically, the first section will focus on a number of issues relating to language maintenance and policy, including sizes of minority groups, cultural distance/nearness, religious affiliation, closeness of networks, early settlement, overt and covert top-down language policies, age, migration, linguistic hostility, home and institutional support and literacy in the minority language . The second section will highlight the language practices of economic participants and the reasons behind maintaining their minority languages, including the relative short period of time in which the economic participants spend to work in the country, conscious language maintenance strategies, language policies exercised by their home countries and attitudinal reasons. Building upon issues of language maintenance and underlying language policy, the third section is devoted to explaining the limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

Chapter Seven summarises the main findings of the study. It also provides suggestions for future work and recommendations for language planning and policy. The results indicate a dominance of both MSA and English on signs, while a wide range of languages are visible on bottom-up signs.

Chapter Two: The linguistic landscape

1. Introduction

Before the advent of digital photography in 1994, only few LL studies were conducted in different urban settings. These included Brussels (Tulip, 1978), Montreal (Monnier, 1989), Jerusalem (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991), Paris and Dakar (Calvet, 1990). Much attention has been paid to LL research since then. Since the publication of Landry and Bourhis' academic article in 1997, the study of the LL has gained importance in the field of sociolinguistics. Landry & Bourhis (1997) view 'linguistic landscape' as a newly established approach in the field of language policy and planning, which aims to examine multilingualism in speech communities.

This chapter is intended to review concepts and scholarly theoretical and methodological contributions regarding the field of the LL, in order to lay out the conceptual framework for empirical data chapters. As such, it will discuss a variety of approaches, frameworks and analytical categories highlighted in previous LL studies, concluding with useful conceptual and methodological points for our research project in Jordan.

2.1 The concept of LL

There is no single definition that envelops all interpretations of 'linguistic landscape'. However, we will identify some definitions of the term 'linguistic landscape'.

Spolsky & Cooper (1991) were not the first to use the term ‘linguistic landscape’, but their contribution to the emergence of this term in the domain of multilingualism represents the foundations of what is now called ‘linguistic landscape’. Much acknowledgement has been attributed to Landry & Bourhis (1997) as the first to use the term and provide a definition, which afterwards has been expanded by several LL studies.

This definition is characterised by limitations in scope. Therefore, several publications attempt to expand the notion of LL to include a wide range of objects and artefacts, including images, icons, logos and languages inscribed in public places. In other words, since the publication of that seminal paper, several LL studies have been conducted to examine the content of public signage and broaden the notion of ‘linguistic landscape’ (Backhaus, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Shohamy & Waksman, 2009).

Landry & Bourhis (1997) have examined the role of LL in language maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality in Canada. Their seminal paper (1997:23, 25) entitled ‘Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: an empirical study’ defines the LL as:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration.

At the same time, it specifies the aim of LL research as to examine ‘the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region’ (1997: 23). Reh (2004) in her turn adapts this definition to analyse fixed, mobile and ‘transitional’ objects in the municipality of Lira, Uganda. Based on the definition provided by Landry & Bourhis (1997), Gorter (2006: 2) defines the LL as ‘the use of language in its written form in the public sphere’. It also refers to ‘language that is visible in a specified area’ (Gorter, 2006: 2). Similarly, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 14) maintains that the term ‘linguistic landscape’ is the study of ‘linguistic objects that mark the public space’. It includes ‘any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in

a given geographical location' (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:7). Their definition encompasses not only signs inside buildings, but also those outside. By the same token, Landry & Bourhis' widely known definition has been refined by Backhaus (2007), who has applied it in the LL of Tokyo, where he has examined urban multilingualism. He (2007:66) demonstrates that:

A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlining definition is physical, not semantic. It is rather broad, including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards outside a department store. Items such as push and pull stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats, or botanic explanation plates on trees were considered signs, too.

Regardless of whether the sizes of the signs are small or big, each is regarded to be one LL sign. In investigating multilingualism in the LL of urban Jordan, the term 'linguistic landscape' will fall within the scope of the definition refined by Backhaus (2007). As non-stationary linguistic objects such as product labels, pamphlets, banknotes, stamps, tickets, handbills and flyers, as pointed out by Sebba (2010: 59), are widely spread in the LL, the need arises for considering unfixed as prominent as fixed signs. Even though fixed signage is of great significance in LL research, the author suggests analysing it as one set of all sets of LL items. As a result, mobile objects should be read as invaluable as fixed texts. Authority and authenticity, for instance, are similarly represented in both fixed and unfixed signage.

Even though the majority of linguistic landscapers rely on the well-known definition provided by Landry & Bourhis (1997) and adopt it as the starting point of their empirical LL research, some publications extensively go beyond the physical definition of the term 'linguistic landscape'. Dailey et al. (2005) argues that not only the LL encompasses signs outside and inside shops and businesses, but also it may incorporate advertisements sent to one's home, the language heard when walking in one's neighbourhood, the language used

on television, and the language spoken by teachers in the classroom. Likewise, Shohamy & Waksman (2009: 314) propose new dimensions of the LL. They demonstrate that:

Linguistic landscape refers to texts situated and displayed in a changing public space, which is being redefined and reshaped. This public space is a fertile ground for the emergence of broad and infinite repertoire of text types. Such definitions of LL go beyond displayed written texts of signs in multilingual versions and include verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings.

Since language, as pointed out by the authors (2009: 314), is not the only force to convey meaning, the LL includes all possible 'discourses' that emerge in public spaces, including texts, images, objects, placement in time and space, and people. They suggest that interpreting these types of LL texts requires different theories relative to multimodalities, multilingualism, and discourse analysis. It is true that written discourse may interact with different discursive modalities such as visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010a: 2). Likewise, Seals (2013) examines multimodal data of the LL, highlighting written words, images and verbal communication. However, the current LL study will not broaden its scope beyond visual linguistic writing in the sense that the term 'linguistic landscape' will concentrate on the interplay between monolingual and multilingual writing, on the one hand, and functions and semiotic aspects of linguistic signs, on the other hand.

As regards the LL research in the foreseeable future, the definition of the LL is one of the challenges facing LL research. However, based on the initial findings of a feasibility study in Jerash, Jordan, the current study will build upon the concept provided by Backhaus (2007), who commits to a comprehensive sociolinguistic analysis of languages used in the LL of Tokyo. Accordingly, images, icons, non-textually related signs and objects in transit will not be central components of the research on Jordanian cities. Although this decision may be regarded as arbitrary, it is the intention of the author to concentrate on signs displaying written texts.

2.2 The geographic distribution of LL studies

This section is mainly intended to determine the areas whose linguistic landscapes have been examined by linguistic landscapers. LL studies have investigated many regions in Europe, Northern America, Africa and Asia. Accordingly, this will allow an identification of the regions that have been underrepresented in LL research.

Several studies were conducted in European countries such as Italy (Schlick, 2003; Coluzzi, 2009; Dal Negro, 2009; Tufi, 2010; Tufi, 2013), Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia (Sloboda, 2009), Austria, and Slovenia (Schlick, 2003), Portugal (2008), Moldova (Muth & Wolf, 2010), and Spain (Dunlevy, 2013). Other scholars compared the linguistic landscapes of two regions, including two regions in Europe, Friesland (the Netherlands) and the Basque country (Spain), (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) and two regions in France: Brittany and Corsica (Blackwood, 2011; Blackwood, 2014).

In North America, LL studies were conducted in Quebec in Canada (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) and in two Hispanic neighbourhoods in Washington DC in the United States of America (Yanguas, 2009), Chinatown in Washington Dc (Leeman & Gabriella, 2009), a Korean neighbourhood in Oakland in the United States of America (Malinowski, 2009), and Chinatown in Washington DC (Lou, 2010). In Memphis, Tennessee, Garvin (2010) carried out a qualitative LL study, investigating residents' perspectives and reactions about linguistic changes in the communities brought about by the LL.

In Africa, LL studies have developed recently. Little research has attempted to investigate the linguistic landscapes of Sub-Saharan African countries (Calvet, 1990; Reh, 2004; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009; (Kotze & Du Plessis, 2010). For instance, Lanza & Woldemariam (2009) examined the LL of Mekele, a regional capital of Ethiopia. Some LL research was carried out in a South African township (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009) whereas some researchers conducted a comparative study of the

public signage of three neighbouring towns (Kotze & Du Plessis, 2010). The same is true for North African countries which have been scarcely represented in LL research. In Morocco, Marely (2011) investigated the competing varieties of Arabic and French in the LL.

In Asia, most studies there focused on the capital cities such as Tokyo in Japan (Backhaus, 2007), and Bangkok (Huebner: 2006), the capital city of Thailand. Some studies focused on Israel. For example, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) examined the linguistic landscapes of West and East Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Nazareth, Kfar Shmaryahu, Ajami-Jaffa and Tira. In Arab Asian countries, very limited research has been conducted in this field of research so far. El-Yasin & Mahadin (1996) examined pragmatic aspects of the shop signs of Shafik er-Shidat Street in downtown Irbid, Jordan.

Although most previous studies were conducted in metropolitan areas (Backhaus, 2007; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), other studies focused on rural regions as in the case of Brittany and Corsica (Blackwood, 2011). The geographic distribution of LL studies reflects that Jordan is underrepresented in LL research. In this regard, the current study will build upon what has been established in this field of study to examine visual multilingualism in the LL of urban Jordan.

2.3 The functions of the LL

Two main functions have been discussed in previous LL studies: indexical and symbolic functions.

2.3.1 Indexical function

The first function of the LL is to index the presence of specific communities. For Landry & Bourhis (1997), the LL has an informational function. On the one hand, they claim that the dominance of a specific language on signs indicates its actual use in public and private spaces. The diversity of languages present on signs, on the other hand, may indicate the

sociolinguistic composition of a territory. Landry & Bourhis (1997) show that the LL is an important sociolinguistic factor distinct from other types of language contacts contributing to the vitality of competing ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual contexts. In the same vein, according to Dal Negro (2009: 206) bilingual signs in the LL may be read as a representation of bilingualism in a society or community. However, such a reading of the role of the LL might be portrayed as simplistic by virtue of the assumption that people's attitudes, governmental and individual strategies may intervene in the creation of the LL. Building upon a corpus of signs collected and analysed in Italy, Barni & Bagna (2010: 15) conclude that there is no direct connection between the existence of immigrant languages, their vitality, and visibility in the LL. However, the more visible a language in the LL is, the greater potential for vitality it has. Several factors may contribute to the visibility of immigrant languages in public spaces. The chief among these include positive attitudes of speakers toward their own languages and the features of the region in which immigrants live their lives and how long they have stayed in the area (Barni & Bagna, 2010: 16).

Scollon & Scollon (2003), in studying LL items, discuss this function within the framework of indexicality. In this light, the writers (2003:119) indicate that codes used on signs index particular communities:

A code may be chosen because it indexes the point in the world where it is placed- this is an Arabic speaking community (or business or nation) ... this is a Chinese restaurant because there is Chinese writing in the shop sign.

'Indexicality', as suggested by Scollon & Scollon (2003), is not straightforward on the grounds that not only the relationship between the language combinations in the LL and the composition of a community's linguistic repertoire may be a reflection of the codes used in a community, but also it can be mediated by governmental and nongovernmental language policies, people's attitudes and ideologies common among the members of a community.

2.3.2 Symbolic function

According to Shohamy & Gorter (2009: 2), Landry & Bourhis (1997) identify ‘language in the public space as a major indication of language attitudes and where the term was used’. According to Landry & Bourhis (1997), the symbolic function implies that the presence of one’s own language on signs can contribute to the feeling that this language has value and status within the sociolinguistic setting. Scollon & Scollon (2003:119) elaborate on ‘symbolisation’ in comparison with ‘indexicality’. They demonstrate that codes used on signs may symbolise matters which do not relate to the place where people live their lives. However, the authors demonstrate that there should be evidence outside these signs to determine whether the languages appearing on particular LL items are indexical or symbolic. The use of particular codes on commercial signs may be symbolic rather than indexical. For instance, the use of English in the LL of a Chinese-speaking community symbolises foreign tastes and manners rather than indexes an English-speaking community (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:118). Building upon these ideas, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:10) claim that the LL reflects ‘the symbolic construction of the public space’ rather than language policies. More specifically, it is a marker of a sociolinguistic dynamism: the disappearance, marginalisation and prevalence of particular languages or varieties in a community.

The use of the LL as a space of ‘linguistic instrumentalism’, a term used by Wee (2003), which is employed in Chapters Five and Six, has been highlighted by many other LL research studies. Therefore, it seems that the use of non-territorial languages in the LL is more related to ‘instrumental’ purposes of ‘commodification’ rather than indexical ones (see Heller, 2003). This somewhat supports what Griffin (2004:3) states that ‘English is a juggernaut whose sweep across the globe is marked not only by the ever-swelling ranks of those who speak it as a second language, but also by its intrusion into other languages and

culture'. By using English, which is largely motivated by economic reasons in the LL, businesses seek to increase their profits (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009: 57). This can account for the high visibility of written English on the commercial streets in urban Jordan, as will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Status, power, identity and globalisation with a concentration of the spread of English in the LL thus are sub-functions of the symbolic construction of the LL. These will now be addressed in detail.

2.3.2.1 Status and power

It can be concluded from the theory of 'geosemiotics', 'the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world', as suggested by Scollon & Scollon (2003:7, 110), that the choice of codes on LL items is a marker of status and power:

All semiotic systems operate as systems of social positioning and power relationship both at the level of interpersonal relationships and at the level of struggles for hegemony among social groups in any society precisely because they are systems of choice and no choices are neutral in the social world.

Likewise, Reh (2004:38) maintains that monolingual and multilingual writing in the LL can reflect the social layering of the community, the relative status of different groups within a given community, and the prevalent cultural ideals of the community. By the same token, in analysing languages written on LL items, this can help to give insights into the power structures in any given society or community (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:8).

Some linguistic landscapers view the LL as a linguistic tool to explore overt and covert language policies. Huebner (2006:32), for example, maintains that the 'linguistic tokens' of a central government may reflect the state's overt language policies. In this view, they function as symbolic markers of status and power. Conversely, the code choice on advertisements and other business signs reflect 'the covert language policies' of a community and provide an idea about the power relationships inside communities

(Huebner, 2006:32). Cenoz & Gorter (2006: 68) also point out that the LL is an approach that can give information about language management and practices in a society or a community:

The study of the LL can also be interesting because it can provide information on the differences between the official language policy that can be reflected in top-down signs such as street names or names of official buildings and the impact of that policy on individuals as reflected in bottom-up signs such as shop names or street posters.

Similarly, Dal Negro (2009: 206) claims that bilingual signs can be understood as part of an explicit language policy. It is not necessary that LL items represent the linguistic diversity or situation in a given community, but they may stand for the language policy of that country. That is why the LL has a very important role in several minority communities; in such sociolinguistic contexts, the LL is crucially important to gain or keep ‘political acknowledgement’ (Dal Negro, 2009: 206).

2.3.2.2 Cultural identity

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:8) consider the LL to be the place where the public life of a community takes place and functions as ‘the emblem of societies, communities, and regions’. The same has been emphasised by Huebner (2006:32), who argues that the LL ‘may display the grassroots cultural identity and aspiration of its members’. Shohamy, Ben-Rafael & Barni (2010:xiii) likewise argue that the LL reflects the multilingual nature of the community where values like patriotism and national pride urge the use of official languages in public spaces. In the LL of Trieste, Italy, Tufi (2013:397) argues that there is a strong relation between memory and language as manifested in Slovenian used as a strong marker of individual and group identity. Religious conflict might also emerge in the LL, as manifested by Woldemariam & Lanza (2013) in the LL of Addis Ababa where religious wars between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Protestant Christian communities emerge.

2.3.2.3 Globalisation and the spread of English in the LL

The LL may provide evidence for the impact of globalisation on the language(s) of a community and commercial competition (Huebner, 2006:32). At the same time, it could reflect allegiances to globalisation through the use of the world's lingua franca, namely English (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010: xiii). In reviewing the literature on the field of the LL, much sociolinguistic analysis has been attributed to the importance of English in LL studies. This is reflected in Tokyo, whose LL indexes multilingualism (Gorter, 2006: 81). Although Japan is regarded a prototype of a monolingual community, English is highly represented in the linguistic cityscape of Japan. The spread of English as a global language is noticeable in other metropolitan survey areas in Asia and Europe such as Bangkok (Huebner, 2006), whose environmental print of the streets shows a high degree of multilingualism, Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael, 2006), Portugal (Torkington, 2009), Moldova (Muth, 2012), and Lithuania (Muth & Wolf, 2010). These studies cast light on the process of globalisation (in relation to localisation) and identify the interpretations behind this omnipresence of the English language in the LL, addressing the functions of English prevalence in the LL. The relevance of these studies to the current study comes from the fact that English competes with varieties of Arabic in the LL of Jordanian cities, which is quite similar to the growing spread of English in other areas of the world.

Gorter (2006: 81-82) addresses two distinctive processes in this subfield of sociolinguistics. On the one hand, he stresses the significance of English as the language of globalisation in the LL. On the other hand, he takes into account the appearance of 'regionalisation' or 'localisation', a term which emphasises both a regional identity and a regional language. These two processes, globalisation and localisation, are termed as 'glocalisation'. To provide supportive evidence of the presence of these two sociolinguistic

processes occurring at the same time, the streets of the towns of Ljouwert/Leeuwarden in Friesland and Donostia/SanSebastian in the Basque Country have been examined.

The reasons behind the wide spread of English alongside the diminishing power of other languages in signage have been directly addressed. Diverse factors such as immigration, tourism and the revitalisation of minority languages have contributed to developing multilingualism and multiculturalism since a century ago (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009: 57, 58). In other words, ethnic, sociocultural, religious and commercial diversity play a role in diversifying the language situation in urban settings. In studying language use in signage, signs indicate this linguistic diversity and the fact that economic factors play a significant role in shaping the LL (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009: 58). From the standpoint of Cenoz & Gorter (2009:57), the wide spread of the English language on public and private signs is 'one of the most obvious markers of the process of globalisation'. Likewise, in Portugal, according to Torkington (2009:137), the dominance of English is one of the most noticeable features of the LL. This is attributed to the economic significance of English in business globally. To increase their sales, business owners use English as a means of communication in tourism destination areas. By the same token, Edelman (2010), on the one hand, demonstrates that Dutch and English are the most prevalent codes in the LL of Amsterdam and Friesland and English has been the second most dominant language in signage after Dutch (Edelman, 2010: 48). On the other hand, minority languages scarcely participate in moulding the LL of these two field sites. Edelman (2010: 45) attributes the growing use of English on public and private signs in the Netherlands to three main factors: tourism, the vital role of Amsterdam as an international trading and cultural centre and the fact that English is the lingua franca among many recent immigrant groups.

The growing functional roles of the English language in the LL have also been emphasised. Muth (2008: 143,144), for instance, demonstrates that even though English competence is not high among Lithuanian people, English widely appears on LL signs in the LL of Vilnius. With regard to private spaces, English is used on a high number of LL items. According to the author (2009:144), in this part of the world, English is regarded as ‘the language of upward social mobility, as new, prestigious and desirable to learn’. The most noticeable feature of the LL of Vilnius in particular in Lithuania in general is the decline of Russian. This is due to ‘language policy, power structures within society and ethnocentric nationalism’ (Muth, 2008:144, 145). Although the Russian language is now used as a means of communication in most parts of the former Soviet Union, including Lithuania, evidence suggests that it cannot regain its status in the LL of this country in the future. Unlike English, no functions have been assigned to Russian on signs in public and private spaces. Likewise, according to Muth & Wolf (2010), in analysing the writings in the public signage of Moldova through the distribution of languages on signs, it can be assumed that English is well-entrenched in the LL. Although Russian still has a privileged position in the LL and English has a symbolic function, the English language is a highly distinctive language and relates to the notions of ‘internationality, success, and Western orientation’. In addition, it is expected that English takes over the functional domains of the Russian language.

The domain of language planning and language policy stress the significance that LL research helps to reflect linguistic hierarchies, power structures and the linguistic diversity of language groups in a variety of territories and regions throughout the globe. In addition, the LL can explore overt and covert language attitudes, official and non-official language policies. In view of the consideration that the impact of language policies on the

LL can be examined through language practices on signs, the need arises for including language management as an integral part of the LL study in Jordan.

2.4 Graffiti in the LL

Scollon & Scollon (2003) suggest three semiotic practices: ‘decontextualized’, ‘transgressive’ and ‘situated’ semiotics. Whilst ‘situated’ semiotics makes reference to the material world when predicting any aspect of meaning regarding regulatory signs or notices, the viewer may regard signs as ‘transgressive’ if written in unpermitted places. In other words, signs will be considered transgressive to the viewer if they are inappropriately placed (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 148,149). In every community, there exists a ‘geosemiotic system’ which specifies the appropriate places for the appearance of signs in public spaces. Literature is abundant in publications that throw light on the (dissimilar) characteristics and sociolinguistic interpretations of graffiti.

Some authors have discussed the general characterisation of graffiti together with anti-graffiti policies. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 147) view graffiti as things transgressively written on stones and walls in public places in violation of a public expectation that such surfaces would be kept clean and ‘unpolluted’. Accordingly, graffiti are different from public signs. In most cases, they are regarded as ‘transgressive to place the spiritual, the artistic, and the socially uplifting message in places in which visual semiotics is forbidden’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 151). Not only the emplacement of graffiti is transgressive, but also they are seen as ‘transgressive because they are not authorised, and they may be prohibited by some social or legal sanction’. The authors (2003:150) provide examples showing the transgressive semiotics of contemporary signage in Shanghai. Likewise, Pennycook (2009:307) visualises graffiti as a form of ‘transgressive semiotics’, which requires reading that is different from ‘legally sanctioned or officially placed signs of

businesses or authorities'. To regulate the LL of different countries and communities, anti-graffiti policies have been followed to determine what can be said and where.

Milon (2002) discusses negative and positive perceptions and attitudes toward graffiti. He argues that graffiti participate in giving shape to urban spaces or its landscape, wondering whether 'tags' or 'pieces' are a component of 'a city's skin' or whether these are merely 'scars more or less deeply engraved on its body'. The author (2002: 87) reports that tags are often viewed as 'incomprehensible hieroglyphic signatures that aggressively pollute the visual space of the inhabitant, a type of filth that damages the City's attractiveness'; these marks are felt as 'dirty, exterior marks on the City'. At the same time, Milon (2002:88) reports on a different perspective, which shows graffiti as an essential component of cityscapes where they participate in defining their 'exterior aspect', 'size', 'interior design' and 'soul'.

Accordingly, the functions or sociolinguistic interpretations of graffiti have been extensively highlighted by an array of publications. Graffiti, from the standpoint of Milon (2002:87), should not be conceived as mere ornaments but as a mirror of 'social unrest'. In other words, graffiti should be seen as shapers of the LL. Compatible with the geosemiotics theory as enumerated by Scollon & Scollon (2003), Lynn & Lea (2005) notice that the time and space of graffiti making or painting are as significant for their interpretation as their form and content. Pennycook (2009) likewise concentrates on graffiti and how to interpret them in terms of transgressive semiotics. In addition to being about style and identity, graffiti represent multiple ways of claiming space. Pennycook (2009:307) argues that the places where graffiti exist suggest different interpretations. This is reflected in the location of graffiti close to transport hubs such as bridges, trains and railways. Such sites present 'accessible yet dangerous sites for writing' (2009: 308). In addition, movement and visibility participate in the construction of the meaning of graffiti

in the sense that moving texts bring meaning into existence. He (2009:307) argues that graffiti are usually interpreted within the notions of identity and style. As stated by Van Treeck (cited in Pennycook, 2010: 142), all types of graffiti ranging from ‘tags to throwups, and from local city styles to where they are positioned (under bridges, on the sides of bridges, on trains, inside tunnels, on derelict buildings, high up, low down)’ contribute to the composition of identity. In the first place, graffiti are intended to establish particular types of identity. It is not only to give information about a territory, but also it is to claim space.

Benwell & Stokoe (2006: 208) likewise claim that ‘physical space is not an objective, neutral phenomenon but inescapably socially constructed by human agents and their semiotic practices’. Since spaces are indexical of self-awareness and inhabitants write words and symbols on these spaces for identification via using diverse degrees of personalization, Benwell & Stokoe (2006) employ the term ‘place-identity’ to represent space personalisation and creation of meanings of belonging and attachment. In this light, graffiti are used to mark space with particular social interpretations and identities (Hanauer, 2011:158).

Graffiti is not only confined to ‘powerless’ urban landscapes reclaiming the streets, they are employed as a means for achieving pragmatic ends sought. As a result, different types of graffiti can be identified, including racist, sexual and political graffiti. Not only asylum seekers, according to Lynn & Lea (2005: 40), could be subject to physical violence and threats by racist individuals, but also they might be intimidated by ‘racist graffiti’. Lynn & Lea (2005: 39) favours the analysis of graffiti seen in Sighthill Glasgow largely populated by refugees and ‘asylum seekers’. By virtue of the strict regulations imposed by the local authorities in removing them, together with the implementation of new strategies where tags could only be decoded on the part of graffiti authors, racist graffiti were

impossible to find. According to Piller (2010: 130), graffiti are employed as a medium for public transport to take part in the sexualisation of public space. In fact, it participates in the wide spread of the sexualisation of trams, buses and waiting areas. Some of these graffiti are used to set up a sexual meeting such as ‘fuck me [phone number]’, which was visible on the back of tram seats (Piller, 2010: 130). Consistent with citizens’ dissatisfaction with government actions and policies, Papen (2012: 71, 77) employs the term ‘political graffiti’, which are used to express feelings of discontent with the path to development and gentrification of particular areas and also employed to invite people to join protests against specific political issues such as nuclear energy.

Based on a pilot study in Jerash, graffiti are a very important component of the composition of Jerash’s LL. As such, graffiti will be relevant to the current study, as they are used to reflect a wide range of functions, which will be highlighted in Chapters Five and Six.

2.5 Authorship and actors in the LL

Authorship in the LL is not straightforward. In this respect, a distinction made between government and nongovernment LL items, or top-down and bottom-up signs, may be useful. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:10) argue that ‘LL analysis focuses at the same time on the simultaneous actions of institutions and autonomous actors which together give shape to the linguistics of the public space’. The same thought is echoed by Malinowski (2009: 109) who argues that a simultaneous reading of the source of signs determines the meaning(s) of the prominence of one code over another.

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:9) discuss the LL actors or ‘those who concretely participate in the shaping of the LL by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies’. They (2006:14) argue that there are a wide variety of actors shaping the LL. However, they belong to two main

forces: ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ flows. The former type is coded according to their belonging to legal, medical and educational institutions, while the latter type includes those set up by shop owners and individuals.

Even though Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) point out the shortcomings of Spolsky & Cooper (1991) for not focussing on the large number of actors giving shape to the LL, many linguistic landscapers, including Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), have relied on Spolsky & Cooper (1991) to create theoretical frameworks fit for LL research. Spolsky & Cooper (1991) put forward discourse principles that participate in the construction of signs in linguistic landscapes. They (1991:81-84) mention three conditions, whose value and importance are manifested in an analysis of the instrumental purposes of sign writers in initiating signs in linguistic landscapes:

1. ‘Write signs in a language you know’.
2. ‘Prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read’.
3. ‘Prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you want to be identified’.

These three rules are discussed further in Spolsky (2009:32, 33). According to Spolsky (2009), these three conditions do not apply to all signs. They consider the first rule, which is also termed as ‘literacy condition’ that requires writing in a language you are familiar with, as necessary, whereas the other conditions may not be met on all signs. The remaining rules include ‘readership condition’ presuming that sign writers use a language that readers know on public signs, and ‘ownership condition’ requiring to write in the sign writer’s own language (Spolsky,2009: 33,34).

In attempting to read ‘the forces and drives’ that contribute to the construction of the LL of Israel and throw light on ‘the LL actors’ behaviours and choices’, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) devise a sociolinguistic model to analyse linguistic diversity. They (2006:9-16)

interpret the code choices on the LL items within the framework of four sociolinguistic hypotheses.

The ‘Bourdiesard hypothesis’ suggests that the code choices in the linguistic landscapes of Israel are interpreted in the light of power relations between the dominant and subordinate groups. This perspective suggests that Hebrew, the official language of Israel, has a predominant role in all linguistic landscapes of the state. Even though Arabic has an officially legal status in Israel, the presence of Arabic in places where the Jewish majority prevails is weaker than in Arab localities, which is compatible with the core of this hypothesis (Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:24).

From the ‘presentation-of-self and primordialist’ perspectives, ‘identity markers’ are meant to impose the use of the subordinate code on LL items in the areas where this code usually exists, challenging the power of the dominant groups’ language. This best explains the use of Arabic as the preferred code in Arab localities in East Jerusalem. In this area, Arabic has the predominant role in the LL, which sharply contrasts with the less salient presence of Arabic on signs in places where Jews and Arabs coexist and in Jewish areas in which the appearance of Arabic on signs is almost non-existent (Ben-Rafael et al.,2006:22).

According to the ‘good-reasons hypothesis’, the features and structures of the public signage are explained within the interests of LL actors. In this regard, the presence of English in the LL of a non-English speaking community is best explained within the framework of this hypothesis. According to the authors, the importance of English in the LL of Israel can be attributed to two main reasons. First, to promote tourism in this part of the world, it is essential to use English on signs. Second, the position of English as a high-status language paves the way for its being considered as a status marker in a society or community (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006:24). These three hypotheses rely on sociological

research theories undertaken by Pierre Bourdieu, Erving Goffman, and Raymond Boudon respectively (see Ben-Rafael, 2009: 10)¹.

In addition to these three principles of LL interpretation, Ben-Rafael (2009) discusses the hypothesis of collective identity. This principle is based on the assumption that LL items carry significant messages connecting actors with particular sectors of the community. Unlike the former three hypotheses, applied in Ben Rafael (2006), the latter hypothesis has not yet been applied in previous LL studies. Even though there seems to be an overlap between ‘presentation of self’ and ‘collective identity’ principles on the grounds that both focus on ‘identity markers’, Ben-Rafael (2009: 46) stresses that the ‘presentation of self-principle’ relates to actors’ ‘uniqueness’ and the collective identity principle is substantially different in the sense that it refers to ‘whom the actor belongs and wishes to attract clients on the basis of fellowship or likeness’. For example, grocery stores whose storefronts show particular words such as ‘Hallal’ and ‘Kosher’ index the identity of their customers.

Kallen (2010) suggests five visual frames, not exhausting with other divisions, examples of which might comprise, including but not restricted to the community and the school. Kallen’s discourse frames (2010:49) contain the civic frame, the marketplace, portals, the wall and the detritus zone. Whilst the civic zone is based on ‘officially-defined formats’ such as code selection and choice of official emblems, with a view to displaying both civil authority and the functions which are compatible with it, the marketplace demonstrates a wide range of different competing languages which characterise daily life commercial activities. Kallen (2010: 51) also considers entrances and exits as central components of the discourse frame of portals where the mobility of people and personal

¹ Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) devises the first sociolinguistic hypothesis based on Bourdieu (1983, 1993) who argues that social reality consists of fields of social facts structured by unequal power relations between categories of participants. The second sociolinguistic hypothesis is based on Goffman (1963, 1981) who analyses social action in accordance with presentation of self. Boudon (1990) uses the term the ‘good reasons’ as related to interests in the attainment of a set of goals.

goods is highly noticeable. This means that these social settings can be rich in multilingual signs. According to Kallen (2010: 53), linguistic landscapes are not exclusively connected with buildings and top-down signs. Even though Backhaus (2007) solely analyses stationary objects in Tokyo's LL, the LL as a visual entity includes 'transient signage as found in graffiti, temporary posters, labels, stickers, notes and various ephemeral forms of expression'. The final illustration of the ephemeral within the LL, from the standpoint of Kallen (2010: 53, 54), is manifested in the detritus zone. Discarded materials such as litter and domestic and commercial waste are not an indication of linguistic plans on rubbish accumulators' part, but a large amount of these materials indexes movement of people. The author applies these five spatial frameworks in analysing a corpus of LL items in the Dublin LL.

Tufi (2010) uses different LL categories to examine monolingual and multilingual writing of signs. These include commercial, informational, institutional, and transgressive inscriptions. Blackwood (2011), on the other hand, distributes monolingual and multilingual signs in the districts of Brittany and Corsica according to nine principal sign categories, including business names, business signs, graffiti, information, instructions, labels on products, legends, street signs and trademarks.

The present study will corroborate and build upon the importance of the four structuration principles as suggested by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Ben-Rafael (2009) in analysing a corpus of data in the LL. These frameworks will help to analyse the use of particular languages used on signs. In addition, the current study will partially build upon Tufi's (2010) and Blackwood's (2011) typologies to devise a typology of signs relevant to the LL of urban Jordan, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

2.5 Methodological considerations

Previous LL studies have relied on qualitative and quantitative research methods. Qualitative research methods were employed by scholars such as Scollon & Scollon (2003) and Reh (2004) while quantitative research methods by scholars such as Ben-Rafael, et al. (2006) and Huebner (2006). To accomplish a comprehensive study in Tokyo, Backhaus (2007) applies both qualitative and quantitative procedures while gathering and analysing data.

2.5.1 Data collection and the unit of analysis

Backhaus (2006:54) has contributed significantly to LL methodology. He gives consideration to two methodological procedures intended to guarantee a sound method of data gathering. These include the geographic limits of the survey areas and a clear determination of the survey items.

In his empirical study, Backhaus (2006:54) chooses twenty eight stations of the Yamanote Line, a circular line around the centre of Tokyo. The boundaries of these survey areas were determined, each of which was part of a street placed between two consecutive traffic lights. In this respect, Backhaus (2007: 66) admits a methodological gap in his data collected that is manifested in ‘the distances between the traffic lights varied strongly from approximately 65 metres in the survey area in Okachimachi to 400 metres in the survey area in Shinagawa’. Tufi & Blackwood (2010) and Blackwood (2011) attempt to resolve this methodological fault by putting forward a data collection procedure recognised as 50-metre stretch of the chosen streets, suggesting approximately measuring this distance by counting steps. Long & Comajoan (2012) selected 400 continuous metres in each of three streets in the city of Barcelona. Although this methodological decision might pose problems such as approximate stretches of the streets selected, it is more systematic than

the former. Blackwood (2011:115) defends this methodological decision by providing supportive evidence from sociolinguistic research:

The length of the sections was approximate and was measured by pacing out 50 metres along the street, thereby defining the survey area. In one respect, it could be argued that to choose 50 metres of a street is an arbitrary decision, which potentially diminishes the significance of the research. However, in the same way that sociolinguistic surveys use groups of respondents (rather than entire populations) to predict trends in language practices, 50-metre stretches of roads (totalling 20 survey areas in both Brittany and Corsica) can be understood as representative of wider regions.

To test the 50-metre stretches of the streets selected, Blackwood (2011) examines the LL of Brittany and Corsica, arguing that this procedure can be a reflection of areas wider than the two.

In spite of the fact that the LL examines linguistic tokens marking public spaces, no single definition is currently shared among linguistic landscapers, which is regarded as one of the major problems that face the existence of LL methodological frameworks devoid of flaws. Even though most studies focused on texts displayed in the LL, some studies examined particular types of LL items. These include billboards (Tulp, 1978), graffiti (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Lynn & Lea, 2005; Papen, 2012; Pennycook, 2009; Piller, 2010), shop signs and proper names (Schlick, 2003) and trademarks (Tufi & Blackwood, 2010).

Reh (2004) comprises all inscriptions on stationary and movable objects as the main unit of analysis in the LL of Lira, Uganda. According to Cenoz & Gorter (2006: 67), all displayed texts on one business front or establishment are counted as a single LL item. If there are several fronts of the same business shop or establishment, they are analysed as separate LL items. Backhaus' (2007) physical definition is more accepted by linguistic landscapers. The significance of his monograph (2007) to LL research is that it represents the first comprehensive approach tackling multilingualism in the LL and overcoming a

range of methodological problems facing former studies, including but not limited to the physical definition of the unit of analysis. Backhaus's approach in data collection and analysis will help the researcher to undertake research in multilingualism in the LL of urban Jordan. However, this monograph is not devoid of shortcomings such as the exclusion of trademarks and graffiti from LL examination, which might be thought of as arbitrary.

2.5.2 Coding signs

(a) Languages and language combinations

The relevance of this category as part of LL coding schemes relates to the sociolinguistic interpretations of the salience of languages on signs. Tulp (1978), for instance, examines the most frequently used languages on commercial billboards in Brussels. Many other works have investigated these two analytical categories. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 17, 18) classify LL items according to the languages used and multilingual patterns appearing on signs such as bilingual (e.g. Hebrew-Arabic) and trilingual combinations (e.g. Hebrew-English-Arabic). In Tokyo, Backhaus (2007:74, 75) finds different language combinations of 14 languages. The most frequent combinations were Japanese-English and English-only, which constitute more than 80% of the sample.

(b) Top-down and bottom-up flows

One of the main concerns of this study is to draw on the main forces shaping multilingualism. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:19-21) examine signs in a 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' dichotomy. Likewise, Backhaus (2007:81) uses these two terms in alternation with official and nonofficial signs. According to Kallen (2010:42), making a distinction

between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs suggests that the LL is a heterogeneous area. While attributing a social hierarchy to the official and unofficial originators of LL items, top-down and bottom-up distinction presents a reflection of social and linguistic hierarchies. The author suggests best examining the differences within the same system rather than drawing a distinction between top-down and bottom-up signage. For instance, road name signs and store signs are not 'directly competing for the same territory, nor do they simply represent different sources of comparable expressions' (Kallen, 2010:42). Nonetheless, the language distribution on 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs seems to be a demonstration of the importance of given languages in public and private domains (Tufi, 2013: 401).

(c) Geographic distribution

Geographic distribution of the languages used on signs is addressed by several LL studies. Monnier (1989) quantifies the spatial distribution of French and English in Montreal. In a similar way, Wenzel (1996: 54-60) covers the geographic distribution of the languages used. Both scholars study officially bilingual and multilingual contexts. The above publications attempt to quantify the salience or visibility of the languages on signs according to spatial distribution. However, Backhaus (2007) compares the statistics of ethnic groups found in the survey areas selected with the appearance of their own languages to identify whether there are direct relationships between the two. The visibility of the Chinese and Korean language on LL items in west and northwest of the Yamanote Line loop, for example, is a new development in Tokyo's LL, which indexes increasing degrees of multilingualism. Whilst Chinese signage is constructed by official forces, the greater number of Korean signs is produced by the Korean population (Backhaus, 2007:142). However, other LL studies show that there is no direct relationship between the

salience and vitality of a language and its visual appearance in signage (Barni & Bagna, 2010:15).

(d) Code preference

‘Visual semiotics’, as invented by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996), examines ‘the grammar of visual design’. They highlight ‘the ways in which images communicate meaning’. A set of indicators of modality in ‘visual semiotics’ are given by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) such as ‘colour saturation’, ‘colour differentiation’, ‘contextualisation’ and ‘brightness’. Similarly, Beasley & Danesi (2002: 20) point out that many brand names, advertisements and commercials can be interpreted within the scope of two levels: ‘a surface and underlying one’:

The former involves the use of specific types of signs in a highly creative manner to create a personality for the product (images, words, colours, repeating stories, etc.). These are reflexes of, and traces to the underlying level – where the concealed meaning of the text lies: i.e. the surface elements cohere into a textuality that conjures up an array of meanings embedded in the underlying level.

Scollon & Scollon (2003) builds upon Kress & Van Leeuwen’s (1996) ‘visual semiotic framework’ to create ‘code preference system’. According to Scollon & Scollon (2003), ‘code preference’ is mainly manifested in font size, colour and placement. In studying the LL of a particular country, as in the case of China, ‘code preference’ has played a role in developing coding schemes in the LL. When a text is written in multiple codes or orthographies, say English or Chinese, there is a preferred code. It is not possible that these items are located in the same place. Usually, the preferred linguistic system is on the uppermost, left or central position of a sign; on the contrary, the marginalised language is positioned on the bottom, the right or the margin surface of signs (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 119-120). In cases where size and order express conflicting preferences, size

outweighs order (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 120). Nevertheless, the authors have not investigated the languages written from right to left, as in the case of Arabic.

Several publications such as Backhaus (2006), Ben-Rafael (2006), and Huebner (2006) draw on Scollon & Scollon's (2003) framework of 'code preference'. Backhaus (2006) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) note the significance of script size in determining the prominence of languages used in the LL. When facing difficulty in specifying the preferred code on complex and ambiguous signs or 'even in simple left-right/top-bottom divisions' ,for example, the visibly larger letters would be read as dominant. This is reflected in the laws followed in different parts of the world. In Quebec, Canada, for instance, 'Quebec's Bill 101' requires the writing of French in larger letters on public signs regardless whether the French language is positioned on the uppermost, central or left surface of the sign or not (Malinowski, 2009:109). Though Huebner (2006:55) builds upon Scollon & Scollon's (2003) model of 'code preference' and argues that the placement of text and size of font used are the primary features used to determine the dominant language on multilingual signs, he claims that these two features may be 'offset' by other features such as 'colour, images and amount of text' (2006:55, 56). This is apparent in the use of red font in Thai or English script, whose red colour has indicated 'code preference' in the LL of Bangkok. In addition, since Thai script texts may provide more information than English, this feature gives prominence to the Thai language on multilingual signs (2006:56). Nevertheless, there is no consensus among linguistic landscapers with respect to which colours are perceived as dominant on signs.

(e) Layering

Hopper (1991:22) proposes the concept of 'layering', arguing that: 'Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers

are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with new layers'. In LL research studies, for Scollon & Scollon (2003: 137), 'layering' often indicates temporality, but this is not always the case. Linguistic landscapers such as Backhaus (2007) and Huebner (2006) also build upon this idea to examine the sociolinguistics of 'layering' scientifically. In the light of data already available for Jordan, layering may indicate transgression and newness as in the case of the change of street name signs, where the newer version is positioned above the older one, occasionally used in the commercial signs of urban Jordan.

After reviewing the literature of LL research on layering, diachronic changes are examined in two ways. In comparing the language use patterns between older and newer localities, the 'changing patterns of language use' can be identified (Huebner, 2006:38). Backhaus (2007:130) shows that the LL contributes to examining the coexistence of older and newer versions of signs, as examined in earlier studies such as the survey conducted by Spolsky & Cooper (1991) in the Eastern part of Jerusalem in which older and newer road signs coexist.

(f) Linguistic idiosyncrasies

Although Backhaus (2007) relies on former studies conducted in different urban settings, including Brussels (Tulp, 1978), Montreal (Monnier, 1989), Paris and Dakar (Calvet, 1990, 1994), Lira, Uganda (Reh, 2004), he created new analytical categories such as linguistic idiosyncrasies. In Tokyo's LL, Backhaus (2007) observes that linguistic idiosyncrasies occur at three main linguistic levels. Most result from the interference of elements of one language to another language or writing system at various levels: orthographic, morphological and syntactic, and lexical levels (Backhaus, 2007: 117). Use and non-use of uppercase letters are one of the primary sources of linguistic idiosyncrasies.

For example, Backhaus (2007) notes the appearance of uppercase letters within coherent phrases. Other orthographic idiosyncrasies are also highly noticeable. In addition, he records idiosyncrasies at the morpho-syntactic level. At the lexical level, it can be observed that nonstandard English collocations are common in signage (Backhaus, 2007: 118,119). In the LL of urban Jordan, one of the main concerns is to focus on signs displaying non-standard English expressions, which can be best understood against a background of 'grassroots literacy', as suggested by Blommaert (2008; 2013).

(g) Types of multilingual writing vs. part writing

As far as types of multilingual writing on objects are concerned, Reh (2004: 8) considers four main types of combination of languages and information in Lira. These include 'duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary multilingual writing'. Although Backhaus (2007) relies on Reh (2004), he uses different terminology, particularly 'part writing' with its main types adopted from the field of musicology: 'homophonic, mixed, polyphonic and monophonic signs'.

'Duplicating multilingual writing' relates to linguistic practices in which the same amount of information is given in more than one language. This practice reflects the presence of what Reh (2004: 8) calls 'societal multilingualism', a term referring to 'the existence of more than one language in the target community'. This type of multilingualism may arise out of technical and affective aspects of communication. The former occurs in situations where 'individual multilingualism' is insufficient in a certain multilingual setting in the sense that not all people in the target community will be reached by a single language only. It is also relevant in situations in which the multilingual writer is mainly interested in reaching a particular target group, particularly in the cases of trade and tourism. The latter form of 'duplicating multilingualism' comes into existence when

‘individual multilingualism’ is widely used to the extent that LL texts are understood if inscribed in just one language. As such, ‘duplicating multilingual writing’ functions as an identity marker and reflects the equality of all the linguistic and cultural communities addressed (Reh, 2004:9). ‘Duplicating multilingual writing’ corresponds to what Backhaus (2007:90) terms as ‘homophonic signs’, which show complete translation or transliteration of two different languages.

Even though Reh (2004) draws a distinction between ‘fragmentary’ and ‘overlapping’ multilingual texts, Backhaus (2007:90) considers both types exactly the same and term them as mixed signs. From the standpoint of Reh (2004), on the one hand, ‘fragmentary’ multilingualism refers to multilingual inscriptions in which the full text is only presented in one language and certain parts of the same text is interpreted into another language or other languages. On the other hand, ‘overlapping multilingual writing’ on stationary objects occurs in case that part of its information is translated in at least one additional language and other parts of the text are interpreted in just one single language. It takes two major forms. The first form refers to the fact that even though the notional content of the texts in these languages is the same, the pragmatic meaning conveyed is different. Reh (2004: 12) elaborates on the twofold advantage of this type of multilingualism by arguing that:

This type of multilingual language use informs monolingual readers sufficiently and at the same time neither bores bilingual readers through exact repetition as in the case of duplicating multilingualism, nor privileges them by providing them with more information than monolingual readers.

Reh (2004) holds the view that these characteristics are not available in the second form of ‘overlapping multilingual writing’. In the second type, part of the text is exactly translated from one language into one more language or other languages, whereas other parts of the information are only presented in one code.

‘Complementary multilingual writing’, according to Reh (2004:12), refers to texts in which different parts of the information are provided in a multiple of different languages. To comprehend the whole message, it is required for the reader to be competent in all languages involved. ‘Complementary multilingual writing’ corresponds to the so-called ‘polyphonic signs’, as proposed by Backhaus (2007). They show no mutual transliteration or transliteration for two or more languages,

The new terminological and conceptual innovation as suggested by Backhaus (2007:91) is ‘monophonic signs’. They represent linguistic tokens that do not display mutual writing for one language. All signs with only one language are seen as monophonic signs. For Backhaus (2007), monophonic signs are very useful in measuring writing on the variety of the same language. However, this study would disagree with Backhaus (2007), who classifies English-only signs as multilingual, and accordingly it would not consider ‘monophonic signs’ as one of the main types of multilingual writing in the LL of urban Jordan. This is further discussed in Chapter Four.

(h) Visibility of multilingual writing

Reh (2004: 4) draws a distinction between visible multilingualism and ‘covert multilingualism’. The former is inscribed on the same LL item, whereas the latter, which may also be referred to as multiple monolingualism, is written in a single language only. In this regard, multilingualism associates with the fact that the text is inscribed in different codes, but at different places. ‘Covert multilingualism’ as a feature of the LL indicates the fact that the same message is meant for different linguistic communities and that most readers globally tend to choose reading texts in their mother tongue rather than in their second language (Reh, 2004: 4).

2.6 Ethnolinguistic vitality and the linguistic landscape

According to Coulmas (2005: 109), closely related to demographic strength, power and prestige, the existing languages in any given community are not equally positioned. He elaborates on this point by arguing that selecting one code over other or selecting specific elements of a certain language ‘invariably carries social meaning’. By the same token, Gorter (2006) points out quantitative results represent the ethnolinguistic vitality of LL interlocutors in a specific geographic area.

On the one hand, nowadays many languages in the world are endangered; on the other hand, there are efforts exerted to revitalise endangered languages (Spolsky, 2004). Many countries throughout the world have imposed restrictions on the use of minority languages through overt and covert language policies, which contribute to the shrinkage of minority languages to be used in a limited set of domains. In general, it could be argued that there is a mutual relationship between minority language vitality in daily life and its visibility in public spaces (A discussion will be provided in Chapter Six). Therefore, this section attempts to identify the concept of language maintenance and shift, factors behind language maintenance and shift and typologies used to measure intergenerational language transmission with a view to providing a conceptual framework for this empirical research in Chapter Six.

2.6.1 Defining language maintenance and shift

The term language maintenance can be defined as the situation where a community maintains its first language despite the challenges that might force it to shift to another language, especially the majority language. Conversely, language shift indicates that a speech community no longer uses its mother tongue to the advantage of another one (Fishman, 1966). Language maintenance, shift and endangerment are the results of dynamics of language communities that work together to influence the choice of a

language over another (Fishman, 1991; Ostler, 2011). Whilst Fishman (1991:1) defines language shift as a linguistic threat to native languages in consequence of a decreasing number of users, Ostler (2011: 315) maintains that:

A language is maintained if speakers effectively pass it on to the next generation. This transmission may fail because speakers do not use it sufficiently in the learners' presence; or because the learners themselves, for some reason, do not choose to make use of it, but get their language from some other source.

2.6.2 Factors determining language maintenance and shift

A wide range of forces affecting language maintenance and shift have been found in previous minority language research and they are greatly interconnected. These factors include communal, economic, demographic and institutional factors.

Fishman (1991: 55-65) mentions reasons of language shift, including 'the physical and demographic dislocation of language groups due to, for example, famine' and 'the social dislocation'. The size of the minority group, its geographical distribution and concentration patterns (Kloss, 1966; Schmidt, 1990), the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of the majority group/minority group (e.g. culture, religion, values, language) (Anderson, 1979; Han, 2013; Krashen, 1998; Ricento, 2006; May, 2006), migration (Paulston & Heidemann, 2006), time of immigration (Kloss, 1966; Velman, 1988; Stevens, 1992; Portes & Schauffler, 1994) close ties with members of minority groups (Dweik, 2010; Pauwels, 2005), age groups (Cartwright, 2006; Holmes, 2013) and interethnic marriages (Demos, 1988) are examples of demographic characteristics likely to affect language maintenance.

It can be suggested that there is no guarantee for language maintenance. However, the extent of success or failure in resisting the intrusion of the majority group of the recipient country into all domains, and particularly the family domain, is the determining factor in language shift speed. Successful resistance needs a conscious, firm determination

to maintain the minority language. Holmes (2013, 73) writes that several factors contribute to language maintenance:

1. The patterns of language use: the more domains in which the minority language can be used, the more chance there is of its being maintained. The possibilities will be largely determined by socio-economic factors, such as where the jobs are.
2. Demographic factors: where a group is large enough to provide plenty of speakers and reasonably able to isolate itself from contact with the majority, at least in some domains, there is more chance of language maintenance. Where members of ethnic communities are living in the same area this too helps maintain minority languages longer. The frequency of contact with the homeland can also be important – a large number of new immigrants, visitors or visits to the ‘mother country’ tend to contribute to language maintenance.

The reason that a language is maintained might be attitudinal. Weinreich (1974) links maintenance of ethnic languages with extra linguistic factors such as cultural, physiological and historical processes. Likewise, Fishman (1991:22) writes that languages are linked to ethno-cultures: ‘by dint of long-term association, the two are not only attuned to each other, but they stand for each other in the minds of insiders and of outsiders too’. Indeed, the mutual relationship between ‘stability or change in habitual language use’ and ‘ongoing psychological, social and cultural processes’ forms the essence of language maintenance and shift (Fishman, 1966: 424). By the same token, Holmes (2013: 73) argues that the value of a minority language among its speakers contributes to reversing language shift towards the majority language. A minority language tends to be maintained when it is considered a marker of a minority group’s identity. However, minority languages might be seen as a symbol of identity and accompanied by shrinkage of language choice (Edwards, 1985). This can be justified in terms of ‘linguistic instrumentalism’, which emphasises the usefulness of language skills in gaining pragmatic ends sought out such as economic development and social mobility, as suggested by Wee (2003). Likewise, Holmes (2013:61) demonstrates that socioeconomic factors contribute to the shift towards the

majority language of the host country and may lead to the loss of a minority group language:

The social and economic goals of individuals in a community are very important in accounting for the speed of shift. Rapid shift occurs when people are anxious to 'get on' in a society where knowledge of the second language is a prerequisite for success.

According to Giles et al. (1977:315), formal and informal support a language receives in the various institutions of a nation, region, or community are important forces in maintaining minority languages. The state is responsible for formal support through legislation and protection, whilst minority group organizations offer informal support (Giles et al., 1977:316). These forms of support can be seen in education and mass media resources (Ostler, 2011). On the one hand, advocates of linguistic human rights (LHRs) regard state intervention as a necessity in domains in which the state has an authoritative role in language planning and policy (Hornberger, 2002; May, 2006; Ricento, 2006; Schiffman, 2006; Wodak, 2006). On the other hand, the discourse of 'Language Citizenship', as articulated by Stroud (2001) and Stroud & Heugh (2004), denotes that language users can decide which languages to use:

Language Citizenship denotes the situation where the speakers themselves exercise control over their language, deciding what languages are, and what they mean, and where language issues (especially in educational issues) are discursively tied to a range of social issues-policy issues and questions of equity (Stroud, 2001:353).

In recent years, social media networks contribute to exercising full control over language skills (Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010). This is mainly manifested in modern social utilities such as Facebook, Skype and Twitter by which members of minority groups can communicate with the family and linguistic peers in the homeland.

2.6.3 Assessing intergenerational language transmission

With respect to typologies for measuring intergenerational language transmission, a number of frameworks are used in previous minority language studies, including but not limited to Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991) and the UNESCO framework (2009).

The GIDS is the most widely used scale to assess language threat. The GIDS is the foundational conceptual model for understanding language practices in society. It is focused on the extent to which a language is endangered. As Table 2.1 shows, the scale is graded from stage eight on the bottom to stage one where minority languages are highly used in education, government and media resources.

Table 2.1: Fishman's GIDS (1991)

Stage	Description
1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood /community) involving interactions between Xmen and Ymen
4	Xish in lower education that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
6	the attainment of intergenerational informal oracy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults.

Fishman's (1966; 1991) model of language use in social domains and settings are widely used to identify whether there is a trend towards minority language maintenance, shift or loss. On the one hand, if minority languages are reducing in home, with friends and

different social situations, language shift is about to happen. On the other hand, if a minority language is completely absent from these social domains, language loss is impending.

The UNESCO framework has a more diverse number of levels at the weaker end of the scale, as opposed to Fishman's GIDS. This means that the GIDS does not work for minorities that are at different stages of language shift, as the ones in the Jordanian context. This gives us the chance to identify intergenerational language transmission more accurately. To identify the degree of language endangerment among the participants of minorities, the UNESCO's Endangerment Framework (2009) is adapted to measure intergenerational language transmission among minority groups. According to the UNESCO language endangerment framework (UNESCO, 2009), six categories are used to describe minority language intergenerational transmission. 'Safe' means that the language is spoken by all generations and 'vulnerable' indicates most children speak the language, but it might be restricted to certain domains; 'definitely endangered' means that the language is not the first language of children, whilst 'severely endangered' is spoken by grandparents and older people and parents might understand it. 'Critically endangered' indicates that grandparents or older are the remaining speakers and the language is partially and infrequently used, while the term 'extinct' is employed to describe the situation that there are no participants using the language.

The LL has proven to be an interesting field to study language contact (Gorter, 2006; Backhaus, 2007). The visibility of a minority language in the LL might indicate its linguistic existence in the lives of its presumed users. It might also be thought as a commodification of culture when linked to certain places, products or experiences (Heller, 2003). In the LL of Jordan, the visibility of Circassian, Chechen, Armenian and Turkish is limited to linguistic signs on cultural associations, schools, school buses and clubs, and

sometimes proper names on store fronts. Motivated by the above perspectives, together with sociolinguistic works conducted in the Jordanian ethnographic fieldwork (Abd-el-Jawad, 2006; Dweik, 2000; AlKhatib, 2001, AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010; Rannut, 2009), as will be discussed in Chapters Three and Six, part of the present study is to examine language maintenance and shift among members of minority language groups with a view to providing explanations about the marginalisation of migrant minority languages in the Jordanian LL.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the literature review of the current study. The main focus has been on theoretical foundations for LL research, which does not have a 'clear orthodoxy or theoretical core' (Sebba, 2010:73).

The language choice on signs in multilingual settings in cities is one of the main interests of LL research. This is the main concern of the current research, which investigates and analyses the languages used on signs in urban Jordan. A LL item represents a written text within a spatially defined frame (Backhaus, 2007). Ben-Rafael, et al. (2006) and Ben-Rafael (2009) present the four LL structuration principles to interpret the use of particular codes on signs. The current study will build upon a typology of multilingual writing as put forward by Reh (2004), who makes a distinction between four types of relationship between information provided and the languages used on linguistic signs (see Chapter Four).

There is a mutual relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality and visibility of minority languages in the LL, as will be discussed in Chapter Six. Since the UNESCO typology has more numerous levels at the weaker end of the scale than Fishman's GIDS, the current study will employ the UNESCO framework to identify intergenerational

language transmission with a view to giving explanations about the limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL (see Chapters Five and Six).

Chapter Three: The historical, cultural and linguistic contexts of Jordan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is intended to acquaint the reader with historical, cultural and linguistic backgrounds of Jordan. To understand the LL in its context, there is a need to contextualise the LL historically, politically and religiously. Thus, this chapter sheds some light on Jordan's modern history and its cultural aspects, including religions, political system and loyalty to the King, tourism and literacy. To contextualise the LL linguistically, the discussion will include Arabic multiglossia. Another purpose of this chapter is also to argue that Arabic and Islam are very important to understand the language situation in Jordan. Jordan is characterised by multilingualism and multiculturalism, as a consequence of British colonialism, globalisation and migration. The dominance of English and multiple literacies, glocalisation, multiculturalism and multilingualism among migrant groups are also highlighted to provide an understanding to language practices on signs.

To understand the language practices and ideologies of migrant groups, it is required to refer to the language policy of the state of Jordan. This in turn requires studying Arab nationalism, the driving force of the government policy, which contributes to understanding how nationalist ideologies affect the construction of the state's language policy. To understand the ideologies of the state and its individuals, it would be helpful to highlight the nationalist ideologies formerly and currently common in the Arab world. The ideologies of the government and the majority group will have their impacts on the daily

lives of migrants at cultural and linguistic levels in Jordan. Providing information about these groups also contributes to understanding the mechanisms followed by migrant communities to hinder/accelerate language shift and loss such as creation/absence of linguistic islands and informal institutional and parental support (Dweik, 2000). The state of Jordan does not promote equality for all minority languages to be present in the educational system with Arabic and English. In other words, there is 'an implicit language policy' for Arabic over minority languages, which are significantly marginalised in public spaces, as will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six (Rannut, 2009).

3.2 Historical and socio-political background

The 19th and 20th centuries brought about 'dramatic changes to the social and economic structure of the Arab world' (Findlay, 1994:23). In 1916, the Hashemite rulers of Mecca started the Great Arab Revolt against the Ottomans in coordination with Britain and France, aiming to establish a unified Arab state extending from Northern Syria to Aden in Yemen; this paved the way for Western intervention in the Arab Middle East (Findlay, 1994: 36). The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire encompassed the break-up of Arab Middle Eastern territories into states; nowadays, the Arab world consists of the 22 Arabic-speaking countries of the Arab League. With the dominance of the West at all levels, the Arab world would have hard choices, either to accept or reject Western political influence and secular values (Findlay, 1994: 23, 26).

The year 1918 marked the end of the Ottoman Rule in Transjordan. In 1921, the Emirate of Transjordan was established under the British Mandate, which was more limited and less 'intrusive' than other areas in the Middle East (Alon, 2009: 2, 13). That is why the British colonial administration 'did not face any major challenge in the form of an all-out rebellion as it did in Iraq, Egypt and Palestine' (Alon, 2009: 5). King Abdullah I,

the founder of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (HKJ henceforth), was chosen as the Emir of Transjordan. Tribes were central in the formation of Transjordan. Tribalism still has a major role in the political and cultural life of the HKJ.

The HKJ, part of the Levantine region, gained its independence in 1946, the time by which Abdullah I became the king of Jordan. Only in the past century, has Jordan had a clear-cut geographic and political identity (Library of Congress, 2010: 51). Several civilisations settled Jordan, including the Ammonites, the Nabataeans, the Romans, who brought Christianity to Jordan, the Byzantines and the Muslim Arabs who controlled Greater Syria by 633 AD. Modern Jordan has developed without interruption since 1946. The Jordanian flag, which is composed of three colours, black, white and green, is adapted from the banner of the Great Arab Revolt (Library of Congress, 2010: 49, 50).



Source: www.factmonster.com/atlas/middleeast.html

Figure 3.1: A map of the Middle East showing Jordan bordering Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Israel

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, the HKJ shares its borders with Syria to the north, Saudi Arabia to the south, Iraq to the east and Israel to the west. The country consists of twelve governorates: Ajloun, Aqaba, Balqa, Karak, Mafraq, Amman, Tafila, Zarqa, Irbid, Jerash, Ma'an and Madaba. Amman is the capital city of Jordan with a population of approximately 2 million (The survey areas will be examined in Chapter Four).

3.2.1 The religious profile of Jordan

With a population of about 6.3 million, Muslims constitute 92-95%, while Christians 3-6%. The vast majority of the whole population are Sunni Muslims (Shoup, 2007: 29). The Christian minority population consists of various religious communities, including Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Assyrian, Maronite and assorted Protestant churches (Chatelard, 2010). Other smaller religious communities of Shia Muslims and Druze, a religious community, mainly living in the Levant, whose religious beliefs consist of Shia Islam, Christian and pagan elements, live peacefully with Muslims and Christians (Library of Congress, 2010: 62).

Islam is the official religion of Jordan, as religious institutions such as mosques receive direct support from the state (Robbins & Rubin, 2013: 60). The 1952 constitution states that the king and his sons should be Muslims. 'The underlying implication of making Islam the religion of the state was that the public order of coexistence between communities was an Islamic order' (Chatelard, 2010: 479).

The Iranian revolution in 1979 was 'the catalyst for major change in Jordan's development of its religious institutions' (Robbins & Rubin, 2013: 65). Since the year 1980, Jordanians have displayed a more noticeable adherence to Islam. The local communities have integrated extensively the teachings of Islam into their daily life

activities, including but not restricted to wearing conservative Islamic clothing by women and high rates of Friday sermon and prayer attendance. Qur'anic literacy has been a very important component of primary and secondary schooling. In addition, governmental and non-governmental religious institutions have played a central role in teaching the Qur'an and the Sunnah, practices of the prophet's Muhammad.

Living in an Islamic country requires knowing the principles of Islam. Pillars of Islam are five basic acts required for Muslim believers (As-Sanani, 1996). These include Alshahadateen, a declaration there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, five timely prayers a day, Zakat, 2.5% cuts of one's savings equal to 85 gold grams after one year of saving given to the poor, the fasting of the whole month of Ramadan, and Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca once in one's lifetime for those who are physically and financially capable.

3.2.2 Political system and the King

Jordan has a constitutional monarchy represented by the current King Abdullah II, who ascended to the throne in 1999 (Shoup, 2007). The government includes the Prime Minister designated by the King and the Cabinet which is chosen by the Prime Minister after consultation with the current monarch. The Upper House consists of 60 members who are selected by the King, whilst the Lower House is made up of 130 seats elected by the people (Cavanagh, 2013). While the two houses constitute a 'limited parliamentary democracy', the constitution gives the king authority 'to dissolve parliament and postpone lower house elections for two years' (Sharp, 2010: 17).

The Hashemite family in Jordan belongs to Banu Hashim, a clan of Quraysh tribe, the tribe of the prophet Muhammad (Alon, 2009: 2). For many Jordanians, the institution of the throne serves the state of Jordan because it is a guarantee for stability, in addition to the perceptions among Jordanians that the king acts as the protector of Jordan. That is why

Jordanians try to display loyalty and subordination to the king in mass media resources and in public space through placing his images on walls and storefronts. However, political parties such as Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Action front might find themselves obliged to display 'fidelity' to the king for their not being charged with 'religious extremism' (Terrill, 2010: 127).

King Abdullah II has 'fared better than many other Arab leaders during the Arab Spring' (Moon, 2012). To display a progressive image for both himself and the government, King Abdullah II has pushed forward sustainable economic development to make opportunities for Jordanians. Under the rule of Abdullah II, the government has taken active steps to support economic growth, as the tourism sector and the educational system have been reformed.

3.3.3 Tourism and literacy

Tourism is one of the most important sectors of the economy in Jordan and is employed as a tool for development. It is the 'second largest private sector employer' and it is the 'second highest producer of foreign exchange' (Doan, 2006: 312). As part of national tourism strategy 2004-2010, the private sector is considered the driving force behind tourism growth (Doan, 2006). Tourism contributed 14.7% of the country's gross domestic product in 2008, whilst it contributed 10% in 2004 (Statistical Department of Jordan, 2009). The data presented in Table 3.1 are data on the actual number of non-Arab arrivals in the Kingdom.

Table 3.1: Numbers of international arrivals according to nationality groups

No	Nationality Group	Number of Arrivals
1.	Europeans	522669
2.	Asians	669098
3.	Africans	22248
4.	Americans	226493
5.	Australians and New Zealanders	32843
6.	Others	13703

Source: Department of Statistics, Jordan Statistical Year Book 2011

As Table 3.1 shows, the vast majority of arrivals come from countries far from Jordan, which means foreign tourists seemingly stay for a relatively long period of time. Amman, Madaba, Karak, Salt, Petra, the Dead Sea, Ajloun, Jerash and Aqaba are all important historical and touristic attractions for tourists. That is why many large luxury hotels are established around the above historical places, especially in Amman and Aqaba (Doan, 2006: 323). The concentration of the local population around these places creates an environment for direct contact between tourists and local communities.

Jordan has a high rate of literacy (United Nations Development Programme, 2002: 151); literacy rates are similar to those of the rest of the Arab world (Ministry of Planning, 2004: 24; United Nations Development Programme, 2002: 51). Education expansion is an important priority since the establishment of the HKJ. According to the figures released by Jordan Department of Statistics (2011), the number of students and teachers in primary and secondary schools was 102633 students and teachers in 2011. At the higher education level, between 1962 and 2005, 26 public and private universities were established in the HKJ, 10 of which were public, in addition to 48 public and private community colleges (Bataineh, 2008). The number of undergraduate students who joined Jordanian universities in the academic year 2010/2011 is 225443. As far as the number of MPhil and PhD students admitted into Jordanian government universities in the same academic year are concerned, it is 52045 (Jordan Department of Statistics, 2011).

3.3 The sociolinguistic context of Jordan

To understand the effect of existing languages on the local community, Arabic would be discussed according to 'multiglossia'. English in the 'Expanding Circle' is popularly used by Jordanians as a way for development and education. With the advent of CMC and the wide use of English in many domains of life, mixed codes have emerged. The

sociolinguistic situation in Jordan is very important to linguistically contextualise the LL of Jordanian cities, which will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six. To emphasise the importance of migrant groups in Jordan, a separate section is dedicated to multiculturalism and multilingualism among migrant groups (Section 3.6).

3.3.1 Arabic today

Arabic is one of the Semitic languages, including Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, Hebrew, the native language of Israel, Aramaic, Ugaritic and Phoenician, the latter three of which are extinct languages (Ryding, 2005:1). Arabic is the language of Arab people, whose native language is spoken by more than 183 million people throughout the Middle East and North Africa. What is more, Arabic is the language of Islam revealed to Mohammed, the prophet of Islam. This historical bond between Islam and the Arabic language is repeatedly emphasised in the Qur'an: 'We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an' (Chapter 2, V.2).

3.3.1.1 Arabic multiglossia

Since there are multiple Arabic varieties in daily use, the term 'diglossia', as used by Ferguson (1959), is not an accurate term. Instead, a 'multiglossic' framework is employed to examine the language situation in Jordan (Hary, 1996). Jordanians speak Arabic, a Semitic language that shares many features with other Semitic languages such as Hebrew and the Neo-Aramaic languages. In Jordan, Arabic takes three major forms: Classical Arabic (Henceforth CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Jordanian Arabic². Although MSA may vary locally in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary, there are no structural differences wherever used. Since it is the language of the Qur'an, the majority of

² Ryding (2005) demonstrates that both MSA and CA are referred to 'the language of eloquence'. Therefore, both CA and MSA are interchangeable with Standard Arabic.

people memorise Qur'anic verses by heart and understand much of their meanings (Ennaji, 2005)³.

The first variety of Arabic is CA, which is derived from the Qur'an and Islamic studies. It is written but occasionally spoken (Al-Azzam et al., 2008: 4). Its actual use in daily life activities is related to the recitation of Qur'anic verses, especially while praying or giving sermons. Islam considers Qur'anic recitation compatible with the prophetic method of recitation as sacred and one of the reasons to be granted paradise by Allah. Every Muslim has to memorise certain Qur'anic verses to recite in his or her prayers (Ennaji, 2005: 216). A closer version of CA, known as early Arabic, emerged between the 4th and 5th centuries. The 6th century witnessed the beginning of the CA period. In the 7th century, the Qur'an was revealed to the prophet of Islam (Ryding, 2005: 2-3). In the present day, CA is used as the liturgical language of Islam.

The second variety of Arabic is MSA. It is the language that evolved and is derived from CA. MSA serves as the high code and variety of writing, formal speeches and situations. Because CA and MSA represent 'the written traditions of very different historical and cultural eras, from the early medieval period to the modern', there are lexical and stylistic differences (Ryding, 2005:4). Bateson (2003:84) highlights three main differences between MSA and CA: a 'series of acceptable' simplifications in syntactic structures, a 'vast shift in the lexicon due to the need for technical terminology,' and a 'number of stylistic changes due to translations from European languages and extensive bilingualism.' MSA is often the variety of mass media resources and 'the language of modern journalism, used in newspapers and news reports', although it is not spoken by the

³ In Morocco, Ennaji (1991; 2001; 2005) uses the term 'triglossia' rather than 'diglossia' to depict the language situation where three distinct Arabic varieties, including CA, MSA and Moroccan Arabic, co-exist.

ordinary people (Ryding, 2005:5). Nowadays, MSA is the official language variety of the Arab League.

Jordanian Arabic is the predominant spoken language variety, as it is used extensively in conversations and daily life activities. At the structural level, it is related to MSA. However, there are a set of differences between Jordanian Arabic and MSA at all linguistic levels (Abdulmoneim, 2000: 130). At the vernacular level, the Arabic language extends its lexis via the lexicalisation of names and nouns. There are two main sources of vocabulary stock for Jordanian Arabic: the high variety of Arabic and foreign languages (Al-Azzam et al., 2008: 3). It has a Semitic language structure with some linguistic impacts from other languages, especially at the lexical level. It has been tolerating the influx of lexical borrowings, especially from English, French and Turkish. Scientific and technological innovations have set the stage for pouring many English loanwords into Jordanian Arabic and the majority of these loans are nouns. Furthermore, it has been noticed that English lexical borrowings are prompted by 'the need for new items, modernization and the attractive style function' (AlKhatib & Farghal, 1999: 16).

3.3.1.2 Arabic calligraphy

Arabic is written from right to left. Since the letters do not transcribe short vowels, there are diacritical marks used to transcribe them. In most cases, these diacritical marks are currently not used in unofficial, official writings and transactions to save time and effort. Diacritics are used in the Qur'an for providing sufficient information about the correct pronunciation. The Arabic script is iconic in the sense it has 'religious associations, as Arabic is used for the Islamic liturgy and religious exegesis' (Wertheim, 2012:70).

Arabic calligraphy is a demonstration of unity, beauty and power in the Muslim world and its aesthetic appeal reflects the cultural values of the Islamic world (Arabic

Calligraphy reflection of cultural values, 2001). Therefore, calligraphers produced manuscripts appealing to the eye and the heart; this is evident in many old manuscripts of the Qur'an that have still survived in many museums throughout the world (Alshahrani, 2008: 12).

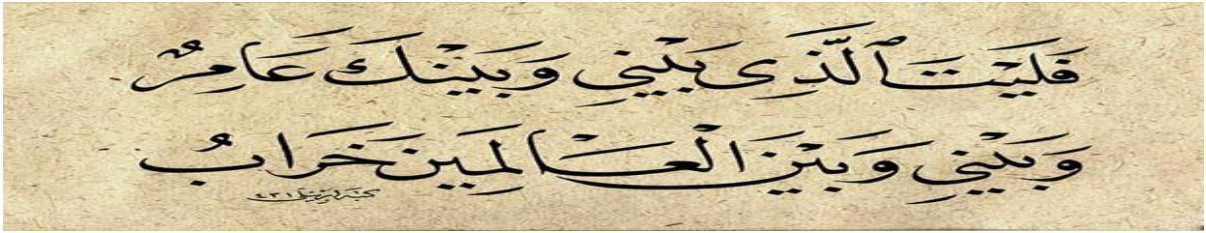
The Arabic script has several Arabic calligraphic styles, the main of which are Kufi and Naskh scripts. Kufi, which originated from Kufa, a city in Southern Iraq, is the oldest form of the Arabic script, as shown in Figure 3.2. Even though it requires 'very accurate planning its calligraphers were and still are more like architects of the layout', it is nowadays one of the most common used Arabic calligraphic styles (Kaestle, 2010). Because it is difficult to write in Kufi script with its variants, it was replaced by more functional calligraphic styles such as the Naskh calligraphic style, which was first used under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the 10th century AD (Kevernen, 2009).



Source:<http://www.scribd.com/doc/37869835/Arabizi-A-Contemporary-Style-of-Arabic-slang>

Figure 3.2: An image of the Kufi calligraphic style

The latter form of the Arabic script is the most widely Arabic style; it has been used to write the Qur'an, official and nonofficial transactions, as shown in Figure 3.3 (Kevernen, 2009). With the spread of Islam, the need arose to write in more practical styles to save time and effort. That is why more Arabic calligraphic styles were created, including but not restricted to Thuluth, Rigah and Muhaqqaq scripts.



Source: <http://hibastudio.com/international-calligraphy>

Figure 3.3: An image of the Naskh calligraphic style.

3.3.2 Multiple literacies and the prominence of English

The economic and cultural impact of English-speaking countries, especially the USA and UK has led to the growing use of English throughout the world. Undoubtedly, English is 'the most widely taught, read and spoken language that the world has ever known' (Kachru & Nelson, 2001:9). The global expansion of the English language is apparent in the emergence of 'new Englishes' such as Chinese English and Indian English. However, they are not considered as part of Standard English. American English and British English are the most popular English varieties. Other commonly accepted varieties of English also include Australian, Canadian and New Zealand English (Kachru & Nelson, 2001: 11). Nowadays, English is the only global language 'without precise geographical boundaries or clear coordinates' (Saraceni, 2010: 1-2).

The term 'World Englishes' is used to legitimise the use of different varieties of English throughout the world (Kachru, 1986: 1992). In accordance with Kachru's (1986; 1992) concentric circles, the 'Inner Circle' represents the native use of English in the UK, USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The 'Outer Circle' represents the institutional use of English in many countries such as India and Pakistan where English is one of the official languages, whilst, in the 'Expanding Circle', English has no historical and constitutional value, but it is used as a foreign language (Kachru, 1992).

In the 'Expanding circle', English in Japan, as Seargeant (2009: 6-137) notes, has the same status as graphic design such as images, colours and fonts, even though the Japanese state's educational policy asserts that children should acquire good communication skills in English as an international language. It is true that a small proportion of the Japanese community needs English to succeed in their lives, but most Japanese people can live their lives without English. Seargeant (2011:2) writes:

English today is not only a means of communication for communities that operate across national borders or are brought together by the possibilities of new communication technology; it is also the *result* of these new and changing patterns of social organization.

Countries in the 'Expanding Circle' would probably rely on the 'Inner Circle's English varieties, especially American and British English, as their models (Pennycook, 2007) English might have a set of functions in countries in the 'Outer Circle' and 'Expanding Circle'. It may have a regulative function for official uses, an instrumental function for educational purposes, an interpersonal function for social communication and innovative function (Kachru, 1981). In accordance with Kachru's concentric circles using English in Jordan lies within the boundaries of the 'Expanding Circle'. One of the linguistic influences displayed in the LL of Jordanian cities is the non-standard forms of English, which are visible in both official and nonofficial signage. To understand these language practices, 'grassroots literacy', as proposed by Blommaert (2004; 2013), is used to understand local language practices against 'grassroots' and 'elite' literacies.

Although the Jordanian state advocates Arab nationality, it stresses the importance of English in preparing school and university students in globalised contexts. In this sense, students in Jordan can find their ways into the globalising world of modern technology, science, communication via the government's promotion of English literacy at schools and universities, with a less focus on other European languages, particularly French. This is manifested by Pederson (2007:14), who stresses that the Jordanian government invests in

English literacy and education to make Jordan economically competitive globally and emphasizing Arabic and Jordan's Arab heritage. Pederson (2007: 11) argues:

English's position as an important language for economic and intellectual life in Jordan results from the current globalized economy, close ties with America, and the vestiges of earlier British colonialism both in Palestine and Jordan—a combination that many of my study's participants described. Traditionally, English has been taught at public schools beginning in fifth grade, with many private schools beginning instruction even earlier; however, Jordanian schools have recently begun teaching English in first grade.

English as an international language has become 'one of the most powerful means of inclusion and into or exclusion from further education, employment, or social positions' (Pennycook, 1994:14). Historically, English was first introduced into Jordan under the British Mandate. Since Jordan gained its independence in 1946, the introduction of Roman script into the educational sector has contributed to developing education and English literacy.

The role of English in the 21st century in Jordan is noticeable. In view of the wide spread of English throughout the globe, English has gained ground in education, commerce, science technology and approximately in all Jordanian social settings. At the academic level at Jordanian universities, the majority of academics have to publish their findings in English. Even in demonstrations against the Jordanian government, demonstrators often use English on their banners to alert the world of the problems that they are having. Of five main newspapers in Jordan, 'The Jordan Times', an English daily newspaper, has started to appear as one of the major news providers since 1975. 'The Star', another weekly English newspaper, has been publishing since 1990. There are six FM radio stations broadcasting primarily in or only in English, in addition to four broadcasting in both Arabic and English. All newspapers in Jordan, including those whose main publishing language is Arabic, contain job advertisements that require a good command of English (Hamdan & Abuhatab, 2009:394). In the wake of the current policies of the

Jordanian government enhancing the status of English, the increasing domination of the English language in all spheres of life is unquestionable (Alomoush, 2007; Alomoush & Matarneh, 2010). Education policies are designed for developing Jordanian people's competence in English. In addition to the fact that Jordanian schoolboys and schoolgirls take English as an obligatory subject for twelve years, getting more than 500 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or an equivalent score in International English Language Testing System (IELTS) is a prerequisite for holding a university master degree in all specializations (Alomoush, 2007).

The same has been emphasised by Hamdan & Abuhatab (2009:394, 395), who argue that English instruction in the educational system in Jordan can be traced back to the early 1920s. Since then, teaching English as a second language has largely developed. In the past, there used to be a few teachers and English tuition was confined to a set of schools scattered in different areas of Jordan, but nowadays, English tuition has reached all Jordan, even the remotest villages and towns. The linguistic importance and prestige that English acquired arises out of the fact that English is the only obligatory foreign language for schoolboys and schoolgirls to be taught in the country (Hamdan & Abuhatab, 2009:395). In high school education, failure to pass the English course means that the student cannot proceed to the next stage, which is associated with joining higher educational institutions such as a college or university. Not only students have to take a course of the English language, but also they are required to know English in order to succeed in their lives. English is one of the popular subjects for Jordanian university students. That is why there are approximately 25 English programmes at Jordanian public and private universities, which reflect the significance of the English language for Jordanians.

Since people may be in contact with the Western culture directly through traveling to English speaking countries, indirectly through watching American and British

programmes or through using the internet, they tend to use English (Alomoush, 2007). Knowledge of English means the ability for Jordanians to exchange ideas and news with other international friends while surfing the internet. Many Jordanians move to other countries for work and study, so they should be equipped with effective communication skills in English.

The use of English is not only affiliated with Western cultural values, but the wide spread of English is also closely linked to pragmatic ends sought out (see Pennycook, 1994: 248). In Jordan, it can be suggested that a number of factors are behind the wide use of English in code-switching practices functioning as 'a communicative strategy for facilitating communication by lowering language barriers as well as by consolidating cultural identity' (Alkhatib & Sabbah, 2008:38). First, social prestige is one of the reasons contributing to the wide use of English among 'the educated elite', who are highly ranked due to their high level of education (Alkhatib & Farghal, 1999). Using English expressions indicates that English is positively viewed by people, particularly young educated people, as a carrier of social prestige and modernization. Second, academic and technical reasons are likely to motivate people to use English phrases and words. Third, to avoid using taboo/offensive words in a religious community, it is recommended to use English words such as 'period' and 'underwear' (Alkhatib & Sabbah, 2008:56).

Even though Arabic and English are predominantly used in the state of Jordan, there are some European languages which have been given an advantage and reached by certain sectors of the Jordanian community for private ends sought out. French, Italian, Turkish, German, Spanish and Russian are reached by people who have interests in commercial and cultural aspects of France, Italy, Turkey, Germany, Spain and Russia respectively.

3.3.3 Glocalisation

The concept of 'glocalisation' is used by Robertson (1994). According to the author (2012), the notion of 'glocalisation' originated in Japanese business methods in the late 1980s. The term 'glocalisation' is combined by 'telescoping global and local to make a blend' (The Oxford Dictionary of New Words, 1991: 134). Gorter (2006:66) explains the emergence of mixed codes through 'glocalisation':

The idea of monolingualism by country – one state, one language – has become obsolete and has been overtaken by a complicated interplay of many languages. Truly monolingual countries were always an exception, but globalisation with its ensuing migration flows, spread of cultural products, and high speed communication has led to more multilingualism instead of less. [. . .] The process of 'glocalisation' in the international arena leads to new expressions of cultural mix in music, food and clothing, but also in languages.

Since the appearance of the internet, the English language has contributed significantly to the development of CMC (Crystal, 2001). Due to the lack of support for Arabic writing system in the early years of CMC, Arab internet users were obliged to use English. As a result, a 'hybrid variety' consisting of Roman script and numerals of the QWERTY keyboard was introduced into CMC (Bianchi, 2013: 82). Although CMC-users can get access to Arabic letters, many of them still prefer to use this new variety (Bianchi, 2013: 82).

The wide spread of English in the HKJ has set the scene for the emergence of new varieties, which will be termed as mixed codes. It can be suggested that both RA and AE are considered language varieties. RA refers to Arabic text written in Roman script, whilst AE involves English words inscribed in Arabic script. This variety does not consider words that are linguistically adapted to Arabic; it only considers English words which are partially adapted to the linguistic system of the Arabic language (see Alomoush, 2007; Alomoush & Al Fagara, 2010). No previous studies have demonstrated the effectiveness to use the Roman writing system in transcribing Arabic letters (Allehaiby, 2013: 56). To

many Arab nationalists, this poses a threat to Arab identity and the Arabic language. More specifically, it can be suggested that the replacement of Arabic letters by Roman ones is a direct attack on the Arabic identity and a threat to the Qur'an, written in CA using an orthography since more than 14 centuries ago (Yaghan, 2008: 41). The appeal of Arabizi, the alternative designation of RA, lies in the belief among its advocates that it reflects a dual cultural and linguistic identity. The same applies to AE, which includes foreign words of English origin in Arabic script (Allehaiby, 2013: 56).

The emergence of a new code composing of linguistic characteristics of both Arabic and English alike, especially in text messaging, is noticeable among young generations. This debate is supported by a survey conducted by Al-Tamimi & Gorgis (2007), who describe and define RA as an up-to-date variety of electronic communication widely applied by first generation e-message senders, which could be considered to be either a mixed lingua franca or a pidgin. According to Al-Tamimi & Gorgis (2007), in the light of gradually growing globalisation in the Arabic-speaking world, it is possible that this newly emerging code poses a linguistic threat to Arabic varieties. Such a linguistic fear springs from purist or conservative attitudes of both ordinary people and linguists. In the wake of the absence of another competing variety, young Jordanians view RA as their preferred linguistic code. It is striking that Roman script is given a preference to Arabic script, even though Arabic alphabet has already become popular in electronic text messaging. The authors explain youngsters' linguistic behaviour within the framework of a set of reasons. First, it is possible that they have a good command of Arabic and English. This linguistic competence will give them the ability to share and exchange information with other Arab companions throughout the world. Second, with their contributions to the creation of their own identities, the social, religious, ethnic, or political restrictions will be absent so that young people of both sexes communicate without these limitations or constraints. It is

clear that the emergence of RA could be a tendency to practice a great deal of freedom that has never been enjoyed in the Arab world, which is in conformity with the ideas of modernity and originality (Al-Tamimi & Gorgis, 2007).

Jordanian Arabic in Roman script is widely used in online Facebook chatting, with many people engaging in written code switching between English and Jordanian Arabic in both Roman and Arabic scripts (see Al-Saleem, 2011: 197-202). This may be due to the assumption that Jordanian Arabic in Roman script is a mediating variety of both Arabic and English and no authority has stepped forward to discourage its use in informal domains such as communication which is widely accepted, even though the use of Arabic in Roman script is rejected by educational and religious authorities (Al-Saleem, 2011: 200). It can be suggested that the phenomenon of RA attracts certain segments of the community, especially young generations; a glocal character is likely to emerge due to the interplay between Roman script and Arabic (see Aboelezz, 2012).

AE, a new variety often constituting of Arabic script and English words, is observed in the LL of Jordanian cities. Al-Rawi (2012) considers AE as a new emerging type of English in the Arab world, particularly in Saudi Arabia where she discusses the main syntactic features of Saudi English, an alternative designation of AE. The author attributes the emergence of AE to the wide spread of English in many social settings, including but not limited to school and the marketplace.

3.4 Arabic and Islam

The Arabic language used to be a minor language used by Arab tribes in the Arab peninsula before the rise of Islam. After the appearance of Islam, a massive religious dimension was added to the Arab national identity. The prophet Muhammad spoke Arabic and the Qur'an was verbally revealed from Allah to Muhammad in Arabic (Sijpesteijn, 2012: 16). Since the Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad, its original Arabic

text has been preserved. Islam is now the second largest religion after Christianity and Arabic is one of the major languages in the world. It is clear that Islam is the driving force behind the fact that Arabic is now one of the six official languages of the United Nations.

The Arabic language plays a central role in the construction of Islamic unity as advocated by Pan-Islamism movements (Tibi, 1997: 407–08). The Islamic revolution of Iran in 1979 has set the stage for 'the competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran on the religious camp, with each party strengthening its own interpretation of Islam' (Zabarah, 2012: 549). Even though Iran is a predominantly Persian-country, the Iranian regime has kept Arabic as the lingua franca in 'Islamic communication' (Zabarah, 2012: 549). In Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Islamic world, religious communities, especially 'Salafis', 'one of the most prominent subsets of the wider Islamist spectrum', stress the importance of Arabic in the interpretation of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, the prophet Muhammed's 'words, deeds and tacit approvals', as interpreted by the prophet's companions (Bokhari & Senzai, 2013: 20-86).

The only language that can bind Muslims throughout the world is Arabic (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010:25). Many non-Arab Muslims reserve Arabic for religious purposes, while many others use it for communicative ones, as well (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010:27). It is unlikely for all Muslims to perform their daily prayers without the opening chapter of the Qur'an (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010:18). Rosowsky (2007) also observes that British Muslim children attending Islamic schools, many of whom are Mirpuri-speaking, are expected to memorise 'prodigious' amounts of text in CA as part of their religious training. The study shows that Qur'anic literacy is maintained at the expense of minority groups' vernacular languages. Qur'anic literacy practices in CA are meant to focus on Islamic ethics (Diallo, 2012).

Because Arabic is very significant for understanding the faith of Islam, Muslims throughout the world attempt to learn the Arabic language, especially CA. The knowledge of the Arabic language, especially that of CA, is an essential component of the religion of Islam on the grounds that it is the way to understand and read the Qur'an, Hadith, quotes said by the prophet Mohammed throughout his life as the prophet and messenger of Islam, and other religious books (Al-Abed Alhaq & Al-Masaeid, 2009: 285, 295). Al-Abed Alhaq & Al-Masaeid (2009) demonstrate that the Qur'an contributes to maintaining the Arabic language through the ages. They also conclude that Arabic is the marker for the Arabic Islamic civilisation and it plays a key role in shaping a distinctive character of Jordan. This is manifested in the fact that the Arabic language is part of the linguistic repertoires of Muslims throughout the globe.

The mutual relationship between Islam and Arabic is likely to be constitutional, as manifested in many Arab states' constitutions. For example, the Jordanian constitution (Chapter one, Article two) stipulates that 'Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic is its official language'. The same is true of many parts of the Arab world after independence. For example, after the independence of Algeria from France in 1962, Islam and the Arabic language have been employed as 'efficient means of resistance against the attempts of the colonial regimes to de-personalize the Algerian people' (Bassiouney, 2009: 230).

3.5 Arab nationalism

Nationalism is a notion referring to an ideology that includes a patriotic feeling and loyalty towards a particular nation or state. There are two competing but complementary dimensions in nationalism in the post-colonial states, civic and ethnic. The first component is portrayed as 'a commitment to primordial loyalties which endow individuals with a distinctive identity', whilst the latter is affiliated with a want for citizenship in a modern state (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994:15). Examples of the former include Eastern Europe and

Asia where ‘the ethnic nation starts from the premise of presumed common descent, which makes the nation a kind of super-fictive family to which all its members irrevocably belong’ (Suleiman,2003: 24). The latter is exemplified by reference to the West, including but not limited to England, the USA, France and the Netherlands where priority is first given to the state over the nation and national consciousness and nationalism takes practical and constitutional forms (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994:127).

There are two main explanations on the causes of nationalism. ‘Primordialism’ stresses ‘the antiquity and naturalness of nations’, as suggested by Edward Shills that the relationship of blood is the basis of nations (Ozkirimli, 2000: 64, 65). In light of this theory, there is no distinction between racial and linguistic nationalism because of language functioning as a milestone in nationality (Kedourie, 1994: 49). ‘Primordialism’ can be traced to the romantic notions of German philosophers such as Herder and Fichte, who portray customs, traditions and languages as the characteristic features of cultural nationalism. Kedourie (1994: 49) criticises this theory, which considers language, race and culture as distinct components of ‘the same primordial entity, the nation’, because it does not give precise accounts of past political developments. In this nationalist doctrine, nationalism might be viewed as a new tribalism in the sense that it does not tolerate outsiders (Kedourie, 1994: 50). In the first half of the 19th century, ethnic-linguistic criterion for the definition of a nation was popular. For Germans, German functioned as the only component that made them Germans, carrying a great extent of national identity (Hobsbawm, 1990: 102). Modernisation became prominent as a reaction to ‘primordialism’. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, there is a belief that nations and nationalism are products of modern processes such as capitalism, industrialism, urbanisation and secularism (Ozkirimli, 2000: 85, 86), whilst Anderson (2006:7) considers the nation as ‘limited’ and ‘sovereign’ because the concept was ‘born in an age in which

Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm'. The modernist approach gives different accounts of the factors that are responsible for the emergence of nationalism. Each modernist theory considers some factors at the expense of others: economic, political and social/cultural. According to Stalin (1994:18-21), a nation is defined as a definite community of people, which is neither tribal nor racial. A common language, territory, economic life, and economic cohesion are the main components of a nation.

Ethno-symbolists such as John Armstrong, Anthony Smith, and John Hutchinson propose a 'mid-way' approach for studying nationalism. Smith (2006: 170, 179) demonstrates that the majority of nations have elements of 'primordialism' and 'instrumentalism' with varying degrees, concluding that even Western thought insists on multiculturalism and the 'polyethnic' nation it stresses on 'the centrality of dominant or core ethnies, whose culture, myths, mores and memories continue to define the national state and frame the ideals and conduct of its members'. He also maintains that this approach is more feasible in giving explanations about nationalism than other approaches for three reasons. First, it explains about which peoples are possible to 'start a nationalist movement under certain conditions and what the content of this movement would be' (Ozкимli, 2000: 168). Second, it helps to understand the important role played by myths, memories, values and symbols. Third, nationalism also involves the attainment of symbolic goals, including educating in a particular language, establishing a TV station in a certain language and protecting ancient sacred sites (Ozкимli, 2000: 169).

Other types of nationalism are discussed in literature, including but not limited to state and religious nationalism. State patriotism is a major mode of modern nationalism that seeks to integrate the people into the official political culture of the state via establishing a national educational system and the codification of a national language

(Delanty & O'Mahony, 2002: 122). State patriotism is therefore practiced by all nation-states in the modern world and persists to exist as long as there are states promoting 'patriotic allegiances'. As far as religious nationalism is concerned, religion plays a very important role in modern nationalisms. This is manifested in the role played by Catholic faith as an important constituent of nationalism in states such as Poland and Ireland (Delanty & O'Mahony, 2002: 123, 131). Religious nationalism is also viewed as a driving force in fighting colonialism in Egypt, India and many other countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (Juergensmeyer, 2006: 183).

In the twentieth century, many Arab nationalist thinkers, including but not limited to Al-Husri, Qustantin Zurayq and Michel Aflaq understood Arab nationalism within 'the intellectual tenets of European ideas on the subject' (Dawisha, 2009: 51). By referring back to CA literature, Arab movement nationalists pointed to the differences between the Ottomans and Arabs, so they demanded cultural national autonomy within the Ottoman Empire (Tibi, 1997: 116). Al-Husri, the founder of Arab national movement, was overwhelmed with the nationalist theory that views nations as cultural rather than political creations, especially in the light of 'the rapid decline of the Ottoman Empire and the prospect of independence and sovereignty' (Dawisha, 2009: 52). Based on the notion of cultural nationalism prompted by German thinkers such as Herder and Fichte, Al-Husri views the Arab nation as the unity of the Arab peoples and the coherence of its history rather than the will of its population (Dawisha, 2009: 64). In a few words, he views the Arab states as artificial creations of the imperialist powers. Although there are more than 20 Arabic-speaking states, Arabic represents a source for nationalism and it is a defining resource for ethnicity. In other words, the Arabic language constructs the identity marker for its native users. Islam makes up another essential component of Al-Husri's conceptualisation of the Arab nationality.

The regional and local ideologies produced two different Arabic terms in defining nationalism. Whilst *qawmiyya* represents the pan-Arabist nationality, *wataniyya* represents the local identity. To bridge the gap between the two, radical Arab nationalists assigned a leading role for each Arab state in bringing Arab unity (Pappe, 2006:506). In 1944, Egypt's and Iraq's leaders founded the Arab League, the ultimate symbol of Arabic nationalism. Arab nationalism underwent disintegration into local national affiliations, although pan-Arabism was dominant in Cairo and Damascus in the 1960s (Pappe, 2006:506).

By the end of 1956, Arab nationalism became the dominant ideology and Abd Al-Nasir, the president of Egypt in the 1950s and 1960s, was anointed as its protector in the Arab world, including Jordan (Dawisha, 2009:184; Nathan, 2002: 148). By 1960, Arab nationalism led by Abd Al-Nasir did not succeed to fulfil its vision to redistribute oil wealth from oil-producing countries to non-oil producing countries (Nathan, 2002: 146). The military defeat of the Arab states, led by Egypt, in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 caused the shrinkage of secular Arab nationalism to the advantage of political Islam (Tibi, 1997:XII).

Since the 1970s, the role of Arab nationalism has been changing with the advent of political Islam because of the failure of secular nationalism with its goals of achieving social welfare and economic prosperity (Pappe, 2006: 508). Arab nationalism is therefore negatively depicted as an imported product from the Western World and as a means of Muslim disunity (Dawisha, 2009:51). All Islamic movements reject secularity to the advantage of political Islam. Political Islam that calls for universal order for the entire Islamic nation as a community of all faithful Muslims poses a challenge to the Arab states that adhere to secular nationalism. In Islam, 'Umma' means universal community, whilst Pan-Arabism views the notion as restricted to the secular Arab nation (Tibi, 1997: 206-

233). In its attempts to resist foreign notions invading the Arab world, it has transformed into a variety of nationalism (Pappe, 2006: 508). This is apparent in political Islamic parties such as Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, which aims to ensure that the state runs according to Islamic lines. In China, Muslims have succeeded in resisting cultural assimilation and preserving 'their sense of superiority and distinctiveness'. They enhanced 'their consciousness of the *Umma* by cultivating in the Muslim the centrality of Arabia, Islam, the Islamic empire, and Islamic traditions and values' (Robinson, 1994:216).

The collapse of the United Arab Republic in 1961, the Arabs' defeat to Israel in the Six Day War of 1967, the death of Abd Al-Nasir, and the advent of political Islam in the 1970s paved the way for the end of the Arab dream to have a sovereign nation-state unifying all Arabs and the rise of separate state nationalisms. As a result, Phillips (2013) redefines today's Arab nationalism as a form of new Arabism prompted by pan-Arab satellite television stations led by *Al-Jazeera*. It is in fact a supra-nationalism subordinated to state nationalism alongside Arab nationality. Phillips (2013) concludes that supra-nationalism was previously constructed in the Syrian and Jordanian national discourses in the early 1970s. It can be suggested that both regimes in Syria and Jordan have employed multi-layered national ideologies to legitimise their rule. Undoubtedly, the new media alongside state nationalisms play a key role in the revival of the Arab collective identity and the spread of revolutions from one state to another.

The past is the aspirational force in building nations and the present interacts with the past to build current modern states (Fishman, 1972:9). According to Suleiman (2003:27), the nation is often affiliated with a language functioning as a marker of its identity. His framework of Arab nationalism basically comprises of the Arabic language and history. The author contributes to understanding the role of Arabic as a component of Arab nationalism and demonstrates how Arabic joins together with national identity. Even

though the writer does not explain the interrelationships between Islam and nationalism on the one hand and Arabic and nationalism on the other hand and only clarifies that Islam enhances the role of Arabic as a component of Arab unity, his model within nationalism theory identifies the symbolic and communicative functions of Arabic within the Arab nationalist discourses. He focuses on the role of the standard and vernacular forms of Arabic in building state nationalisms. In addition to being the language of Islam, the standard form of Arabic is the medium for the achievement of literacy, modernisation and pan-Arab nationalism. The colloquial form is important in the formation and development of separate states as in Egypt and Lebanon.

Building upon Fishman's (1972) model of language nationalism, the role of language in nationalism could be understood under three headings, including authenticity, unification and efficiency, to draw a distinction between nationalism and other social movements such as chauvinism and patriotism. This has been emphasised by Suleiman (2011) that Arabic has a significant role in the construction of the Arab national identity. It has not only a symbolic function, but also an instrumental one, 'its ability to convey meanings through the development of its system resources', including but not limited to phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (Suleiman, 2011: 4).

The authenticity function is associated with Arabic literature where Arabic symbolises the ethnic distinction and cultural uniqueness of the Arab nation. The standard form of Arabic plays a very key role in the nationalist discourse in the Arab Middle East. Suleiman (2003: 10) writes:

Relying on Standard Arabic, nationalism in the Arab Middle East can define for itself a usable past, a source of tradition and authenticity which can enable it to stand its ground in relation to other nationalisms inside and outside its immediate geographical context.

The symbolic function of the Arabic language is not only limited to its verbal dimension, but it is also affiliated with the Arabic writing system. For instance, written Arabic appears

to create a shared religious community out of signs because the Qur'an only exists in CA (Anderson, 2006: 13). About 200 million people in the Arab world use Arabic as their first language. Arabic script is the second most widespread alphabet in the world. Fourteen languages use the Arabic writing system such as Urdu, Pashto and Persian (Märgner & El Abed, 2012: VIII). Many languages used to use the Arabic writing system, but now they use other scripts, especially the Latin and Cyrillic scripts. These languages include Indonesian, Hausa, Somali, Sudanese, Swahili and Turkish (Zawaydeh, 2008).

As far as the unification function is concerned, national identity is more associated with MSA, the language of writing and formal oral expression. Colloquial Arabic that takes several forms is referred to when linked to the nationalist ideology, as in the case of Egyptian and Lebanese nationalism. The perception that Colloquial Arabic is 'corrupt and base form of the language which is unworthy of making the Arab national identity' explains why this variety is not commonly viewed as an indicator of Arab national identity (Suleiman, 2003: 9). However, the gap between the standard and non-standard form of the Arabic language is decreasing by virtue of the spread of literacy and the continuous grammatical and stylistic simplification of the language in the 19th and 20th centuries (Suleiman, 2003: 36). Al-Husari emphasised the importance of Arabic not only as a unifying but also communicative force, so his views gained popularity in the second half of the 20th century in the Arab world. Al-Husari stands out as the most prominent modernist figure. He contributed to reducing the gap between the Classical and the vernacular forms of the Arabic language through applying the method and the logic of Western philology to Arabic grammar (Stetkevych, 1978: 81).

The formal standardised Arabic is quite different from the colloquial spoken varieties (Abdulmoneim, 2000: 129; Al-Azzam et al., 2008: 3). As regards the primary social function of Jordanian Arabic, it represents the low variety that Jordanians use to carry on

conversations or exchange informal communication in daily life. With the linguistic choices made while communicating, it functions as a marker of identity and status in the sense that the use of Jordanian Arabic distinguishes Jordanians from other Arabic-speaking communities. However, in the domain of formal speech, dealings and transactions, it is not preferred to use this linguistic variety, which would be thought of, if used, as an inferior variety; in such domains, MSA is the usual mode of communication. These domains fall within the fields of folklore, leisure, entertainment, friendship, intimacy, art and music. Some acknowledgement should be directed to Jordanian serials drama that has contributed to keeping written records of cultural heritage in this variety. The low variety or *Alaamiyeh* is also used in television and radio series and soap operas, in addition to situations involving public participation such as interviews, discussions and testimonies. A hybrid code comprised of blended characteristics of *alughah alfusha*, CA and MSA, and *Alaamiyeh* might be used while conducting and airing interviews, discussions, talk shows and several different programmes that contain political, social, cultural and technical topics (Bassiouney, 2010: 123). Whilst the standard form of the Arabic language is related to ‘importance, seriousness, eloquence and sophistication’, the dialectal form is associated with ‘less important, less serious, accessible and every day issues’ (Abdulkafi, 2011:556).

MSA is popularly used as a variety of communication and unification for the Arabs (Saidat, 2010: 235). It is the lingua franca when people coming from different Arab countries communicate with each other. Although all colloquial spoken varieties are affiliated with the Arabic language, it is often difficult for Jordanians, for example, to understand Libyans communicating in Libyan Colloquial Arabic so that the interlocutors will switch to a linguistic form of MSA. The spread of mass media resources have contributed significantly to the increasing use of MSA throughout the Arab World. With regard to television and broadcasting programmes, MSA limits itself to more formal

functions and normally appears alongside CA in programmes of a religious content, particularly sermons, lectures and short talks, historical period serials, television and radio drama series with a historical religious content. MSA is also the code that news bulletin presenters use to read written texts (Bassiouney, 2010: 123).

As regards the efficiency function, it refers to the state's language policy to enhance its authority and unity. The third criterion builds upon the first two to guarantee the utility of the Arabic language in providing uniqueness and unification for the state. In this regard, the focus will be on a set of manifestations of nationalist top-down language policies in Jordan. These manifestations indicate that linguistic purism and conservatism are important principles of the Jordanian state's language policy. This allows the state to control the power relations within the community via stipulating the use of Arabic as the only official language of the state and the medium of primary and secondary schooling. Bourdieu (1994:45, 46) states that 'integration into a single linguistic community' is a result of the political domination that imposes the official language via the constitution of a 'unified linguistic market'. Arabic will be imposed in official institutions such as schools and different public places. For example, schoolteachers are empowered to impose the official language through examination of academic qualification.

Arabic language academies are established in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Amman 'to determine and regulate the procedures for incorporation of new terminology, and to conserve the overall integrity of MSA' (Ryding, 2005:7). The establishment of the Jordan Academy of Arabic as a government language planning agency by a royal decree in 1976 is intended for a number of goals. First, the establishment of the Jordan Academy of Arabic is necessary for 'propagating a language consciousness and safeguarding the purity of Arabic as a bulwark of Arab identity' (Abed Al Haq, 1985:78). This can only be achieved when there is cooperation with educational institutions and cultured circles.

Second, it is required to ‘help the Arab world in its current backwardness in science’ via maintaining:

The purity of the Arabic language during this period when it is being given a contemporary image in keeping with its recognition as an official international language by the various agencies of the United Nations, and to ensure that Arabic becomes a linguistic medium of civilisation for the present as it was in the past (Abed Al Haq, 1985:78).

This in turn requires promoting ‘standardisation’ in language structure, which leads to more efficiency in communication of all types (Milroy, 2001: 534). One of the benefits of ‘standardization’ is to develop consciousness among language users of a ‘correct’ linguistic form. It can be assumed that if the ‘canonical’ form of the language is not promoted, the language will decline and decay (Milroy, 2001: 535, 37).

However, according to Abed Al Haq (1985: 79), even though this shows Jordan’s awareness of the importance of the Arabic language, the state’s financial resources are limited. Therefore, the academy’s objectives are restricted to the purification of the Arabic language to keep pace with the modern world in terms of literature, arts and sciences. It also aims to unify the terminology of the sciences, literature and the arts and revive the Arab-Islamic heritage in these topics (Abed Al Haq, 1985:80). The academy’s achievements include Arabacization of scientific terms, translations of 13 international references in various scientific subjects, revival of Islamic-Arabic heritage via publishing source books on this heritage, participation in the authorship of books for the Ministry of Education on the Arabic language, hosting conferences, symposia and lectures on the issue of Arabacization in the Arab World, authoring the United Arab Dictionary of Arab Everyday Language, and publishing a periodical journal called ‘The Journal of the Jordan Academy of Arabic’ (The Jordan Academy of Arabic).

Another manifestation refers to the Constitution and implicit top-down language policies towards minorities. In the Arab world, there is a nationalistic ideology that

conceives linguistic diversity as a danger to national unity. That is why the current constitutions of modern Arab Islamic countries stipulate Islam as the religion of the state and Arabic as the official language (Miller, 2003: 3). In Jordan, after gaining independence from Great Britain in 1946, Arabic is constitutionally proclaimed as the only official language and Islam is the religion of the country. The constitution (Chapter 1, Article 1) proclaims belonging to the Arab nation explicitly:

The Hashemite kingdom of Jordan is an independent sovereign Arab State. It is indivisible and inalienable and no part of it may be ceded. The people of Jordan form a part of the Arab Nation, and its system of government is parliamentary with a hereditary monarchy.

Although the constitution proclaims that all Jordanians shall be equally treated and 'There shall be no discrimination between them as regards their rights and duties on grounds of race, language or religion' (Chapter 2, Article 6), the constitution states Arabic as the only official language of the state. Jordan is signed and ratified in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), but the state has not intervened to protect the linguistic rights of minority groups. The Jordan Department of Statistics would not consider minorities in terms of language in its censuses (Shami, 2009:143). The expenditure of part of the state's budget on minority language education would impose additional financial burdens on Jordan, which has limited financial resources. To preserve the Arab identity and unity of the state, Arabic serves as the unifying factor among Jordanians.

Minority groups have the right to establish their own cultural institutions and schools in accordance with 'the general provisions of the law and be subject to the control of the Government in matters relating to their curricula and orientation' (The constitution of Jordan, Chapter 2, Article 19). Nevertheless, the Jordanian state follows a passive assimilation of minority languages where 'the dominant group is indifferent as to whether or not minority languages are spoken, as long as the dominant group's language is the language of interaction' (Rannut, 2009:298). This implicit language policy is carried out

through the pervasive use of Arabic in public domains and mass media with complete indifference towards minority languages that do not have a prestigious status in such social settings. This linguistic inequality between Arabic and minority languages reflects cultural and political implications for the state of Jordan (Haeri, 2000: 80).

The role of Arabic in nationalism is discussed to highlight the ideological relationship between the language policy and nationalism. On this basis, this contextualisation aims to identify how nationalist ideologies will influence the linguistic practices and ideologies of people, especially members of minority groups on signs, as will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

3.6 Migrant communities

Minority groups in Jordan can be divided into two main types. The first consists of long-term communities: Circassians, Chechens, Armenians, Turks and Kurds. Multilingualism among these minority groups is noticeable. This is evident in their own linguistic landscapes where two or three languages often appear on their own institutions. Several reasons may account for the maintenance of minority languages such as emotional attachment to the language of ancestors and historical roots. These groups have been living in Jordan since more than a hundred years ago. The second refers to economic migrants who have come to work in Jordan since the late 1980s on the basis of temporary work permits.

3.6.1 Long-term migrant communities

In the absence of official figures, it is very difficult to give exact figures of established minority groups in Jordan. It seems that the total number of Circassians is contradictory because it is based on estimations rather than a census (Rannut, 2009: 299). Abd-el-Jawad

(2006: 52) estimates that the current number of Circassians in Jordan ranges from 40,000 to 70,000, whilst Jaimoukha (2001) states that the total number ranges from 20,000 to 100,000. Al-Bashayer (1997) indicates that the number of Chechens is 8776. It is estimated that 5,000 Armenians speak the Western variety of the Armenian language (Derderian-Aghajanian, 2009:37). According to Akar (1993: 95), the number of Turks is about 60,000, most of whom reside in Amman. The unofficial estimates show that Kurds are about 30,000 (AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010: 12).

The long-term minority groups in Jordan are part of the urban population. Socio-demographic data indicate that these groups make up 2% of the population of Jordan (Library of Congress, 2010; Shoup, 2007). These groups that have settled in different parts of Jordan have imported their languages to the areas in which they reside. In addition to some extent of proficiency in their minority languages, even though Kurdish is almost absent from Jordan Kurds' linguistic repertoire (AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010), all these minorities speak Arabic fluently. Even though highly educated people's linguistic repertoire is assumed to have some proficiency in English, less educated people are likely to acquire a lower level of English competence. In addition, some Jordanians have knowledge of other languages, especially European languages such as French, Italian, German, Russian and Spanish.

Circassian people are a minority group currently living in diaspora in many countries, including but not limited to Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon (Jaimoukha, 2001: 101-122). Historically, the Great Migration happened at the end of the Caucasian War in 1864 (Hewitt, 2002; Mufti, 1972). During the late 19th century, the major immigrant groups of Circassians were forced to leave their homelands after the Russian invasion of the Caucasus in waves, even though the Circassian displacement might be viewed as part of the Ottoman policy to encourage immigration into the Ottoman Empire

(Shami, 2009: 141-144). The estimates indicate that about one million and a half Circassians emigrated from their homes, one million of whom took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Between 1878 and 1906, Circassians in Jordan first settled in Amman city where most Circassians now live in the districts of Sweileh, Wadi Alsir and Naur (Shami, 2009: 147).

Circassians have their own cultural institutions such as Circassian Charity Association in Wadi Alsir and Sweileh. Schools are also established as an attempt to maintain the Circassian language among young generations such as Emir Hamza School. Miller (2003), however, maintains that minority languages in the Arab world are marginalised in public life. The only accepted cultural forms are their heritage and traditions manifested in their folklore, songs and dances.

Circassian people speak the Circassian language, a northwest Caucasian language that involves a number of varieties, including primarily Adyghe and Kabardian dialects (Lewis et al., 2013). At Emir Hamzeh School, Circassian students learn the latter, whilst the former is acquired at home via parents and through using it with their linguistic peers (Rannut, 2009: 303). According to Shami (2009:142), the two language forms, Adyghe and Circassian, are interchangeably employed in Jordan. The speakers of the Adyghe Circassian language are about 75% of the Circassian population in Jordan. The adoption of the Kabardian Circassian language as the primary medium of instruction is affiliated with the fact that there was no Adyghe Republic in Russia, so they used textbooks from Kabardino-Balkaria (Rannut, 2009: 305). The Circassian language was subordinated by the former Soviet Union. The policy of russification contributed to weakening minority

languages throughout the former Soviet Union, including but not limited to Circassian and Chechen in the Caucasus (Landau, 1996).⁴

The Circassians belong to different tribes and each tribe has its own variety. The most important linguistic problem facing Circassian peoples is to have a written standard variety; even before the Circassians came to Jordan, there had been no documented standard Circassian. Lack of sufficient institutional support in Jordan can lead to language shift (see Dweik, 2006:67).

Information about Jordan Chechens is not much detailed because attention is directed towards larger groups such as Bedouins (Dweik, 2000:184). However, literature provides some causes about Chechen immigration. Historically, Chechens were forced to leave Chechnya after the Russian invasion of the Caucasus in 1864 in waves (Jordanian Chechen Site). The first wave took place in 1865 when 50,000 Chechens migrated to Turkey, Syria and the Golan Heights. The second wave started in 1877. The third wave took place in 1902, during which the first Chechen settlement was established in Al-Sukhna, Zarqa (Chatty, 2010:119).

According to Haddad & Kiliani (2004: 251), the settlement of Chechens in Jordan was part of the Ottoman policy toward the region. Turkey wanted to achieve two goals. First, in the light of the fact that Chechens made their living through practicing agriculture, they were provided with lands in Syria and Jordan to increase agricultural production. Second, they were employed as ‘a fighting force to protect the pilgrimage route to the Hijaz and the railway against raids by nomads’ because of their fighting abilities (Haddad & Kiliani, 2004:252).

⁴ Even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the efforts of many countries in central Asia and the Caucasus such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan at derussification are hindered by the continuous reliance on the Russian Federation and the presence of significant Russian Diasporas in each state (Landau, 2001).

The existence of the Chechen population in Jordan dates back to more than a hundred years ago (Dweik, 2000:184). Thousands of Chechens migrated to Jordan and they now constitute an essential part of the Jordanian community. Most Chechens are the inhabitants of Zarqa city, Al-Sukhna and Alazaraq Al-Janooby, whilst a smaller population lives in Sweileh, Amman. Chechens have their own charity associations and cultural clubs in Zarqa. These institutions have different branches in each residential area. The Caucasian Club is the first sporting club established in the state. Sultan Murad for Chechen Studies is established to support the Chechen cause in the aftermath of Russian occupation of Caucasus (Al-Bashayer, 1997: 210-215).

Chechen belongs to the Caucasian language family that consists of four language groups, including Adighian-Abkhazo, Wainakh, Daghestani and Kartvelian; Chechens, who are a Caucasian ethnic group living in North Caucasus, belong to the second group (Dweik, 2000:187). Chechen is the North Caucasian language spoken by about 1.4 million people in Chechnya and spoken by significant populations in different countries, including but not limited to Georgia, Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Uzbekistan (Lewis et al., 2013). The Arabic alphabet was first used for Chechen till 1928. It was replaced with the Latin writing system till 1938. The Cyrillic script has now taken the place of the Latin script (Lewis et al., 2013).

Even though Chechens share an Islamic identity with the majority group, they have resisted assimilation and still regard themselves as a distinctive minority (Haddad & Kailani, 2004: 243). For instance, Chechens in Jordan have almost kept away from interethnic marriages, promoting, encouraging the use of the Chechen language and elevating its status in social settings. Although the vast majority of Chechens speak Arabic, they speak Chechen among themselves rather than Arabic. Whilst Arabic is conceived as instrumental, 'the linguistic affiliation is with the Chechen language' (Haddad & Kailani,

2004:253). The third and fourth generations of the Chechen population are currently living in a bilingual situation where Chechens use Chechen alongside Arabic.

With the migration of about 500,000 who were forced to escape from their homeland in consequence of the Armenian Genocide during the period 1915-1923 (Chatty, 2010), Turkish-Armenians were dispersed throughout the southern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. While the majority resided in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, a smaller population of refugees arrived in Palestine and Trans-Jordan in the early 20th century (Chatty, 2010:165, 177). Armenians have inhabited in the state of Jordan since 1920. The overwhelming majority of Armenians are Turkish-Armenians, Christians mainly distributed between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. In the Arab world and Jordan in particular, they are well-reputed for their skills as handymen and mechanics. They are socially an essential component of the Jordanian society. It should be noted that even though Islam is the religion of the state of Jordan, they have been given the freedom to practice their Christian rituals and services (AlKhatib, 2001:160).

Most Armenian cultural organisations and institutions are situated in Armenian Neighbourhood in Amman. The Armenian Church represents the heart of the community and takes the initiative to preserve its history and culture. Therefore, priests are responsible for teaching Armenian to children (Derderian-Aghajanian, 2009:34). The patriarchate in Jerusalem has about 10,000 followers in Jerusalem, the Holy Lands, Palestine, Jordan and Egypt (Chatty, 2010:172).

According to Alkhatib (2001:161), the oral form of the Armenian language had been established before the appearance of the current orthography system. Neely (2008) maintains that the use of the Armenian language connects Armenians to their history that regards the Armenian nation as the first nation that converted to Christianity around 314 AD. It allows Armenians fully to understand the liturgy performed in Classical Armenian.

The Armenian language is directly derived from the Indo-European family. Two main written forms are currently used: Modern Western Armenian that is used in the Armenian diaspora and the Modern Eastern Armenian currently used in Armenia. Modern Armenian shares many linguistic features with its neighbouring languages such as the Turkic and Iranian languages (Dum-Tragut, 2009:1). In Jordan, the use of Armenian is confined to domestic and private domains where it is used by a limited number of people. In the process of language shift and change, Alkhatib (2001: 153) claims that Armenian is gradually losing its significance for the Arabic language. With the passage of time, Armenian might experience language loss.

Jordan Turks, Jordanian citizens of Turkish descent who have been living in Jordan since the rule of the Ottoman Empire, constitute a minority group. No schools have been established to revitalise the Turkish language among Jordan Turks and only one charity association in Amman is established to teach Turkish to a small number of students ranging from 6 to 11 students. Unlike other minorities such as Chechens and Circassians, Turks do not live in close-knit residential areas.

Turkish is the major member of the Turkic language family, a branch of the Altaic languages. Modern Turkish is the official language of the Republic of Turkey today. It is estimated to be the first language of the majority of the population of 70 million (Brown, 2006: Vol. 13,160). Turkish is also used in Cyprus, and in different parts in Europe and the Middle East. It was used to be written in the Arabic writing system until 1928, the time when the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet (Lewis et al., 2013). In Jordan, the language practices of the participants show two contrastive trends. Elderly participants tend to use both Arabic and Turkish, while younger participants tend to use Arabic and English to a lesser extent.

Many Kurds took refuge in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Iraq. The Kurds of Jordan migrated to Jordan in the 19th and the early 20th centuries. In comparison with neighbouring Arab countries such as Syria and Iraq, Jordan has a small enclave of ethnic Kurds because it is relatively distant from Kurdistan (Hourani, 2011: 35). The majority of Kurds migrated to Jordan in the early 20th century. They reside in the cities of Amman, Irbid, Zarqa and Salt. Unlike Circassians and Chechens, they do not live in close-knit communities and do not have their own neighbourhoods (AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010:12, 13). Nowadays, Kurds have a charity association named Salah Aldin Alyoubi Charity Association in Amman. They are now almost completely integrated into the Jordanian community (Hourani, 2011: 61); this might explain the absence of schools to keep the Kurdish language alive among young generations.

The Kurdish language belongs to the Iranian language family. It is mainly spoken in eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, western Iran and central Asia. Three main varieties are common in Kurdistan: the northern group, Kurmanji, and the central group, Kurdi, and southern Kurdish (Brown, 2006: Vol. 6, 263). The third variety constitutes the main literary written form. Kurds in Jordan belong to the central language group, as manifested in their tribal names.

AlKhatib & Al-Ali (2010) concludes that Kurdish is witnessing language shift to the advantage of the majority language in most social domains and settings. Remoteness of Jordan from Kurdistan and lack of residential contiguity are thought to be the main reasons behind language loss. Living away from Kurdistan will not give them many chances to practice Kurdish regularly. Having non-close-knit ties together with encouraging interethnic marriages have also worsened the language situation (AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010:32). Kurds use Arabic more often than Kurdish. In informal and formal domains, the vast majority of research subjects examined only speak Arabic and few elderly people use

Kurdish (AlKhatib & Al-Ali, 2010:32). Since Kurdish population are unwilling to exert efforts to promote and learn the Kurdish language, it is possible to predict that Kurdish will completely die out in a few decades.

3.6.2 Short-term migrant groups

Existing language diversity is reinforced by the existence of migrant groups from Asian countries, including but not limited to Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia and India. These immigrant groups have been coming to the country for work. Therefore, their presence is noticeable in free economic zones, market centres, factories and homes. In these areas, Asian immigrant languages are used in spoken and written contexts alike. According to Jordan Statistical Yearbook (2011) issued by Jordan Department of Statistics, about 85,000 foreign workers come from the above Asian countries. Table 3.2 displays the size of economic migrant groups.

Table 3.2: Non-Jordanian workers holding work permits by nationality and sex in 2011

Nationality	Males	Females
Sri Lanka	9038	16718
Indonesia	49	15496
India	7623	86
Philippines	552	13605
Pakistani	2220	396
Other foreigners	15096	3850
Total	34578	50151

Source: Department of Statistics, Jordan Statistical Yearbook 2011

Although there is insufficient official information about the participants' occupational and educational backgrounds, official figures show that there are remarkable numerical differences between males and females based on country of origin and employment. The vast majority of females coming from Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Indonesia work as maids, whilst other female and male immigrants from other nationalities have a wide range

of occupations. According to demographic information elicited from the participants, economic workers include foreign factory workers, accountants, housemaids, masseuses and traders. Their educational backgrounds range from elementary school to Master's degree. Several home languages are found to be used by the participants. The language practices of recent migrant subjects show the complexity of the linguistic repertoires of economic migrant communities. While the Filipino participants use Tagalog and English, the Pakistani ones use Urdu, Pashto, English and Arabic, the Indonesian ones use Malay, English and Arabic, the Indian ones employ Hindi, Punjabi and English, and the Sri Lankan ones employ Sinhalese, English and Arabic. The Bengali participant uses Bengali, English and Arabic, the Chinese one uses Mandarin Chinese, little English and Arabic, whilst the Burmese one uses Burmese and English.

3.7 Conclusions

King Abdullah I established a new state under the British rule. Jordan as part of the Levantine region had been home to many ancient civilisations, including but not limited to the Nabataeans, Romans, Greeks and Arab Muslims. Modern Jordan, which gained its independence from Great Britain in 1946, has a constitutional monarchy. King Abdullah II has been viewed as the guardian of Jordan, bringing economic growth and prosperity to the country. The Jordanian state considers the tourism sector as a tool for development and a source of foreign currency. School and higher education expansion also take priority over any other matter.

Ferguson's (1959) typology of Arabic varieties into high and low does not conform to the sociolinguistic situation in Jordan. Instead, 'multiglossia', as put forward by Hary (1996), is a more accurate term, because there are three major Arabic varieties, including CA, MSA and Jordanian Arabic. Each of these language varieties has distinctive functions

in everyday life activities. Based on Fishman's model of language and nationalism (1972), the role of Arabic in nationalism could be understood under three headings: authenticity, unification and efficiency. The authenticity function is affiliated with Arabic literature where Arabic is a linguistic symbol of Arab nationalism. Not only the symbolic function is related to its verbal component, but also it is associated with the Arabic alphabet. The unification function is more related to MSA, the language of writing and formal communication, while Jordanian Arabic is the variety of informal oral expression. As far as efficiency function is concerned, it is intended to reinforce the state's authority and unity through emphasising the central role of Arabic in the construction of the state's educational policy.

Before the rise of Islam, Arabic was so marginal that it was only used by Arab nomadic tribes. Islam has contributed to the wide spread of Arabic throughout the world; nowadays, Arabic is one of the six official languages of the United Nations. It should be emphasised that Arabic calligraphy is thought of as a vehicle to attach Muslims to the Qur'an via the creation of several calligraphic styles, including but not restricted to the Kufi and Nasakh scripts.

Although the HKJ is constitutionally monolingual in Arabic, English is widely used among highly educated people. The presence of the English language in Jordan is an essential part of globalisation. In the educational spheres, English is widely spoken and written at universities whose usual medium of education is English (Alomoush, 2007). For many Jordanians, English has an important role as the language of modernisation, because it elevates the status of individuals in the community. Although Western modernity has changed the cultural values of many young Jordanians, English is viewed as the vehicle of development and knowledge. This has set the stage for the emergence of mixed codes, RA and AE, in CMC.

As far as minority languages are concerned, they are used by about 2% of the whole population. Minority groups include two main types: long-term and short term communities. The former group consists of Circassians, Chechens, Armenians, Turks and Kurds, while the latter comprises of economic migrant groups, including but not limited to Filipinos, Pakistanis, Indonesians, Indians and Sri Lankans. While the former groups use their minority languages in a very restricted set of domains, the latter groups tend to use minority languages in different social settings, in addition to Arabic and English for reasons of social mobility and economic development.

Chapter Four: Methodology and procedures

4.1 Introduction

In sociolinguistic investigation, the methodology used to collect data is a significant stage in research studies (Milroy, 1987). In LL research studies, a sound data collection procedure requires two conditions: the unit of analysis and the determination of the geographical limits of the survey area (Backhaus, 2007: 65). Other linguistic landscapers (Barni & Bagna, 2011; Garvin, 2010) suggest other important data collection stages, closely related to conducting interviews with participants to make judgements about the LL.

The current chapter presents the methodology of this study. Most LL studies use quantitative and qualitative methods to examine certain aspects in the LL. Both quantitative and qualitative findings of a LL research study conducted in the LL of Jordanian cities are used to interpret the wide spread of particular languages such as MSA and English and marginalisation of minority languages in public spaces. From a qualitative perspective, the current study contains observations, drawn from the existing data collected, on the functional patterns of existing languages/language varieties, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters Five and Six.

4.2 The pilot study

The pilot study aimed to enhance the quality of the larger study and determine the problems facing the researcher when applying the procedures of data gathering. It was also

to devise a coding scheme of signs, aiming to analyse the use of languages on signs in public places in Jordanian cities, in order to correlate them against the coding schemes of the existing literature. The pilot study was conducted on April 5th 2012 in Jerash, a town situated in the northern part of Jordan, 20 kilometres to the north of Amman, the capital city of Jordan. Two streets were chosen in the city centre to record a sample of signs. The choice of these two streets was not predetermined in that they were selected when just arrived at the fieldwork. These two streets were selected as the town's main commercial streets.

All signs in these two streets were recorded within a distance of about 100 metres; photographs of all multilingual signs were taken using a digital camera. Based on the sample recorded, the signs were coded as follows: commercial signs, graffiti, municipal signs, institutional signs and religious signs. The rationale for this decision will be explained in Section 4.5.1. The total number of signs recorded was 296 (139 and 157 monolingual and multilingual signs respectively).

In Shaab Street, 95 monolingual signs were recorded. MSA featured 59 monolingual signs, 54 of which were commercial, while four signs were institutional inscriptions and there was one example of graffiti. English appeared on 27 signs, 26 of which were commercial and one was a parking sign. CA appeared on six religious signs, all of which were Quranic verses and quotations from the prophet Muhammad. RA was found on three monolingual signs, two of which were examples of graffiti, while one was a commercial sign.

In King Abdullah II Street, 44 monolingual signs were collected. MSA was found on 28 commercial signs and two institutional inscriptions. English featured ten monolingual signs, nine of which were commercial signs and one was a parking sign. CA was used on two religious signs. As far as RA was concerned, it featured in two commercial signs.

Of the 157 multilingual texts quantified in the two survey areas, MSA featured in 139 signs. Of municipal signs recorded, it appeared alongside RA and English (seven signs). Of the remaining signs, 129 commercial signs featured MSA alongside English (62 signs), alongside AE (21 signs), RA (nine signs), Jordanian Arabic (nine signs), CA (two signs), and Roman script (one sign). Of trilingual signs, it appeared together with English and RA (seven signs), AE and English (eleven signs), AE and Jordanian Arabic (seven signs), Jordanian Arabic and RA (two signs), Jordanian Arabic and English (two signs). Of quadrilingual combinations, MSA featured in six commercial signs. In particular, it appeared alongside French, English and Jordanian Arabic (two signs), together with Jordanian Arabic, English, and AE (three signs), and alongside Jordanian Arabic and AE (one sign). As for the remaining commercial signs, English appeared alongside RA (four signs), German (two signs), Jordanian Arabic (one sign), and alongside RA and Jordanian Arabic (one sign). Italian appeared alongside Arabic script (three signs), and Jordanian Arabic (one sign).

4.3 The unit of analysis

One of the most relevant issues in the determination of an appropriate methodology in LL studies is the unit of analysis. After Backhaus (2007), who relies on the well-known definition suggested by Landry & Bourhis (1997: 66), a LL item represents ‘any piece of text within a spatially definable frame’. LL objects include street name signs, business name signs, posters on shop windows and walls, noticeboards and billboards, signs on governmental buildings, ‘pull and push’ and ‘open and closed’ signs, announcements on electricity poles, and lettered door mats. Even though the visual multilingualism of the LL contains transit signage, as investigated by several linguistic landscapers such as Reh (2004), who explicitly includes written tokens that are stationary, movable or ‘transitional’

inscribed objects, the intention is to record fixed signs as enumerated by Backhaus (2007) with an addition of semi-transient objects such as a parked car displaying multilingual writing in a commercial street. Since the spatial presence of moving objects cannot be accurately specified, they were excluded from the recorded items. As a result, a wide array of written texts on moving objects, including books, newspapers, magazines, T-shirts, brochures, leaflets, banknotes, packages, and other inscriptions appearing on moving objects such as buses and taxi cabs were excluded from the items gathered. By the same token, signs displaying non-linguistic material such as images and logos, verbal and nonverbal communication and other related materials which do not display monolingual or multilingual written texts in cityscape signage do not form an essential component of the current study. Although they are an integral part of the local semiotic landscape (Jawarski & Thurlow, 2010), both monolingual and multilingual signs inside buildings or businesses are also not one of the main concerns of this study, but monolingual and multilingual signs attached on a window pane, visible to people outside shops, are included in the survey. Likewise, torn posters and stickers are not part of the counted items, particularly those whose linguistic writing is wholly unattainable. Although Backhaus (2007) excludes labels on products attached on shop windows from his study, they are regarded as an important component of this LL survey. The same is true of proper nouns, which were coded according to the language of origin (Edelman, 2009). Likewise, brands formed an essential part of the current study and coded according to 'Analysis B' (Edelman, 2009) and discussed by Tufi & Blackwood (2010) who supports analysing brands according to language. Two subcategories of brand names were identified in the representative commercial areas selected: global and local brands; some global brands such as 'Pepsi' and 'Coca Cola' are 'part of every language', so they are coded according to scripts (Tufi & Blackwood, 2010).

4.4. Survey areas

Selecting specific geographical areas such as commercial streets or residential areas is one of the most fundamental issues in the analysis of both monolingual and multilingual writing in linguistic landscapes. The fieldwork was conducted in November and December 2012 in urban Jordan. As Figure 4.1 illustrates, ten streets were selected in each of six major Jordanian cities, Irbid, Salt, Zarqa, Amman, Karak and Aqaba, in total of sixty. In addition to their being the most populated in Jordan, the six cities are of greater historical, cultural, political and economic importance than others. The rationale for choosing the six cities will be given in more detail in the lines that follow.

The commercial survey areas were selected because they are rich in a varying degree of LL signs, including commercial signs, religious signs, political signs, municipal signs, institutional inscriptions and graffiti. The data collection sites are limited to sixty streets with large concentrations of commercial buildings with shoe shops, optical stores, and mobile phone shops, pharmacies, offices, governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Given the commercial significance of these streets of urban Jordan, in addition to being the main routes to the transport system of the above cities, they constituted the main survey areas. These commercial areas were selected when just arrived at the fieldwork. Drawing upon previous LL studies, including Tufi & Blackwood (2010) and Blackwood (2011) who selected a 50-metre stretch of the street, and Long & Comajoan (2012) who selected 400 continuous metres in each street, each survey area was approximately a 100-metre stretch of the street, the distance of which was measured by counting steps. There were no specific height restrictions as long as the signs were visible to typical passers-by. Some buildings rise to two or three floors above the street level and were scattered with linguistic signs on their walls (see Blackwood, 2011).



Figure 4.1: A map of Jordan showing the survey cities encircled (Source: 1999 maps.com)

Based on the estimates of Jordan Statistics Department in 2011, Table 4.1 includes data about the estimates of population according to the most influential cities in the HKJ:

Table 4.1: The 2011 estimates of population according to a number of cities

No.	City	Males	Females	Total
1.	Amman	1,244,000	1,175,600	2,419,600
2.	Irbid	229,521	220,519	450,040
3.	Aqaba	57809	55,541	113,350
4.	Salt	67,723	65,067	132,790
5.	Karak	124,287	119,413	243,700
6.	Zarqa	279,521	268,559	548,080

Source: Department of Statistics, Jordan Statistical Year Book 2011

In addition to its being the capital and largest populated city in Jordan, Amman is officially Jordan's cultural, political and commercial centre. According to the estimated figures of Jordan Department of Statistics in 2011, the population of Amman is about 2.4 million.

After the First World War and the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, in 1921, King Abdullah I established and selected Amman in place of Salt as the capital city of his newly founded state, formerly called the Emirate of Transjordan, which was still under the British Mandate (Alon, 2009:31). During the first decades, Amman was a provincial commercial centre and garrison on the edge of the desert. In 1943, the total number of population of Amman was only 30,000 (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2011). During the next three decades, the capital city of Jordan developed rapidly into a booming, overcrowded metropolitan centre (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2011). As Figure 4.1 shows, it is geographically situated in central Jordan.

Ten study areas were chosen in the city of Amman. These included, as illustrated in Figure 4.2, the following commercial streets: Abdullah Alluzi Street (1), Yajouz Street (2), Queen Rania Street (3), Almadeeneh almunwareh Street (4), Gardens Street (5), Mecca Street (6), Abdullah Gosheh Street (7), Wakalat Street (8), Rainbow Street (9) and King Hussein Street (10).

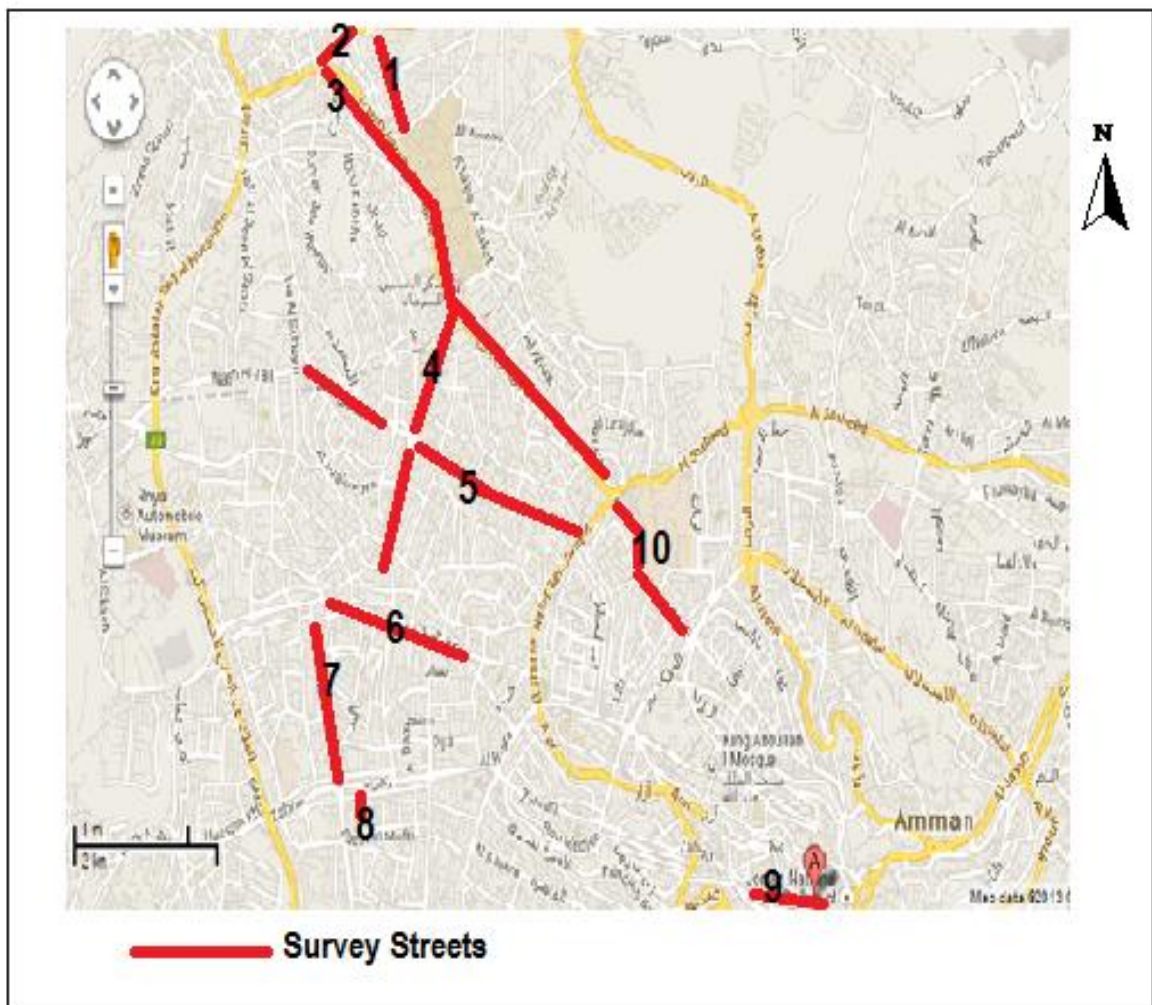


Figure 4.2: A Google map of the streets selected in Amman in red

Irbid is located about 85 kilometres north of the capital city. It is the third largest populated city with a population of 450,040 (Statistical Department of Jordan, 2011). The city is called the ‘Bride of the North’ because it combines originality and modernisation. Historically, it was called ‘Arabilla’ and was inhabited more than 5000 years ago, which is evidenced through ruins that date back to the Bronze Age (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004).

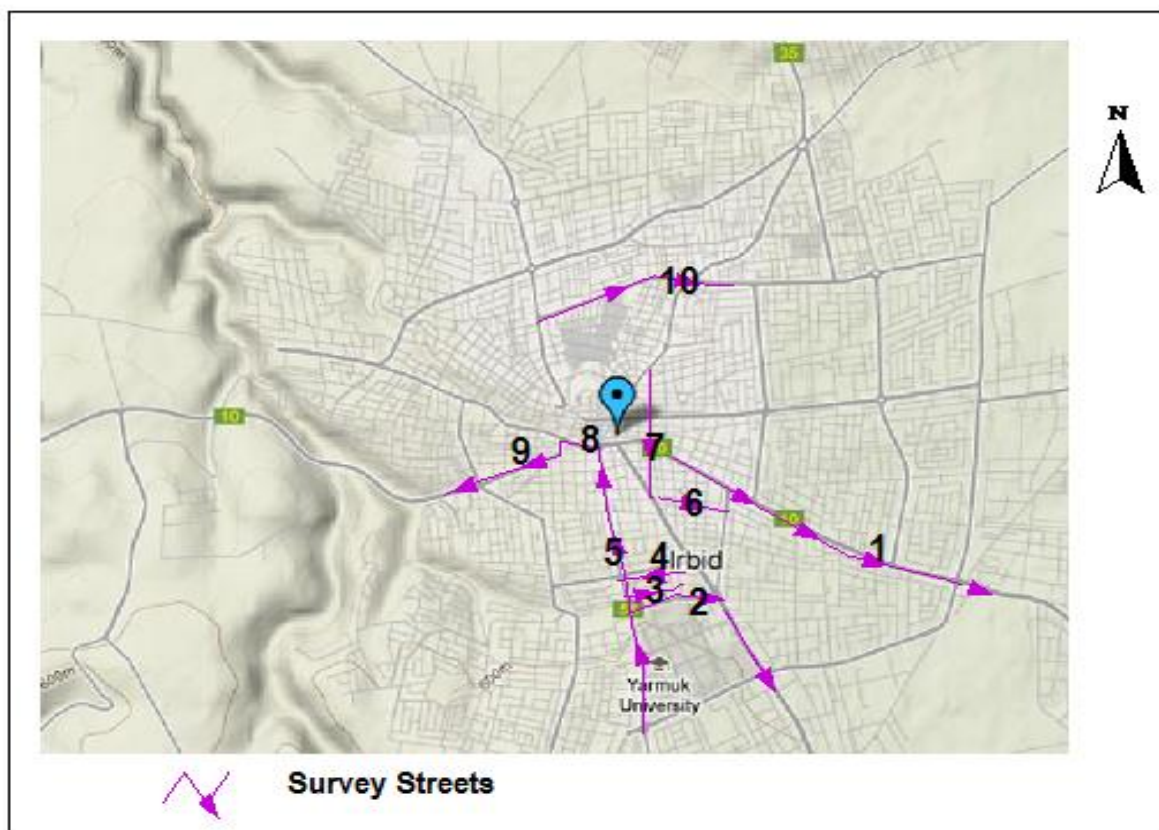


Figure 4.3: A Google map of the streets selected in Irbid in purple

As Figure 4.3 shows, the survey areas were limited to ten streets in the city centre: King Abdullah II street (1), Abdul Alkhader Altal street (2), Abu Thar AlGhufari Street (3), Firas Aljlouni Street (4), Shafik Rshaidaat Street (5), Al Shaheed Street (6), Omar Ben Alkhatib Street (7), King Hussein Street (8), Falsteen Street (9) and Ridhwan Alhindawi Street (10).

Aqaba is the only coastal city in Jordan, which is situated about 340 kilometres south of Amman. In addition to its industrial and commercial importance, the city is one of the major touristic attractions in Jordan (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2003). The city has grown dramatically after its being declared as a special economic zone in 2000 and witnessed a rapid increase of the number of migrant foreign workers (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2003). The survey streets were limited to ten commercial streets that

included Prince Muhammed Street (1), King Talal Street (2), Yarmouk Street (3), Batra Street (4), Zahran Street (5), Raghadan Street (6), King Hussein Street (7), Hammammat Street (8), Al Humaimh Street (9) and Al Razi Street (10).

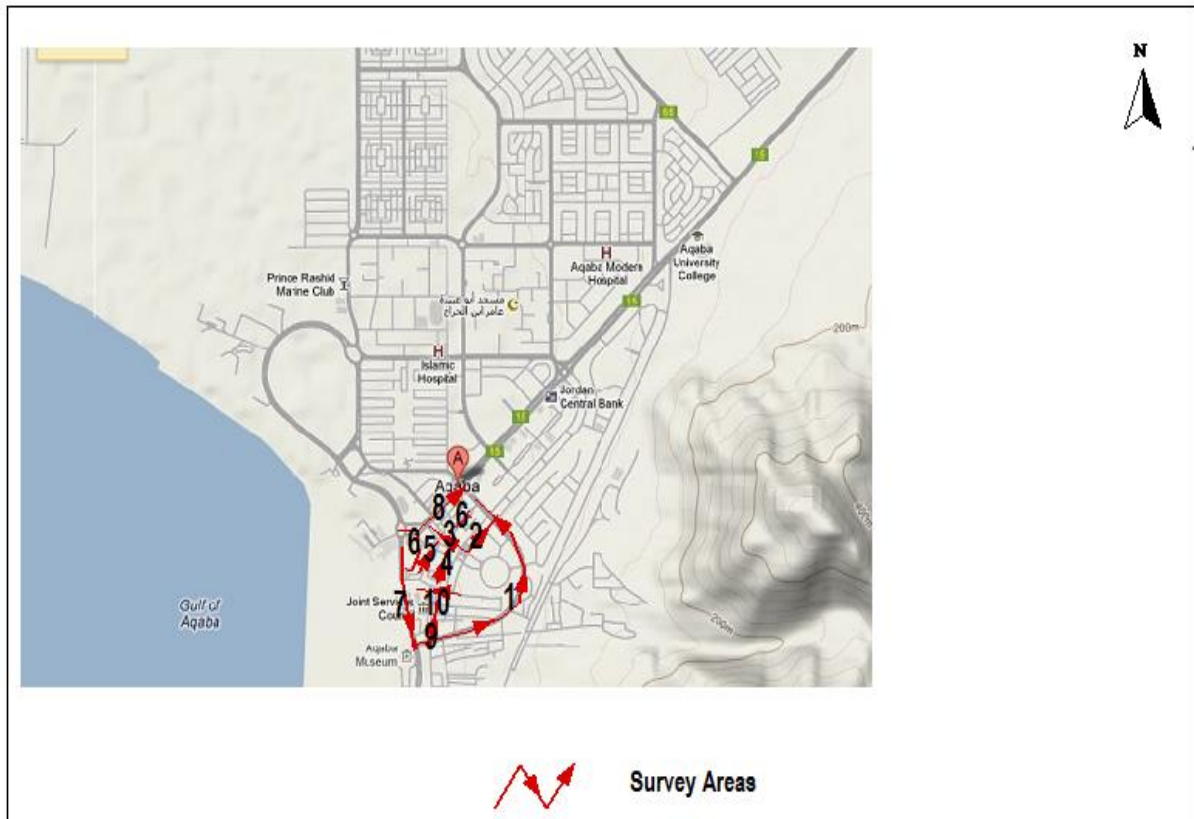


Figure 4.4: A Google map of the streets selected in Aqaba in red

Salt is one of the major cities in west-central Jordan, which is situated about 28 kilometres northwest of Amman (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2012; Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2005). Historically, it is one of the most ancient towns in Jordan and witnessed many civilisations such as the Ammonites, Romans, Byzantines and Muslims (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2012; Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2005). The city is the urban centre of Al Balqa region. With a population of about 133,000, about 30 % of its people are Christians, while the remainder are Muslims. As

shown in Figure 4.5, the current study investigated ten commercial streets, eight of which are in the city centre and illustrated in a numerical order ranging from 1-10: Said Mustafa Al Slebi Street (1), Prince Hamzeh Street (2), Saleh Almusher Street (3), Saed Abu Jaber (4), Al khader street (5) King Talal Street (6), Prince Eman Street (7) and Al Hammam Street (8). Outside the city centre, King Abdullah II Street and Anis Almushir Street were surveyed.

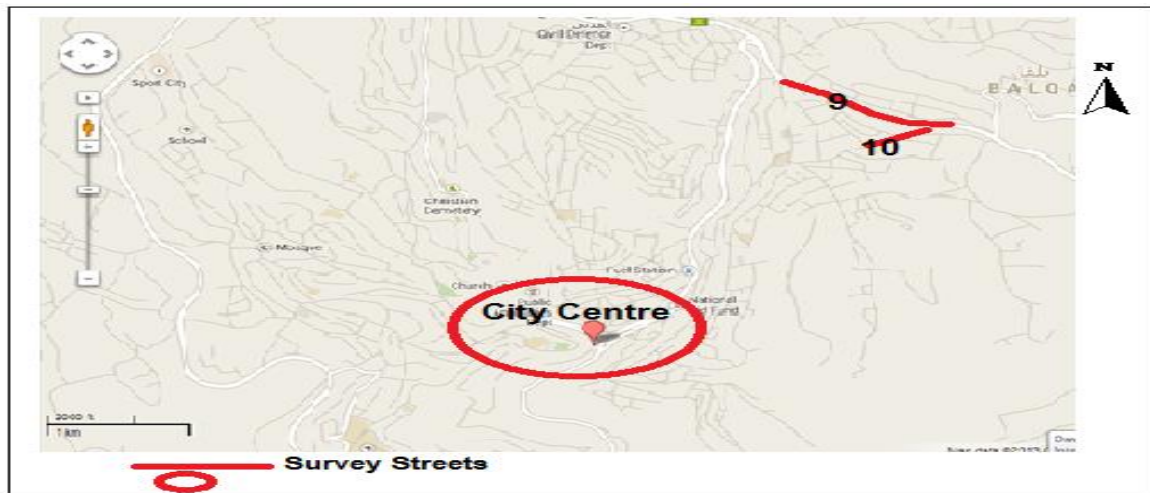


Figure 4.5: A Google map of the streets selected in Salt in red



Figure 4.6: Commercial streets chosen in the city centre of Salt (Source: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 2012)

The old city was built on a mountaintop near Karak Castle surrounded by deep valleys from the east and west. The city witnessed several civilisations, including the Romans, the Byzantines and Arab Muslims (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004a). It is one of the most historical cities in Jordan and is considered to be the second biggest city in southern Jordan after Aqaba. In recent decades, the city expanded from the east keeping the modern buildings separated from the old city (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2004a). According to the estimates of Jordan department of statistics in 2011, the city's population is about 244,000, about 75% of which are Muslims, while the remaining proportion is Christians, one of the highest in Jordan. Ten commercial sites were chosen as survey areas, all of which are situated in the city centre. As Figure 4.7 illustrates, these included Al Maydan (1) Street (1), Al Mustashfa Alitaly Street (2), Al Qala Street (3), Al Nuzha Street (4), King Hussein Street (5), Al Khader Street (6), Al Jami Alumari Street (7), Al Maydan (2) Street (8), Prince Hassan Street (9) and Ibin Sina Street (10).

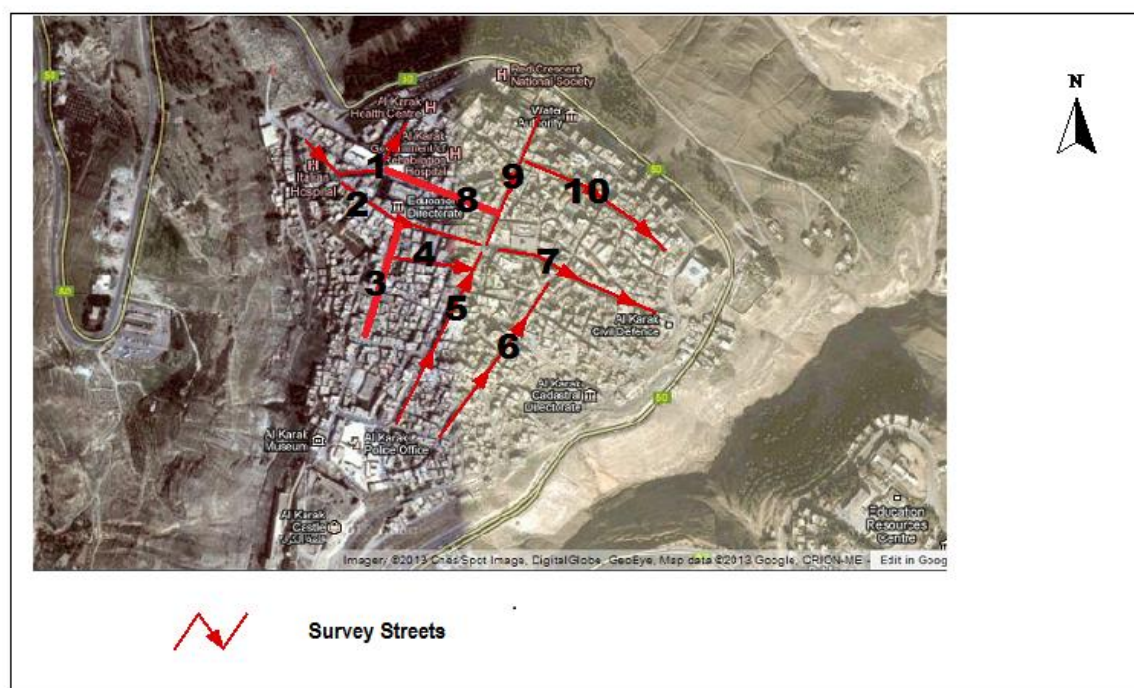


Figure 4.7: A Google map of the streets selected in Karak in red

It is one of the central cities in Jordan, which is situated 22 kilometres to the northeast of Amman (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2003a). With a population of 548,080, Zarqa is the second largest city in Jordan. With 50% of factories in Jordan and the existence of the only petroleum refinery, the city is the most industrial city. Several civilizations, including the Romans and Muslims settled in the city (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2003a). The present city origin goes back to the first quarter of the 20th century and then it started to develop and grow until it became the third largest city after Amman and Irbid (Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2003a). The city is still the main residence of Chechens. Ten streets were selected as survey areas. As Figure 4.8 shows, these streets included Baghdad Street (1), Prince Shaker Street (2), Abed Almunaem Ryadh (3), King Faisal Street (4), King Abdullah Street (5), King Hussein (6), Shamel Street (7), Prince Nayef Street (8), Farouq Street (9) and Mecca Almukarameh Street (10).

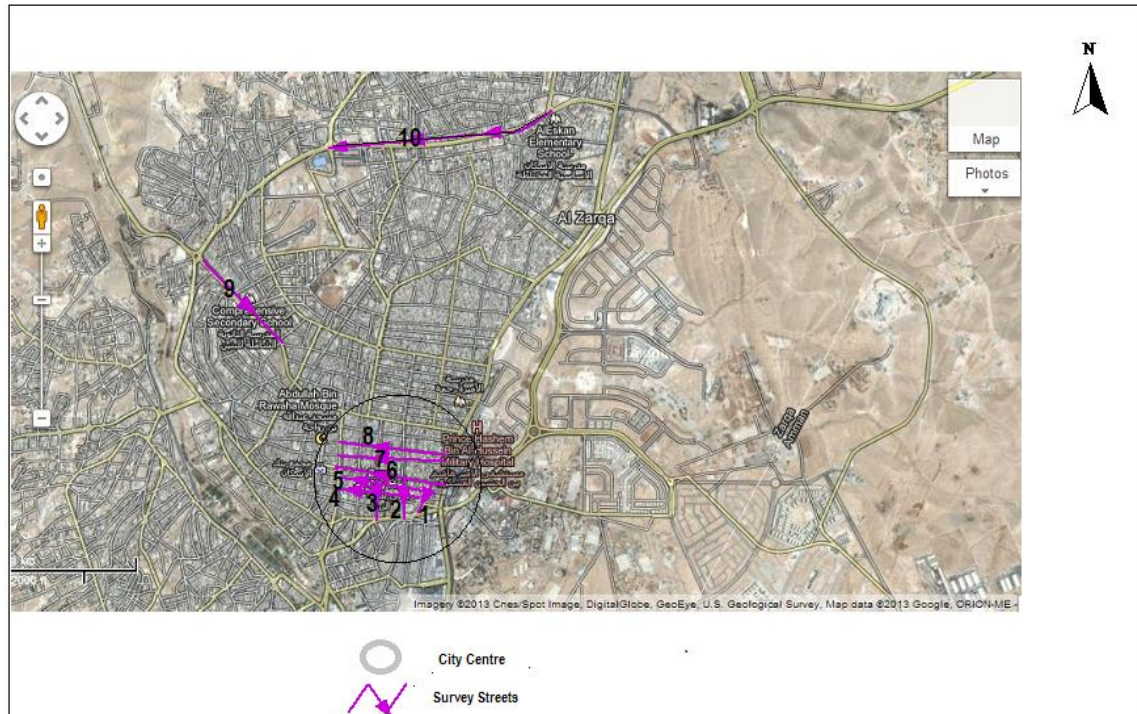


Figure 4.8: A Google map of the streets selected in Zarqa in pink

4.5 Data Analysis

This section is intended to focus on the criteria that are employed in the current research to code the data collected and draw useful information from the existing data.

4.5.1 Coding schemes

Developing coding schemes contributes to the development of a consistent methodology for the current LL study, even though it is not free from difficulties and challenges. One of the prominent challenges is the absence of shared definition of the unit of analysis, as pointed out by several scholars such as Gorter & Cenoz (2008) and Huebner (2009). Similarly, there are no coding schemes widely shared among linguistic landscapers.

The starting point is to partially build upon analytical categories, as suggested by previous LL studies (Backhaus, 2007; Ben Rafael et.al, 2006; Blackwood, 2011; Blackwood & Tufi, 2012; Pavlenko, 2010; Reh, 2004). In the light of these LL studies and findings of a pilot study conducted in Jerash, not only is a typology of signs devised to establish connections between types of signs and existing languages and scripts, but also other semiotic aspects of signs are emphasised for their significance in analysing signs.

The data recorded in the Jordanian LL were categorised in accordance with these criteria. Data were inserted on Microsoft Excel worksheets (Blackwood & Tufi, 2012). Data include street name, city, number of languages, unilingual, bilingual, and trilingual and quadrilingual patterns, source of sign, first language, ‘duplicating’, ‘complementary’, ‘fragmentary’ and ‘overlapping multilingual writing’, ‘covert multilingual writing’, and non-standard English occurrences. In addition, photographs of all monolingual and multilingual signs are taken using a digital camera. The researcher has already created profiles and uploaded pictures available on the image-sharing website, Flickr (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/99356747@N04/>). As will be discussed in the subsections

that follow, this study is based on three main theoretical parameters: (1) sign production (2) sign readership (3) and dynamics of language contact (Backhaus, 2007).

4.5.1.1 Criteria for the breakdown of signs

LL literature identifies bottom-up and top-down signage as the two main broad categories. Landry & Bourhis (1997:26) draw a distinction between private and government signage, the latter of which includes ‘public signs used by national, regional or municipal governments in the following domains: road signs, place names, street names, and inscriptions on government buildings’. In the current project, bottom-up and top-down signs correspond to the distinction between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ flows made by Ben-Rafael (2009). Top-down signage, on the one hand, refers to signs placed by the state, related authorities and non-governmental institutions established by social groups. Bottom-up signage, on the other hand, refers to commercial signs displayed by business owners, commercial enterprises, and other private signage placed by individual social actors as graffiti, religious and political posters (Pavlenko, 2010:134).

Despite the potential challenges that surround official and non-official sources of signs, a dichotomy which has been challenged by Kallen (2010) who claims that LL signs should be examined according to institutions, domains and activities, the division of signs into bottom-up and top-down signage is very significant. This means a better understanding of the language practices of bottom-up and top-down actors. In other words, top-down and bottom-up linguistic landscaping can be uncovered through examining the prominent languages in the LL. As Table 4.2 shows, a distinction has been made between signs according to the originators of signs; every sign was coded according to whether it is originated by ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’ forces (Ben-Rafael, 2009). Following the established terminology of the LL literature, the terms ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ are

used, simply to mean ‘public’ and ‘private’ respectively. The terms ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ are contested in the LL literature, but the important distinction is between ‘public’ and ‘private’, which contributes to the identification of language policies enacted by both public and private agencies.

Table 4.2: Bottom-up and top-down authorship according to the purposes and functions that are intended by the sign producers

Authorship	Signs according to activities/institutions	Sub-domains
Bottom-up	Commercial	Business name signs
		Brands
		Information
		Advertisements
		Business signs
		Instructions
		Product labels
		Multifunctional signs
		Newspaper racks
	Other	
	Political	Patriotic signs
		Dynastic signs
		Political campaigning
		Political action signs
	Religious	Qur'anic signs
		Dhikr signs
Hadith signs		
Pillars of Islam related signs		
Graffiti	Emotive	
	Religious	
	Political	
	Identity	
	Sexist	
Top-down	Municipal	Street name signs
		Direction and regulatory signs
	Institutional	Governmental inscriptions
		Non-governmental inscriptions

Even though LL actors construct the LL in an active, fluid and changeable manner where use of public space is negotiated, the above semiotic parameters can be understood as manifestations of social, commercial and political activities and ideologies common

among the local communities. These frames are also opted for their value and importance in uncovering social and historical aspects of the places and the daily lives of people. Based on some LL studies (Blackwood, 2011; Pavlenko, 2010; Tufi, 2010; Tufi & Blackwood, 2012), commercial signs, political signs, religious signs, graffiti, municipal and institutional signs are used for data categorisation in the LL of Jordanian cities.

The first widely recorded category of bottom-up signage is commercial signage, signs produced by commercial companies, enterprises and individuals. It consists of several subcategories: business name signs, brand name signs, advertisements, information, business signs, instructions, product labels, multifunctional signs and newspaper racks. Business name signs consist of written designations intended to identify a certain company, bank or business. Brands are trademarks that identify certain products or services provided by a manufacturer or firm. Advertisements include two types of signs: advertisements designed for publicising products and services to the customers and advertisements of job opportunities and vacant flats for rent placed on walls and store fronts. Information signs include business closing and opening times, 'welcome', 'open', 'closed for prayer', 'now open' and grand opening signs. Drawing upon Blackwood (2011), who devises business signs as to explain 'what an enterprise does such as baker and jewellery', business signs stand for signs showing types of stores such as 'restaurant', 'pharmacy', 'home appliances', 'exchange', 'silver', 'gold', 'bakery' and 'dentist'. Instructions include 'open', 'pull', 'push' and 'no smoking' signs. The term label on products as used by Blackwood (2011:117) was introduced as a sub-genre of commercial signage. Examples included the French processed cheese product 'La vache qui rit' and 'Extra Chewing Gum', the most frequently used label on products. Other monolingual English product labels tended to be brands such as 'Power Horse' and 'Red Bull' energy drinks, whose appearance was noticeable on the front glass windows of food stores.

Multifunctional signs are signs designed for serving more than one function such as business naming and branding, business naming and information, and branding and instruction for promoting the produce of multinational and national companies or saving money and space on the part of commercial enterprises, as shown in Figure 4.9.



Figure 4.9: An example of multifunctional signs (Karak)

The first line in red, big Arabic characters in Figure 4.9 reads ‘MATT9AM AALUMAAL’ meaning ‘workers’ restaurant’ followed by information about the restaurant owner in the second line in black Arabic letters ‘LISSAAHIBIHI AALHAAJ AAISHAAQ TAWFEEQ ALSHAYKH’ meaning ‘for its owner the pilgrim Isaac Tawfeeq Alshaykh’. In the third line, the restaurant owner adds information about the foods served and special offers: ‘AASHHAA AALMAAKOULAAT AASHARKIYEH WALGHARBIYEH, AASAAR KHAASEH’ meaning ‘the most delicious Eastern and western cuisine, special offers for students’. The lettering in MSA is supplemented by an image of meals served in the restaurant to persuade passers-by with the quality of services provided.

Newspaper racks are frameworks for holding newspapers distributed to customers. ‘Other’ signs might be superimposed on newspaper racks to identify a newspaper subscriber. This sub-genre also includes book covers. Figure 4.10 shows a newspaper rack displaying MSA, English and AE.



Figure 4.10: An example of newspaper racks (Amman)

The second recorded category is political signage. Based on the data recorded as monolingual and multilingual LL signs, political signs were divided into four sub-genres. They appear in a hierarchical relationship where King-related posters are the most numerous because state patriotism requires people to stand by the king, as will be discussed in Chapter Five. Dynastic signs appeared on store fronts or commercial walls by shopkeepers who declare their loyalty, support and belonging to the royal family. In the strict sense, dynastic signs are multimodal inscriptions normally produced by individuals to express loyalty and belonging to the Hashemite dynasty represented by King Abdullah II. The second sub-category relates to posters or writings initiated by political candidates who seek the votes of Jordanians during local elections. In other words, political campaigning signs are posters produced by municipal and parliamentary campaigners who seek to influence the voters' decision. The third sub-genre is affiliated with patriotic signs predominantly displaying a nationalist sentiment for reminding Jordanians of the value of Jordan.

Figure 4.11 is an example of a private candidate's office displaying MSA on political campaigning signs. The wording in red reads 'MURASHAHAKUM AADUKTOUR MUHAMMED AALBADRI' meaning 'your candidate Dr Muhammad Al-Badri'. A similar message is duplicated on the candidate's office glass front with a

poster giving similar information. Not only has the sign producer employed MSA to have an intended outcome, but he also uses big font sizes with an image of the candidate.



Figure 4.11: An example of political campaigning signs (Aqaba)

The fourth sub-category is political action posters issued by parties or individual social actors to denounce vandalism as a result of the Arab Spring or to call for public action in response to political events (see Appendix VI). Figure 4.12 is an example of political action signs where CA and MSA are employed to reject the events of vandalism in Jordan in response to the Arab Spring.



Figure 4.12: An example of political action signs (Salt)

The poster starts with the Qur'anic verse that reads 'RABII AAIJ9AL HAATHAA AALBALADA AAMINAN' meaning 'My Lord! Make this city secure'. The lines that follow mean 'Muslim Brotherhood Party and Islamic Action Front Party denounce the

flagrant assault on private and public properties and call the sons of Salt to keep the capabilities of their homeland from the futility of vandals and corrupt people, because we all are responsible for Jordan’.

The third recorded category of bottom-up signs is religious signs. Religious signs have been discussed by some LL studies, including Pavlenko (2010: 134) and Woldemariam & Lanza (2013). The same applies to the existence of verses of Qur’an on storefronts, which refer to the religious background of the Jordanian community whose major religion is Islam, as stated by the constitution (Constitution of Jordan: Article 2, Chapter one).

In light of the signs recorded, this type of signs is placed by shop owners on store fronts and individuals on electricity poles. CA is the only code on monolingual and the prevalent code on multilingual signs. Four sub-types of texts are provided in CA: Qur’anic verses, ‘Hadith’, sayings uttered by the prophet Muhammed, ‘Dhikr’ and pillars of Islam related signs. In Figure 4.13, there appears a religious sign on a yellow background in Amman.



Figure 4.13: An example of Qur’anic verses (Irbid)

The text reading ‘KULUU MIN TAYIBAAT MAA RAZAGHNAAKUM’ means ‘Eat of the good foods that We have provided you with’.

‘Dhikr’ signs involve signs that remind the reader of Allah; ‘Dhikr’ is performed by the repetition of God’s names and fixed formulae as uttered by the messenger of Islam, as

shown in Figure 4.14, which illustrates the employment of CA in the LL to remind the readers of how important in Islam to maintain the remembrance of Allah on the lips.



Figure 4.14: An example of ‘Dhikr’ signs (Amman)

The sign producer realises the significance of ‘Dhikr’ in Islam. That is why he takes the initiative to place the sign on an electricity pole, which reads 'AASTAGHFIRULLAH' meaning 'I seek God's forgiveness', for the readers to perform easy ‘Dhikr’ according to the teachings of the prophet Muhammad.

Pillars of Islam related signs employ both non-linguistic and linguistic devices to remind the readers of the importance of key Islamic principles. In Figure 4.15, the store owner uses ‘Hadith’ uttered by the prophet Muhammad in the form of CA in addition to some words in the form of MSA. The first two lines in CA read ‘QAALA SSALA ALLAH 9ALAYEHI WASALAM: MAAMIN AAYAAM AAL9AMAL AASAALIYEH FIIHAA AAHABU AILAA ALLAH MIN HAATHIYEHI AALAAYAAM’ meaning ‘The prophet said: what days of good deeds are more beloved to Allah than these days’. In the last two lines, the writer uses MSA in larger bold characters to focus on the first days of Thay Alhajjah, the 12th month of the Islamic year. The image of ‘Kaaba’, a cube like house considered as the most sacred site in Islam, is included on the poster.



Figure 4.15: An example of Pillars of Islam related signs (Amman)

The fourth recorded category is graffiti. In this study, graffiti mean an unauthorised form of transgressive semiotics, either from the perspective of municipal authorities, community or public institutions (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). In the light of the data recorded, most examples of graffiti were found to be under bridges, alleys of streets selected, and they might be scattered on commercial signs. Graffiti display people's tendencies, sentiments and attitudes towards Jordan's political system, religious beliefs, self-identification and sexism, as will be highlighted in Chapters Five and Six. The ability to write and read takes different linguistic forms, including Arabic script, Roman script, the Arabic transliteration of Roman script and the Roman transliteration of Arabic alphabet.

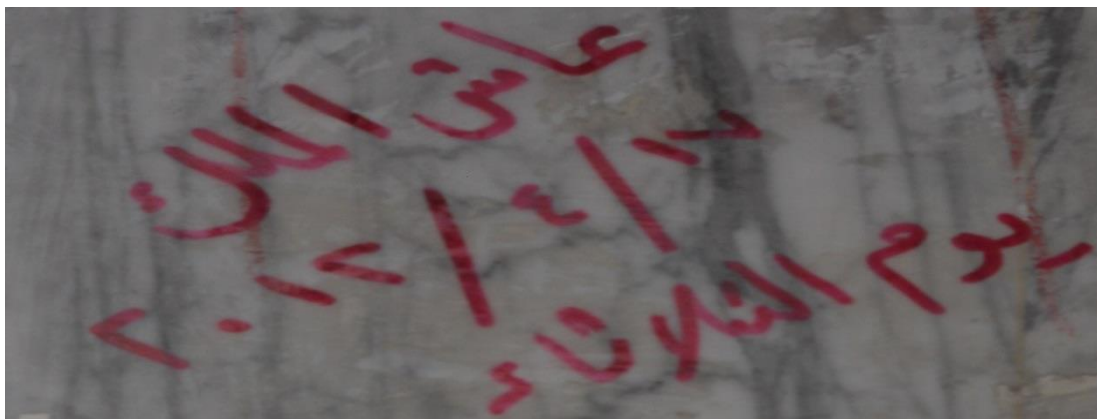


Figure 4.16: An example of political graffiti featuring MSA (Aqaba)

The sign in Figure 4.16 shows an example of political graffiti in Aqaba. It reads ‘9AASHA AALMALEK, 17/4/2012, YAWAM AATHULAATHAA’ meaning ‘Long live the king, Tuesday 17/4/2012’.

As far as top-down signage is concerned, there are two main types of signs. Municipal signs are nailed to the wall or signposted by municipal authorities to provide information for passers-by. Two sub-types have been examined in this study, including street name and regulatory signs, as shown in Figure 4.17.

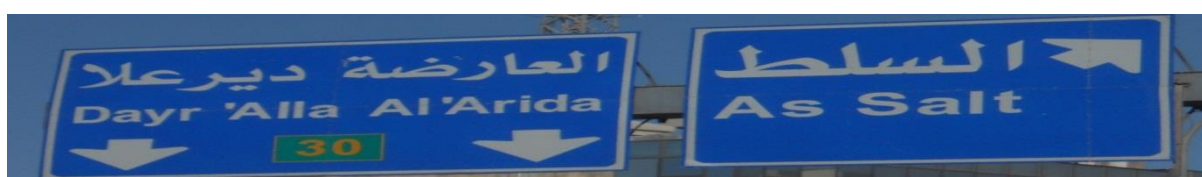


Figure 4.17: Two direction signs (Salt)

Institutional inscriptions are signs belonging to governmental bodies and other top-down institutions such as unions and religious schools established by social groups such as Greek Christian School in Zarqa. It is found that these signs are provided in a limited set of

scripts and languages, the most visible of which are MSA and English. Figure 4.18 illustrates an inscription on a governmental building.



Figure 4.18: A governmental institutional inscription (Salt)

These distinctions between bottom-up and top-down signs with respect to activities and institutions are very valuable for data analysis. Based on such distinctions, the current study will establish links between existing languages and scripts and a number of themes and trends, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

4.5.1.2 Multimodality and code preference

As Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest, multimodality contributes significantly to understanding the semiotics of signs. Likewise, Beasley & Danesi (2002:20) argue that the objective of semiotics is to unravel the arrays of hidden meanings in the ‘underlying level’, all meanings of which constitute what termed as ‘signification systems’. Both verbal and nonverbal techniques are implemented to make messages as persuasive as possible. Since non-linguistic devices such as images and logos might accompany monolingual and multilingual writing on LL items, the current study will attempt to unravel why ‘non-textual techniques’ are employed in the illustrative examples (Beasley & Danesi, 2002:20), as will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Based on the visual semiotic framework of Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996), Scollon & Scollon (2003) devise the grammar of place semiotics, particularly ‘code preference

system’, as the basis for their analysis of the signs. Code choices and preferences reflect societal perceptions and attitudes toward the languages used. In other words, ‘code preference’ itself indexes social positioning or power structures inside the local community. In the discussion of ‘code preference’, the authors (2003: 119) distinguish between two main functions of signs: indexical and symbolic functions. According to the authors (2003: 123), selection of certain codes on bilingual signs and signs of multiple codes as the ‘preferred’ does not necessarily reflect a resistance to colonisation or the forces of globalisation. Instead, it might be a pragmatic decision to represent the overwhelming majority of population. Likewise, Gorter (2006) has highlighted that multiple languages in the LL compete with each other for ‘code preference’.

In the analysis of the signs recorded in the main commercial streets of urban Jordan, three main features can identify the preferred linguistic system on multilingual signs: vertical and horizontal order of languages on signs, the text font size of the languages used and amount of information given on signs. Following Scollon & Scollon (2003: 120-125), vertically, the preferred code would be on the top position of signs. If there is a conflict between the size of fonts used and the top-bottom multilingual order, the former would outweigh the latter. However, since some signs are either dominated by varieties of Arabic or English text, extent of information would overtake visual hierarchy of languages on signs, but it does not overrule the size of the font used, the decisive criterion to identify the preferred language and script on signs, as shown in Figure 4.19.



Figure 4.19: Multilingual information displayed on a corporate van (Aqaba)

The multilingual sign displayed in Figure 4.19 shows an English-Arabic bilingual text. It reads ‘SHARIKAT AALBAHER AALAHMER LISSINAA9AT AALKHASHAB’ and is duplicated in English in the second line, beneath which further information is exclusively inscribed in English. This multilingual writing is supplemented by non-linguistic devices, namely a drawn texture of wood concentric circles, a logo of the company concerned. Even though the MSA lettering is placed on top position and the font size of the English text bears a resemblance to that of the MSA text, amount of information displayed on the English wording is greater than that on the MSA one. Furthermore, the two bottom lines in English are present in uppercase letters rather than lowercase ones. Based on these considerations, the English text has a more prominent position than the MSA one.

Even though Jordan is a predominantly Arabic-speaking country, English is a widely spoken and understood language among upper and middle classes. The preferred system thus would be neither the right surface nor the left position of the sign, as illustrated in Figure 4.20.



Figure 4.20: A rare example of code equivalence (Amman)

However, the central would outweigh the left and right surface of the sign. Following Scollon and Scollon (2003), vertically, the preferred code would be on the top position of the sign. The street name sign in Figure 4.21 displays an example of code preference where RA overrules English and MSA by respective virtue of top position and size.



Figure 4.21: An example of code preference (Karak)

4.5.1.3 Types of multilingual writing

To determine the degree of translation and transliteration on multilingual signs, four main types of multilingual writing were used: ‘duplicating’, ‘fragmentary’, ‘overlapping’ and ‘complementary multilingual writing’, as put forward by Reh (2004). Similarly, Backhaus (2007) considers four main types of translation and transliteration on signs, borrowed terms from the field of musicology. Due to the fact that Japan is a predominantly monolingual country, English monolingual signs were considered as multilingual in Backhaus's coding scheme. This claim can be refuted in terms of the following argument:

The idea of monolingualism by country – one state, one language – has become obsolete and has been overtaken by a complicated interplay of many languages. Truly monolingual countries were always an exception, but globalisation with its ensuing migration flows, spread of cultural products, and high speed communication has led to more multilingualism instead of less (Gorter, 2006: 88).

Accordingly, English monolingual signs were regarded unilingual rather than multilingual. That is why the paradigm, as articulated by Reh (2004), has the potential to categorise the LL multilingual data recorded more appropriately, so that the researcher will build upon it.

‘Complementary multilingual writing’ relates to multilingual writing where different portions of the text are presented in different codes. The multifunctional sign in Figure 4.22 employs MSA, AE and Jordanian Arabic for a set of social meanings. The whole text reads as 'SHARIKET SPRING LILFARSHAAT SLEEP COMFORT' meaning 'spring

mattresses for sleep comfort company': the MSA word 'SHARIKET' meaning 'company' in blue colour in in the first line, 'SPRING' in red large Arabic letters, the Jordanian Arabic word 'FARSHAAT' in the third line meaning 'mattresses', and the AE expression 'SLEEP COMFORT' in black Arabic letters.



Figure 4.22: An example of complementary multilingualism (Amman)

'Duplicating multilingual writing' can be defined as linguistic practices in which the same message is translated or transliterated in more than one code. The multilingual writing throughout Figure 4.23 conforms to 'duplicating multilingual writing', as put forward by Reh (2004).



Figure 4.23: An example of duplicating multilingualism on a governmental sign (Amman)

'Overlapping multilingual writing' refers to inscriptions where part of its written multilingual text is interpreted and transliterated in at least one extra code and other

fragments of the text are presented in just one single code. Figure 4.24 shows a label on 'Extra' chewing gum products.



Figure 4.24: An example of overlapping multilingual signs (Salt)

As the label displays, while some parts are exclusively presented in English, including the brand name 'Wrigley's Extra', 'TM' acronym and '10 pellets', other parts are solely presented in MSA as the one reads 'TUSAAIYED 9LAA HIMAAYAT AASNAANIK' meaning 'It helps to protect your teeth'. In addition, other parts of the text are interpreted into both English and Arabic, the first of which is 'SUGARFREE CHEWING GUM' reading in Arabic as '9ILKEH KHAALIEH MIN AASUKAR' and the second of which is 'SPEARMINT FLAVOUR' reading 'NAKHEH AANI9NAA9'. This 'overlapping multilingualism' is visually supported with a tooth and mint logo. It could be argued that these logos are chosen by the company to help the viewers to recognise the benefits of this chewing gum more easily.

'Fragmentary multilingual writing' can be defined as multilingual writing where the full text is only presented into one language and particular portions of the same text are translated or transliterated into another language or other languages. As Figure 4.25 illustrates, the RA acronym constitutes of 'M' and 'S' which stand for the initials of

‘Maher’ and ‘SAALOUN’. The full name of the hair saloon for men is given in MSA, while it is shortened in Roman script



Figure 4.25: An example of fragmentary multilingual writing (Irbid)

4.5.1.4 Visibility of multilingual writing

Visible multilingual signs are found to be if multilingual information appears on the same LL item, while ‘covert multilingual writing’ happens when LL items are solely presented in one different code. ‘Covert multilingual signs’ were first examined by Reh (2004) and used by Backhaus (2007). Figure 4.26 and Figure 4.27 represent two ‘covert’ multilingual signs where the same information was provided in MSA and English respectively.



Figure 4.26: A covert multilingual sign in MSA (Amman)



Figure 4.27: A covert multilingual sign in English (Amman)

4.4.1.5 Dynamics of language contact

Of all the signs observed in the LL, there are signs displaying non-standard English. Most non-standard expressions were found to occur at three main linguistic levels: orthographic, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels. The analysis of this type of signs, as will be presented in Section 5.5, is based on ‘grassroots literacy’, as used by Blommaert (2008; 2013).

To examine the diachronic development of signs in the LL, some LL landscapers (Backhaus, 2005; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Spolsky, 1991) use the term ‘layering’. This method of research focuses on the coexistence of older and newer editions of signs (Backhaus, 2005). Scollon & Scollon (2003:140) define layering as extension signs ‘superimposed on or clearly attached as a secondary message commenting on a more permanent or durable main sign’ to convey meanings of newness and temporality, even though this is not always the case. Backhaus (2007) conducts a diachronic study of the development of Tokyo’s LL where newer and older editions of signs are compared. In the light of observations made by Backhaus (2005), there are a range of changes in language use patterns: an increase of languages present; increasing functions of languages other than Japanese, the official language of the state; growing competence in foreign languages, particularly English; and an overall increase in proportions of languages and scripts used. Spolsky & Cooper (1991) explain the significance of the diachronic development of some

signs through examining older and newer versions of three signs in the LL of Jerusalem. The authors (1991: 7) highlight that these signs, which date back to the British Mandate, the Jordanian rule, and the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, ‘provide a written record of the recent history of the Old City’.

Linguistic layering has been used as an indicator of the changes in the LL (Backhaus, 2007; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Some top-down and bottom-up signs is found to provide information about the historical and political development of the HKJ and the state’s language policy development from a monolingual to multilingual language policy (see Figure 5.29 and Figure 5.30).

4.5.2 Classification of proper names according to the language of origin

Edelman (2009) provides the arguments regarding proper names in the LL. The writer (2009) discusses the challenges facing the classification of proper names in the LL. She presents two arguments dealing with this issue in LL studies: ‘Analysis A’ and ‘Analysis B’. While the former excludes proper names from examination because the majority of proper names are global, the latter approach adopted by many linguistic landscapers such as Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Cenoz & Gorter (2006), Huebner (2006) and Schlick (2003) views that proper names should be assigned by the language of origin,. To show how the inclusion of these names in LL studies affects linguistic diversity in the LL, 200 LL signs belonging to a main shopping street in Amsterdam have been photographed and analysed (Edelman, 2009:149,150).

To conduct a comprehensively LL study, the current study attempts to examine all LL categories. This has been manipulated by Tufi & Blackwood (2010), who stress the need to classify brand names in the LL according to 'Analysis B' , as articulated by Edelman (2009), and Blackwood (2011), who proposes nine LL categories and regards trademarks and shop names as principal categories of their own right.

LL items often contain proper names, including brand names, product names, place names, and first, family or tribal names (Edelman, 2009; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010). According to Edelman (2010: 67), while all words, in English and other languages, beginning with a capital letter are considered proper names such as shop names and internet addresses, proper names in Dutch do not start with a capital letter. The same is true of graffiti tags with the graffiti writer's name as an autograph. Likewise, acronyms and abbreviations are coded according to the language of origin such as the company name 'Aramex', whose lexical origin comes from the acronym of 'ARab AMerican Express'. Other examples include colloquial proper names such as 'Hamoudeh' and 'Aboud', respective diminutive forms of 'Muhammad' and 'Abed Alkareem'. Both these colloquial names are seen on business name signs in the commercial streets of urban Jordan. The same is true of product names such as 'Jameed', a Jordanian dried yogurt made from goat or sheep's milk.

Since proper names, especially brand names, are not intended to provide factual information, they can be easily used by a language either common or not in written contexts (Edelman, 2009:150). That is why these names are called 'impersonal multilingualism' by Haarmann (1986, 151). Edelman (2009) and Tufi & Blackwood (2010) have highlighted the problems to classify proper names and trademarks in the LL. According to Monnier (1989) and Backhaus (2007:18), removing brand and product names from consideration makes the linguistic determination of the items easier because such information units as 'Lampe de poche Eveready' or 'Chaussettes Mcgregor' could be coded unambiguously as French. Backhaus (2007:20) poses a problem for the classification of proper names of brands as 'indeterminable'; even though it facilitates the process of data collection, it is suggested that it might give an unrealistic picture of the anglicised picture of the LL.

The starting point is to classify a proportion of brand names according to language. In the light of the observations made by Tufi & Blackwood (2010:208), who have already adopted 'Analysis B', as suggested by Edelman (2009). In addition to COO 'Country of Origin' and COR 'Country of Representation', 'Language of Representation' LOR is a reliable criterion to classify trademarks according to certain languages as manifested by 'Diesel' that might be understood as Italian in Italy, English in the UK or German in Germany for its etymology. Undoubtedly, the language of representation for the trademark 'L'Oreal' would be French in Italy and England.

Whilst all local brands are unambiguously coded according to language, global brands are considered according to language in the following cases: (a) when the brand name itself is translatable such as 'Royal Jordanian', (b) when a global brand name contains information about the nature of the business or a slogan (c) and when proper names of brand names are not transliterated in the LL. Tufi & Blackwood (2010:201) anticipate this by arguing that 'McDonalds, Coca Cola and Levi Strauss no longer index a particular language, but are part of every language where they have some resonance or some kind of value'. This coding scheme of brand names would emerge as a result of the difficulty to assign a specific language to global brands of proper names, as identified by Tufi & Blackwood (2010).

Accordingly, it is suggested here that proper names of global brands widely spread and transliterated in the LL such as 'Pepsi' and 'Coca Cola' are not excluded from linguistic consideration and coded according to script (Quantitative results of existing languages and scripts on monolingual and multilingual signs are provided in Appendix V and VI). It is very difficult to assign specific languages to some proper names such as 'Nike', as discussed by Edelman (2010). Even though most global brands are associated with specific countries and consequently languages such as American brands, including 'MacDonald's',

'Coca Cola' and 'Pepsi', local brands are coded according to the language of origin rather than country of origin such as 'Champion Paints', 'Aramex' and 'National Paints'.

4.5.3 Classification of LL signs according to script and language variety

Previous LL studies code signs according to scripts and languages. Roman script is not limited to English but to other languages such as Chinese (Smalley, 1994: 205). According to Huebner (2006:48), the employment of Roman alphabet functions as a foreign and an educated Thai character. In Tokyo, Backhaus (2007:71) codes Japanese according to the script used: Japanese in Kanji & Kana, in Roman alphabet, with Furigana and in Braille. In the LL of Tunisia, Ben Said (2010) draws a distinction between two varieties of Arabic: MSA and Tunisian Arabic. It is striking that CA has not been seen in the commercial streets of Tunis, Old Tunis and La Marsa. In the LL of urban Jordan, three main varieties of Arabic have been quantified: MSA, CA and Jordanian Arabic. Mixed codes are also identified: RA and AE.

To draw a distinction between languages and scripts, the terms 'monoscript' and 'multiscript' are suggested in this chapter. When two varieties of Arabic, as in the case of MSA and Jordanian Arabic, featured a sign, it would be 'monoscript' and multilingual. If RA appeared alongside one of the above varieties, it would be 'multiscript' and multilingual. In the light of the recorded signs, a multilingual sign represented an Arabic variety in addition to a different language or languages, including but not limited to English, French, Italian, Turkish, Russian, Spanish and Chinese. Such a sign would be considered both a 'multiscript' and multilingual sign. Within the framework of Arabic varieties, a multilingual sign meant the occurrence of two or more of the above varieties on the same sign. It is now clear that multilingual signs are not only restricted to two languages/language varieties or more but also limited to two scripts or more.

4.5.4 Monolingual and multilingual signs

As shown in Table 4.3, all signs were coded as either monolingual or multilingual. It displays a corpus of LL items recorded in 60 commercial streets in urban Jordan. The statistics shows that 4070 signs were categorised as multilingual for a percentage of about 51%, whereas 3967 signs were recorded as monolingual for a percentage of about 49%. As Table 4.3 shows, the total number of signs is 8037.

Table 4.3: The total number of monolingual and multilingual signs according to city

No.	City	Monolingual signs	Multilingual signs	Total
1.	Zarqa	644	712	1356
2.	Amman	828	714	1542
3.	Aqaba	686	670	1425
4.	Irbid	692	733	1356
5.	Karak	496	617	1113
6.	Salt	621	624	1245
Total	6	3967	4070	8037

While a monolingual LL item was a unilingual sign containing one language or a language variety, multilingual signs as mentioned earlier were of three main types. First, bilingual signs had the following properties: MSA in addition to another language such as English and French; MSA in addition to an additional Arabic variety such as CA or Jordanian Arabic; two foreign languages such as English and French and a ‘multiscript’ sign such as English and AE. Second, trilingual signs had the following characteristics: MSA in addition to two different languages such as English and French; MSA in addition to an Arabic variety and a foreign language/mixed code. Finally, quadrilingual signs contained four languages/language varieties or more. One of the rarest examples was a sign containing six languages: MSA, English, French, Italian, German and Russian.

Table 4.4: Occurrences of monolingual and multilingual signs according to survey areas

No.	Survey Street	City	Monolingual signs	Multilingual signs	Total
1.	King Faisal Street	Zarqa	48	74	122
2.	King Abdullah Street	Zarqa	54	75	129
3.	Abed Almunaem Ryadh	Zarqa	64	60	124
4.	Baghdad Street	Zarqa	106	61	167
5.	Farouq Street	Zarqa	52	78	130
6.	King Hussein Street	Zarqa	87	109	196
7.	Mecca Street	Zarqa	71	84	155
8.	Prince Nayef Street	Zarqa	51	56	107
9.	Prince Shaker Street	Zarqa	62	54	116
10.	Shamel Street	Zarqa	49	61	110
11.	Abdullah Alluzi Street	Amman	91	86	177
12.	Almadeeneh almunwareh Street	Amman	89	62	151
13.	Gardens Street	Amman	81	83	164
14.	Abdullah Gosheh Street	Amman	81	71	152
15.	King Hussein Street	Amman	62	63	125
16.	Mecca Street	Amman	113	61	172
17.	Queen Rania Street	Amman	91	93	184
18.	Rainbow Street	Amman	72	60	132
19.	Wakalat Street	Amman	80	59	139
20.	Yajouz Street	Amman	68	76	144
21.	Al Batra Street	Aqaba	52	73	125
22.	Al Humaimah Street	Aqaba	70	71	141
23.	Hammamat Street	Aqaba	73	59	132
24.	King Hussein Street	Aqaba	70	68	138
25.	King Talal Street	Aqaba	54	47	101
26.	Prince Muhammed Street	Aqaba	54	66	120
27.	Raghadan Street	Aqaba	56	88	144
28.	Al Razi Street	Aqaba	75	80	155
29.	Yarmouk Street	Aqaba	64	64	128
30.	Zahran Street	Aqaba	118	54	172
31.	King Abdullah II Street Irbid	Irbid	91	63	154
32.	Abdul Alkhader Altal Street	Irbid	88	80	168
33.	Abu Thar AlGhufari Street	Irbid	62	65	127
34.	Falsteen Street	Irbid	43	77	120
35.	King Hussein Street	Irbid	61	81	142
36.	Omar Ben Alkhatab Street	Irbid	80	84	164
37.	Ridhwan Alhindawi Street	Irbid	62	48	110
38.	Shafik Rshaidaat Street	Irbid	65	81	148
39.	Al Shaheed Street	Irbid	78	70	148
40.	Firas Aljlouni Street	Irbid	62	84	146
41.	Al Jami Alumari Street	Karak	55	63	118
42.	Al Khader Street	Karak	59	48	107
43.	Al Mustashfa Alitaly Street	Karak	48	92	142

44.	Al Nuzha Street	karak	63	54	117
45.	Al Qala Street	Karak	36	74	110
46.	Al Maydan (1) Street	Karak	49	48	97
47.	Al Maydan (2) Street	Karak	42	77	119
48.	Ibin Sina Street	Karak	43	46	89
49.	King Hussein Street	karak	46	58	104
50.	Prince Hassan Street	Karak	55	57	112
51.	Al Hammam Street	Salt	50	71	121
52.	Al khader Street	Salt	48	48	96
53.	King Abdullah II Street	Salt	90	91	181
54.	King Talal Street	Salt	85	64	149
55.	Prince Hamzeh Street	Salt	64	94	158
56.	Prince Eman Street	Salt	77	56	133
57.	Saed Abu Jaber Street	Salt	51	68	119
58.	Said Mustafa Al Slebi Street	Salt	62	40	102
59.	Saleh Almusher Street	Salt	63	50	113
60.	Queen Rania Street	Salt	31	42	73
	Total	6	3965	4070	8037

As Table 4.4 shows, monolingual signs are an important part of the LL, as will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

4.6 Ethnographic research methodology

Social researchers should have decisions about the targeted population, how it will be sampled and what type of questionnaire used (May, 2011: 102). Different types of questionnaires are used by social researchers: the mail or self-completion questionnaire, telephone survey and face-to-face interview (Aldridge & Levine, 2001; May, 2011). Many researchers employ qualitative interviewing in combination with other techniques such as observing and using documents and visual data as a method for data generation (Mason, 1997:35). It is infeasible to select a complete census of the whole population, so it is necessary to choose a sample of the population (Mason, 1997:84).

In the current LL project, both qualitative and quantitative research methods are combined in the sense that quantitative data are incorporated into qualitative ones, a ‘combined method’ of which participates in interpreting qualitative data (Silverman, 2001:

35). The field of LL is an instrument for analysis of multilingual communities in Jordan, as will be seen on monolingual and multilingual signs collected in the residential areas of minority groups in Chapter Five. Previous LL studies shed some light on minority language communities. Three major sources of information as stated by linguistic landscapers such as Garvin (2010) and Barni & Bagna (2011) are brought to the fore. The first is related to statistical information provided by surveys related to the multilingual communities in the HKJ, as has been already presented in Chapter Three, while the second refers to a questionnaire prepared to identify minority language vitality in daily life and its visibility in public spaces. The third is associated with finding out written signs that illustrate visibility of minority languages in the areas in which members of long-term minority groups live and work. This section includes research subjects, survey questionnaire and interview procedures.

4.6.1 The sample and its limitations

Even though LL signs are the main source of this study, the questionnaire is a supportive and additional source to the analysis of the findings and provides a qualitative dimension to the study. That is why the interview data does not contain a significant number of research subjects.

The sample of participants allowed the carrying out of 32 interviews and interactions with 19 and 13 respondents from long-term and short-term migrant communities respectively. On the basis of these interviews, complete details of language use in distinctive domains, attitudes and judgments about language shift and marginalisation of their languages in the LL were identified. In other words, detailed sociolinguistic information was collected on the minorities and their languages. Since the participants'

identities in this study should remain anonymous, Jordanian and non-Jordanian participants are coded based on demographic information, as shown in Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

Table 4.5: Jordanian participant codes created in relation to demographic data

Participant code⁵	Ethnic origin	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation
ARF68PSHW	ARmenian	Female	68	Primary School	HouseWife
ARM41SSGS	ARmenian	Male	41	Secondary School	GoldSmith
ARM46SSTR	ARmenian	Male	46	Secondary School	TRader
ARF47BDTE	ARmenian	Female	47	Bachelor Degree	TEacher
CHF35DDTE	CHechen	Female	35	Diploma Degree	TEacher
CHM78BDDC	CHechen	Male	78	Bachelor Degree	DoCtor
CHM17SSST	CHechen	Male	17	Secondary School	Student
CHM42SSSA	CHechen	Male	42	Secondary School	Shop Assistant
CIM58BDTE	Circassian	Male	58	Bachelor Degree	TEacher
CIF35DDSE	Circassian	Female	35	Diploma Degree	SEcretary
CIM74SSRE	Circassian	Male	74	Secondary School	REtired
CIM78PSRE	Circassian	Male	78	Primary School	REtired
KUM45BDNU	KUrd	Male	45	Bachelor Degree	NUrse
KUM69BDFM	KUrd	Male	69	Bachelor Degree	Financial Manager
KUF30BDEN	KUrd	Female	30	Bachelor Degree	ENgineer
TUM81PSME	TURk	Male	81	Primary School	MEchanic
TUF45BDTE	TURk	Female	45	Bachelor Degree	TEacher
TUF19UGST	TURk	Female	19	UnderGraduate	STudent
TUF68PSHW	TURk	Female	68	Primary School	HouseWife

Table 4.5 displays the participant codes formulated according to ethnic origin, gender, age, educational and occupational background. As shown in Table 4.5, 10 participants are males and 8 are females.

Table 4.6: Economic participants in relation to demographic data

Participant Code⁶	Nationality	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation
BEM30PSSU	BEngali	Male	30	Primary School	SUPervisor
BUF30BDRE	BUrmese	Female	30	Bachelor degree	REcorder
CNF27SSMA	ChiNese	Female	27	Secondary School	MAsseuse

⁵ Uppercase characters in addition to age displayed in numbers are used in each variable to code participants.

⁶ Uppercase characters in addition to age displayed in numbers are used in each variable to code participants.

INM26SSSU	INdian	Male	26	Secondary School	SUPervisor
INM39MDAC	INdian	Male	39	Master Degree	ACcountant
INF30SSMA	INdonesian	Female	30	Secondary School	MAid
INF46SSMA	INdonesian	Female	46	Secondary School	MAid
PAM23UGWO	PAkistani	Male	23	UnderGraduate	WOrker
PAM33MDTR	PAkistani	Male	33	Master Degree	TRader
FIF28SSMA	FIlipino	Female	28	Secondary School	MAid
FIF33BDMA	FIlipino	Female	33	Bachelor Degree	MAid
SIF57PSMA	Sri Lanka	Female	57	Primary School	MAid
SIF44PSMA	Sri Lanka	Female	44	Primary School	MAid

Drawing on 32 research subjects, the key questions of the questionnaire refer to language skills and code choice in social domains (Appendix III and IV). The remaining two questions are associated with the value of the immigrants' languages among the participants and their visibility in the LL.

Since the criterion for selecting the subjects is long-term and short-term migration, judgmental sampling is very useful for eliciting opinions and judgements from members of long-term and short-term migrant groups in Jordan (Marshall, 1996). In this view, the respondents are chosen for interpreting the limited visibility/disappearance of minority languages from the LL. As mentioned earlier, the sample is divided into two main groups: long-term and short-term migrant groups. The former is divided into five subgroups: Circassian, Chechen, Armenian, Turkish and Kurdish migrant groups. A survey questionnaire is administered to four subjects of the first four groups and three of the last. In several cases, the informants are reported to be proficient in more than one language, as discussed in Chapter Three. Both Tables 4.5 and 4.6 show the distribution of the sample according to ethnic origin/nationality, gender, age, occupation and education.

In official population censuses, statistics does not take into account the numbers of immigrant communities of Jordanian nationality. The same is true of economic foreign workers whose age groups, educational and occupational backgrounds are not officially considered. Contacts with potential participants were established via previously identified individuals from cultural organisations and companies who introduced the researcher as a

friend or colleague. This has made research subjects feel comfortable to partake in conducting interviews.

4.6.2 Survey questionnaire

The survey questionnaire contains four main sections. The first section of the questionnaire aim to elicit demographic facts about the participants: ethnic origin, gender, age, education and occupation. The second part of the questionnaire consists of open-ended questions related to the languages spoken, read and written and code choice in a set of social domains and settings. The third section involves a mix of closed-ended questions and open-ended questions to identify language practices that are conducive to minority language maintenance. The fourth section consists of closed-ended and open-ended questions about the visibility of certain languages in the LL.

The questionnaires are presented in Arabic and English (Appendix III and IV).The questionnaires were administered by the researcher. This widely used method ensures that all questions are answered to guarantee comparability. The responses to these questions are recorded in form of written notes in Arabic. The questionnaires are translated and saved as Microsoft Word documents (Appendix IX).

4.6.3 LL data

A mini-survey was conducted to collect monolingual and multilingual signs featuring minority languages in the linguistic landscapes of minority groups. The survey areas included two Circassian neighbourhoods in Amman, two Chechen neighbourhoods in Zarqa and Amman, an Armenian neighbourhood in Amman, Turkish and Kurdish charity associations, houses and stores in Amman and workplaces belonging to recently arrived migrant groups. On the one hand, the survey recorded 21 monolingual and 11 multilingual

signs belonging to older migrant groups. On the other hand, foreign workers' first languages were limited to Chinese appearing on commercial store fronts. LL items are divided into a number of categories: graffiti, institutional inscriptions, domestic signs, celebratory/commemorative signs and commercial signs.

To understand the readers' perceptions of code choices on signs, the researcher communicated with passers-by and members of minority groups. While recording data, the researcher engaged in conversations with a number of members of minority groups on the visibility of their first languages on signs collected. In neighbourhoods belonging to minority groups, for example, the researcher was accompanied by a senior member of the relevant minority group to explain the writings in the minority language. In addition, shopkeepers and passers-by were contacted to record their opinions about code choices and the semiotic aspects of signs. Equally important, the municipal councils were contacted to identify the municipal management of code choices in the LL. After reviewing municipal documents, it was found that municipal councils do not impose any language restrictions on signs.

Difficulties were occasionally experienced, especially when some shopkeepers did not allow the researcher to take photographs of their storefronts; some were so suspicious of taking photographs that they called the Public Security Forces, as shopkeepers thought of photographing their storefronts as a hostile behaviour. However, it is recommended to consider such ethnographic research as a principle in LL studies because it contributes to understanding code choices in relation to semiotic aspects of signs more deeply.

4.7 Conclusion

The central purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the methodology employed to gather data about visual multilingualism in the LL of Jordanian cities. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods are employed to conduct a comprehensive LL study in urban

Jordan partially based on previous LL studies (Backhaus, 2007; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Blackwood, 2011; Pavlenko, 2010; Reh, 2004; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010; Tufi, 2010).

As far as data collection procedure is concerned, ten streets were selected in each of six major Jordanian cities: Irbid, Salt, Zarqa, Amman, Karak and Aqaba. Adapting the data collection procedure of street distance selection followed by Tufi & Blackwood (2010) and Long & Comajoan (2012), each survey area was approximately a 100-metre stretch of each street selected, the distance of which was measured by counting steps. In categorising LL items, the unit of analysis, as articulated by Backhaus (2007), was used with an addition of stationary objects such as a parked car displaying monolingual or multilingual writing in a commercial street.

In the light of observations made by previous LL studies (Backhaus, 2007) and findings of a pilot study in Jerash, a typology of signs is designed for the current study to establish links between existing languages and scripts used, on the one hand, and themes and trends, on the other hand. In analysing signs in Chapters Five and Six, semiotic aspects of signs are introduced, including language combinations, 'code preference' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), translation and transliteration, visibility of multilingual writing (Reh, 2004) and signs displaying non-standard English. To interpret the underlying message of textually illustrative signs, this study will employ a semiotic approach, as suggested by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and Beasley & Danesi (2002) to unravel why 'non-textual techniques' are used together with textual ones.

Proper names are found to have impacts on the results of a conducted LL study whether they are included or excluded. Although it is difficult to arrive at an unequivocal solution (Edelman, 2009:153), the proper names were classified according to 'Analysis B', as suggested by Edelman (2009). Proper names were coded according to the etymology of

the proper names in the first place, while global brands whose original language is controversial such as ‘Pepsi’ and ‘Coca Cola’ were coded according to script (Edelman, 2009; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010).

To distinguish between scripts and languages, ‘monoscript’ and ‘multiscript’ are introduced into this LL study. Mixed codes are observed, including RA and AE. In terms of Arabic varieties, three main varieties of Arabic have been observed in the LL: MSA, CA and Jordanian Arabic.

Despite that LL data is the main source of the study, attitudinal data is a supportive and additional source to understand the findings more deeply. A questionnaire of four sections, as shown in Appendix III and IV, is intended for eliciting responses from members of migrant groups about the vitality and written presence of their minority languages in the Jordanian LL.

Chapter Five: The linguistic landscape of urban Jordan

5.1 Introduction

As shown in Chapter Three, many different languages/language varieties are used in Jordan such as CA, MSA, Jordanian Arabic, English, RA, AE, European languages and minority languages. Ten survey areas in each of six Jordanian cities were examined to identify the degree of multilingualism on signs.

In the discussion that follows, this chapter will focus on grouping findings according to themes and trends identified in the main data. These themes and trends are labelled as follows: (1) linguistic nationalism; (2) the deletion of Jordanian Arabic from the top-down LL; (3) religious discourse; (4) English and globalisation; (5) linguistic glocalisation; (6) European linguistic fetishes and tourism (7) and minority language marginalisation. It should be noted that the LL of Jordanian cities display many languages, so this chapter will concentrate on the most prominent languages and groups of languages/language varieties.

5.2 Linguistic nationalism

In this section, linguistic nationalism means the communicative and symbolic functions of MSA in articulating national identity in the LL. MSA featured on 1745 monolingual signs, 35 and 45 of which were municipal and institutional signs respectively, 1544 of which

were commercial signs, 70 of which were political signs and 51 of which were instances of graffiti. On multilingual signs, 300 and 68 were examples of municipal and institutional signs respectively, 3208 were commercial, four were political signs, six were religious signs and twelve were examples of graffiti (Quantitative results of existing languages and scripts on monolingual and multilingual signs are provided in Appendix V and VI).

The distribution of MSA in the LL reflects the language policy of the country. It seems that both top-down and bottom-up linguistic landscaping comply with the state's language policy. To use Spolsky's definition of language policy (2004), language practices and beliefs are largely affected by the importance of MSA in the construction of the national identity of Jordanians. The state intervention to consider MSA as the language variety of education, administration and other formal domains has also reinforced the central role of MSA in daily activities. These language beliefs have set the stage for the dominance of MSA on all types of signs belonging to governmental and non-governmental institutions, food stores, restaurants, pharmacies, electronics stores, bookshops, bakeries, and fashion stores and signs written by individuals such as political signs and graffiti. Within this section, the use of MSA on signs is examined in terms of: (a) official use and communicative function, (b) symbolic and communicative functions on commercial signs and (c) loyalty to the king as part of state nationalism.

Visibility of MSA on top-down signs is not only conceived as a marker of the state's official status, but also it is meant to fulfil informational purposes. The official status and instrumental function of MSA are therefore intended for enhancing the state's unity and national Arab identity in the LL. On top-down signs, MSA is used on monolingual signs and in conjunction with English and RA. The sign in Figure 5.1 is issued by Jordan's Public Security Directorate. The wording in MSA reads 'AALAAMEN AAL9AAM' (the

top line) and ‘AAIDAARET AASHURTEH AASIYAAHIYEH’ (the middle line) meaning ‘Public Security Directorate’ and ‘Tourist Police Department’ respectively.



Figure 5.1: A top-down sign featuring MSA and English (Amman)

The sign is an example of 'fragmentary multilingual writing', as put forward by Reh (2004), where MSA is more prominent than English by virtue of complete edition. From the perspective of 'code preference' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), MSA is also more salient due to top placement and larger characters. This suggests that MSA is firmly established as the language variety of the state, as it has been used as the 'preferred code' on monolingual and multilingual top-down signs (MSA is the 'preferred code' on 2449 top-down and bottom-up signs, which is quantitatively shown in Appendix VIII).

The same linguistic landscaping is followed by non-governmental public institutions. All monolingual and multilingual institutional inscriptions are inscribed in MSA. The spread of monolingual signs on top-down signs is to foster the dominant ideology of monolingualism for the Arab nation, even though English appears with MSA on many top-down signs, which reflect multilingual readership (see Section 5.5). Figure 5.2 is an example of inscriptions issued by non-governmental public institutions.



Figure 5.2: A non-governmental top-down sign featuring MSA (Karak)

The sign in Figure 5.2 reads ‘MOUNTADA AALWASATAYEH LILFIKAR WATHAQAAFEH, FIR9 AALKARAK’ meaning ‘Moderation forum for thought and culture, Alkarak branch’. This institution aims to deepen cultural communication and interaction and concentrate on the contemporary role of Arabs and Muslims in human civilisation. To introduce a socio-semiotic message to the public, multimodal devices are employed. In the middle of the sign, an image of an open book, which refers to the Qur’an, with a minaret in the middle, encircled by a yellow crescent, a traditional symbol of Islam, is presented with MSA wording.

The symbolic and instrumental functions of MSA have set the scene for its dominance on commercial signs, MSA is the dominant language on business name signs, information, advertisements, newspaper racks and multifunctional signs (see Appendix III and IV). A good name for businesses and entrepreneurs, for example, needs to choose an appropriate code for attracting social groups within the local community. In Figure 5.3, a monolingual sign that reads ‘AALMAJMOU9EH AALKAWANYIYEH

LITAJHEEZAAT ALMAKTABIYEH WALFANIYEH' meaning 'Universal Group for Technical and Office Equipment' is exclusively provided in MSA.



Figure 5.3: A business name sign featuring MSA (Amman)

MSA is employed on dynastic signs and political graffiti, all of which are monolingual signs, to promote loyalty to the King of Jordan, the language that unites Jordanians. In addition, patriotic signs that display loyalty to Jordan indirectly mean loyalty to the institution of the throne. In this sense, public spaces are dedicated to promoting the advantageous images of King Abdullah II as the protector of Jordan and as a decedent of the prophet Muhammad. This has been emphasised through the placement of his images with MSA in public spaces by municipalities and individuals alike.

Phillips (2013: 63) claims that king Abdullah II seeks to 'emphasise the institution of the monarchy rather just himself' and the use of the king's images on the streets of Jordan is meant to legitimise his rule. The King's images appear on store fronts or commercial walls by store owners to declare their loyalty, support and belonging to the royal family. Figure 5.4 shows a sign initiated by a shopkeeper who displays his support for the king; both linguistic and non-linguistic means were employed to present a readable and comprehensible sign (see Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996). This non-verbal message is supplemented by a verbal one that reads 'KUL AALWALAA WALINTIMAA,

MAHALAAT AAYNAAYEH LIMAWAAD ALBINAA' meaning 'all support and loyalty, Anaayeh stores for building materials'.



Figure 5.4: King Abdullah II, (Aqaba)

The question is why shopkeepers write 'We are loyal to the king - we sell building materials'. It can be suggested that they have to show that they comply with a basic requirement, i.e. unquestioned political patriotism. Therefore, such a statement of loyalty can increase the value of the merchandise in the eyes of customers. This type of sign is an example of commodification of shared values. This means that the shopkeeper exploits the popularity of the king among Jordanians for economic reasons sought out by including the store's name together with loyalty statements in MSA, as illustrated in Figure 5.4.

It has been a tradition that princes serve some military service in Jordan and outside Jordan. In Figure 5.5, the king is a symbol of Jordanian nationalism and portrayed as the guardian of Jordan via using multimodal devices. The king appears in a military uniform because royalty is closely linked to the military, an indication that the institution of the throne is the way to protect the country from dangers. MSA is perceived as the most effective medium to promote these nationalistic ideas. The loyalty statement reads 'MIN

SHA9BAK AALWAFII KUL 9AAM WAANTUM BIKHAYER MAWLAAY' meaning 'from your loyal people, we hope that you are well each year'.



Figure 5.5: A political sign featuring MSA (Aqaba)

The role of MSA in other types of political discourse aims to insert political messages into public consciousness. It provides information about the political position promoted by political parties and commercial enterprises towards national causes. To fulfil this function, MSA is used along CA to add more authenticity to the political message. It is observed that semiotic resources such as Arabic literature and Qur'anic verses are used pragmatically to legitimise the institution of the throne in Jordan.



Figure 5.6: MSA appearing with CA on a political sign (Aqaba)

The first three lines in red in Figure 5.6 reads ‘QILA LAIRAABII: LAQAD AASSBAHA RAGHEEFU ALKHUBZI BIDEENAAR! FAAJAAB: WALLAHI MAA HAMANII THAALIYEKA WALAW AASSBAHAT HABATU ALQAMHI BIDIINAAR AANAA AABUDU ALLAH KAMAA AAMARANII WAHWA YARZUQUNII KAMAA WAADANII’ meaning ‘It was said to a Bedouin: A loaf of bread now costs one Dinar. He answered back: I swear by God that I do not care about that even if a grain of wheat costs a dinar. I worship Allah as He has ordered me and He provides me with everything as He has promised me’. The poster ends with the Qur’anic verse that reads ‘RABII AAJ9AL HAATHAA AALBALADA AAMINAN WARZUQ AAHLAHU MIN AATHAMARAAT’ meaning ‘My Lord! Make this city secure and provide its people with the foods they need’. The poster is issued by a press called ‘Colours’ Corner Press’ as inscribed on the left part of the poster. During the events of the Arab Spring, the press publishing group created this political message with reference to Arabic literature indirectly to remind the public of how important it is to be loyal to the Hashemite throne. By doing so, the company aims to maintain customer loyalty through staying in contact with customers in times of crisis, deepening and motivating the spirit of state nationalism and loyalty to the Hashemite family.

5.3 The deletion of Jordanian Arabic from the top-down LL

The absence of Jordanian Arabic on top-down inscriptions is an effect of linguistic nationalism. On monolingual signs, Jordanian Arabic appeared on 126 signs, 81 of which were commercial signs and 45 were instances of graffiti. On multilingual signs, it appeared on 1416 commercial signs, one time on religious signs and thirteen on graffiti signs (Appendixes V and VI).

The less wide use of Jordanian Arabic in the LL can refer to language practices and beliefs that Jordanian Arabic is more related to informal displays of written texts, including but not limited to business name signs, multifunctional signs, advertisements and graffiti. This means that language practices are influenced by the belief that Jordanian Arabic is the stigmatised language variety of identification by which meanings of intimacy and regional identity are triggered. Jordanian Arabic is mainly stigmatised because it is closely linked to illiteracy. The stigmatisation of Jordanian Arabic is carried out via the state's language policies such as the adoption of MSA as the medium of primary and secondary schooling. That is why most occurrences on bottom-up signs are instances of proper names and common expressions among members of the local community.

The dynamics that give rise to the use of Jordanian Arabic in the LL are associated with an emphasis on local culture and tradition. The use of visual Jordanian Arabic also emphasises the centrality of the local culture and indirectly aims to dispel the notion of linguistic stigmatisation as expressed by the top-down language practices in the LL. Its visibility in the LL can also be attributed to 'commodification' purposes (Heller, 2003). In Figure 5.7, the MSA lettering in red reads as 'MATTAIYEM' meaning 'restaurants', while the Jordanian Arabic wording in bigger, yellow characters reads as 'AKLAAT AAHALEENAA' meaning 'our families' meals'. To add more authenticity to signs in Jordanian Arabic, there is a trend for Jordanian Arabic to appear alongside MSA.



Figure 5.7: Jordanian Arabic employed as a preferred code on a business name sign (Amman)

The statistics shows that Jordanian Arabic is the preferred code on 293 bottom-up signs (see Appendix VIII). The restaurant owner emphasises his preference for Jordanian Arabic by virtue of larger letters. By indexing local culture and tradition through Jordanian Arabic, the owner seeks to publicise Jordanian cuisine served in this restaurant, especially ‘Mansaf’, the most distinctive Jordanian food. The colour yellow here represents the most distinctive Jordanian dish, whose colour is often yellow when served.

Due to strong attachment to local identities, there might be a shift from the use of MSA to Jordanian Arabic in a globalising context. On commercial signs, Figure 5.8 that reads ‘LAYSH LAA SUUBERMAARKET’ is intended to attract the local community through the use of the local language variety.



Figure 5.8: Jordanian Arabic appearing with English on a business name sign (Amman)

In Figure 5.8, it seems that the shopkeeper finds local culture to be a way of self-identification, aligning himself and manifesting allegiance with the local community's distinctive traditions and culture. 'Duplicating multilingual writing', as put forward by Reh (2004), is employed for 'linguistic commodification' purposes to introduce an element of Jordanian identity within the context of globalisation. The link between language and economy or linguistic commodification as defined by Heller (2003) can provide an explanation for the presence of English in 'duplicating multilingualism'. Cenoz & Gorter

(2009) come to the same conclusion that there is a conscious decision to include English on multilingual signs, as presented in Figure 5.8 (see Section 5.5).

Local themes and taboos might be reflected in Jordanian Arabic graffiti. Jordanian Arabic is the most observed code for expressing feelings, as in the tags of ‘BAHIBAK’, ‘KHAAWAH’ and ‘YAGHASI’, respectively meaning ‘I love you’, ‘(we gained it) by force’ and ‘O my sweetheart, you are so tough on me’. Proper names might be written with similar expressions, such as ‘AASHIG LAWAHIDH’, found under a bridge in Amman. Figure 5.9 illustrates a sexist graffito intended to establish contact for a sexual encounter through a phone number followed by the Jordanian Arabic word ‘ALSHARMATTAH’ meaning ‘prostitution’, ‘hhh’, indicating laughter, and ‘LILBANAAT FAQATT’, meaning ‘Only for girls’.

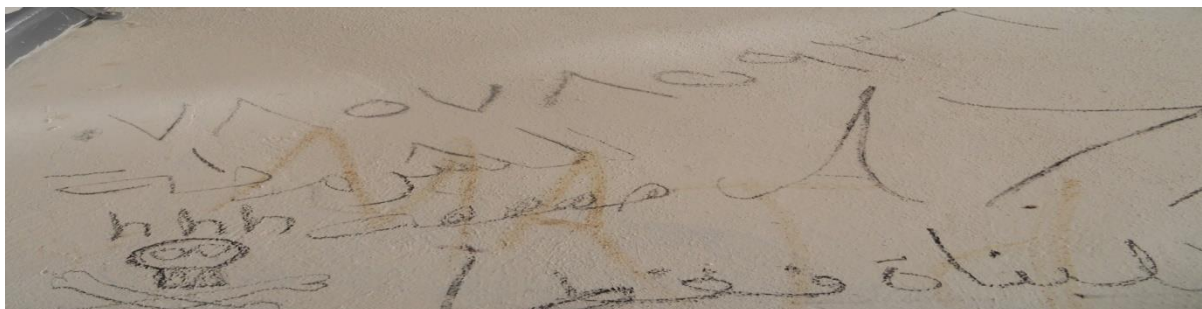


Figure 5.9: Jordanian Arabic appearing alongside MSA on a sexist graffito (Amman)

This is supported by a drawing of a gang's possible logo, as indicated by a human skull above two long bones set in an 'x'-mark. In the light of observations made in the LL, this example of graffiti could be ‘transgressive for municipal authorities’, ‘but fully authorised within a neighbourhood youth gang’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:162). This specimen of graffiti is intended to celebrate gang members and their exploits, which is similar to the function of gang graffiti, as examined by Piller (2010). In addition, sexist

graffiti are so socially stigmatised that their visibility is limited to an alley in Wakalat Street in Amman, one of the most prestigious streets where trendy and prestigious shops are a magnet for high-class and affluent shoppers.

5.4 Religious discourse

Qur'anic literacy attempts to spread knowledge about Allah and promote 'Islamic codes and practices in order to create good Muslims' (Diallo, 2012: 94). The language variety used in religious discourse on signs is normally CA, even though other Arabic varieties in conjunction with CA might be used on signs in 'complementary multilingual writing' to deliver religious messages. The religious LL of Jordanian cities includes semiotic resources such as Qur'anic verses, Hadith, different Arabic calligraphic styles, images of sacred places and Qur'anic words.

Qur'anic literacy in CA is used by social actors to fulfil their religious functions. The inscriptions encountered in the LL are significantly monolingual. On monolingual signs, CA appeared on 216 religious signs, five religious graffiti. On multilingual signs, CA appeared on 27 commercial signs, four political signs, six religious signs, a municipal sign and an institutional sign. From analysing the language practices on signs, a functional pattern of the use of CA emanates. These functions include (a) reminding people of Allah and the principles of Islam, (b) symbolising cultural identity of shop keepers to attain economic success and (C) rejecting sinful behaviours from the lens of Islam.

To remind people of Allah's words and presence, religious sign writers act as disseminators of Allah's words in CA. Qur'anic literacy practices are closely linked to religious signs, which reflect the history of a renowned culture where the Qur'an and 'Hadith' represent important aspects of Arab-Islamic identity and the daily lives of Jordanians.

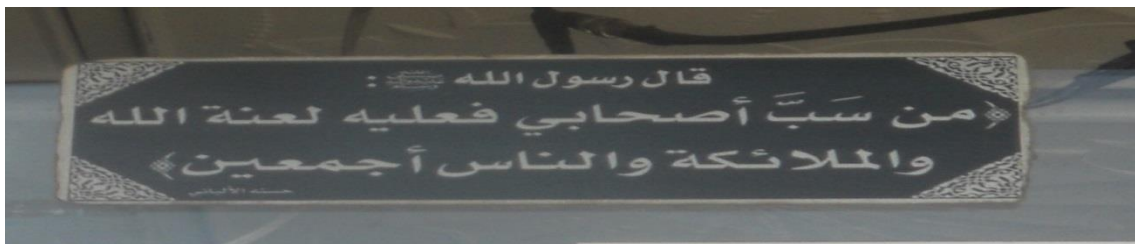


Figure 5.10: A religious sign featuring CA (Zarqa)

The sign in Figure 5.10 means that ‘The messenger of Allah said that those who insult my companions are cursed by Allah, the angels and all people’. The bookstore owner realises the esteem accorded to the printing of ‘Hadith’ in Arabic alphabet and its emplacement on his bookshop’s glass front. From a pragmatic perspective, the bookshop owner negotiates a basic religious statement that people should comply with, i.e. unquestioned devotion to the teachings of Islam. It can be suggested the emplacement of this religious text on the store front is a pragmatic decision to interject religious messages into public consciousness more effectively.

In the examination of monolingual religious graffiti and multilingual religious signs, they unveil the ritualistic and public aspect of religion (see Appendixes III and IV). Muslim conservative societies are willing to adopt rituals and practices as revealed in the Qur’an and the teachings of the prophet Muhammad, as expressed clearly in Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12. Figure 5.11 illustrates an example of religious graffiti featuring CA.



Figure 5.11: A religious graffito featuring CA (Amman)

The sign in Figure 5.11 reads ‘AAITHKUR ALLAH’ meaning ‘remind yourself of the Lord when you forget’. The emplacement of this sign, which is recorded under a bridge, appears in large, black Arabic characters for passers-by to remember Allah. The message complies with Allah’s commandments in the Qur’an. ‘Dhikr’, the most elaborate ritual in the Qur’an, is recited in CA in accordance with the prophetic way of remembering Allah as discussed earlier.

The religious rituals of Islam are regarded by many shopkeepers as essential to the faith of Islam, as shown on language practices on pillars of Islam signs. While Qur'anic verses and Hadith come at the header of religious signs, MSA is used to remind customers and passers-by of religious devotion to the five key principles of Islam, as practiced by shopkeepers. The first line of the sign in Figure 5.12 that is solely inscribed in CA reads as ‘AAIN AASSALAATA KANAT 9LAA AALMOUMINEEN KITAABAN MAWQOUTAA’ meaning ‘That the prayer has been a book set in fixed hours on the believers’. The rest of the lines are written in MSA as ‘YATAWAQAF AAL9AMAL QABALA AALAATHAAN BIKHAMS DAQAAYEQ’ meaning ‘Work stops five minutes before the call for ATTHAN’. On the left side of the bottom, there appears a

picture of the prophet Muhammad Mosque along with its name in Arabic: ‘AALMASJED AALNABAWII AALSHAREEF’.



Figure 5.12: A religious sign featuring both CA and MSA (Salt)

Although the sign in Figure 5.12 is extensively religious, it points to the need to highlight the mutual relationship between CA and commodification of shared religious practices. This means that the value of these language practices can be understood within the notions of religious self-presentation that is intended to accommodate different types of customers and increase the merchandise in their eyes through the Qur'anic aesthetic appeal of writing on top placement and an image of the prophet Muhammad Mosque on the left position of the sign.

It is noticed that CA is occasionally used as a business naming language, especially on restaurants and stores for women's Islamic clothing. Religious words have meanings to those who use them. In such a context, such words symbolise Islam as a religion. Since CA has religious connotations, it reflects the identity of the store's owner as a person of religious devotion, which might attract customers of shared religious beliefs. To attain this goal, the writer uses other varieties in smaller characters to comply with the needs of young customers who may be visually attracted to Roman script as trendy and modern, as will be discussed in Section 5.6.



Figure 5.13: CA appearing with MSA and RA on a business name sign (Irbid)

The business name sign in Figure 5.13 reads ‘MATTAAIYEM AASHAAKREEN’ meaning ‘The Thankful Restaurants’. The choice of the word ‘AASHAAKREEN’ is attributed to thankfulness in the Qur’an, as God told Moses: ‘O Musa! Verily I have chosen thee above mankind by My messages and by My speaking; so hold fast thou that which I have given thee, and be of the thankful’ (Chapter 7, verse 144). In the light of the principle of cultural identity, as proposed by Ben-Rafael (2009), the business name sign is transformed as a space of cultural identity; the use of the word ‘AASHAAKREEN’ is to assure customers of a shared cultural identity and draw their attention to the quality of meals and foods prepared in accordance with Islamic laws. These meanings are further emphasised through the size and placement of the print that could be first read by pedestrians (see Scollon & Scollon, 2003).

Rejecting behaviours that are not consistent with the teachings of Islam is a very important function of Qur’anic literacy in multilingual writing. The multilingual graffiti in Figure 5.14 is a typical example of how graffiti is employed to deliver religious messages of Islam. To fulfil this function, the graffiti designer practices code switching. The use of CA – with its links to other Arabic varieties- is a linguistic decision to deliver a significant religious message; it emphasises the need to communicate with people speaking different

varieties. The involvement of code-switching practices indicates that the sign writer is aware of the fact that Jordanian people might use more than one Arabic variety while communicating, so the writer appeals to the authority of CA, MSA and Jordanian Arabic to deliver the message more effectively.



Figure 5.14: A graffito featuring Jordanian Arabic, CA and MSA (Amman)

In accordance with the geosemiotics theoretical framework of Scollon & Scollon (2003), Lynn & Lea (2005) highlight that form and content of graffiti is as significant for their interpretation as the positioning, time and authorship of graffiti. The emplacement of this graffito in Figure 5.14 is functional in the sense that it is inscribed in Wakalat Street where socio-religious violations might be committed. It might be the religious background of the graffiti writer that makes such an example of graffiti available on the walls of commercial streets. As Figure 5.14 illustrates, three Arabic varieties, namely Jordanian Arabic, CA and MSA are employed to write a convincing message, a call for not drinking alcoholic drinks. The writer starts with the Jordanian Arabic expression in the first line in red that reads ‘HARAAM 9ALAYK’ meaning ‘it is a sin on you’ and switches to CA in a religious expression commonly used among religious people, which reads as ‘AAITAQII ALLAH AAZAWAJAL WALAA TA9SII ALLAH FII AAMRIYHI’ meaning ‘be afraid of Allah and do not disobey His orders’. The writer eventually switches to MSA by asking a

question ‘AAM ALAYKA AAN TASHRABA ALMASHROUBAAT ALROUHIYEH’ meaning ‘or do you have to drink alcoholic drinks’. Such language practices are motivated by a desire to change offensive social behaviours, which happen due to globalisation that has brought Westernised characters about.

5.5 English and globalisation

English is the second most prominent language after MSA on both monolingual and multilingual signs. English featured on 1431 monolingual signs, 1403 of which were commercial signs, 26 of which were graffiti and two of which were municipal signs. On multilingual signs, 287 and 58 municipal and institutional signs respectively featured English, while 2248 commercial signs and seven graffiti featured English.

In light of Spolsky’s model of language policy (2004), it can be suggested that the fact that English is widely spread on both bottom-up and top-down signs reflects conscious language decisions on the part of the state and the local community to support the presence of English in the LL. English has a central multi-functional role in moulding the LL of urban Jordan. The aesthetics of using English in the LL emerges a number of functions and trends, including 'linguistic instrumentalism' (Wee, 2003), corporate globalisation, social prestige and Western values, 'elite and sub-elite literacies'.

The visual regulatory environment reinforces the advantageous images of English on municipal and institutional signs. This complies with implicit and stated aims of English instruction in the HKJ to produce a cultured and useful citizen through the ability to read and write (Ministry of Education, 1969; 2005). It is observed that the vast majority of visual English occurred on multilingual signs, while some monolingual English signs were reserved for parking signs such as the symbol 'P' for parking. The sign in Figure 5.15, a typical example of ‘duplicating multilingual writing’ (Reh, 2004), represents a state

institutional inscription whose original text is provided in MSA for both larger wording and vertical placement; a copy of the main version is presented in English. The English translation reinforces the image of English as the global medium to communicate with the outside world.



Figure 5.15: English appearing alongside MSA on a government institutional inscription (Aqaba)

This linguistic message is supplemented by the coat of arms of Jordan whose top placement indicates a state institution. It represents the emblem of the country and provides historical and political information on the foundation of the kingdom. It mainly consists of the royal Hashemite crown symbolising the dynasty of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The falcon stands for the power of the royal family resting on the throne. Behind the left and right wings of the falcon, there appear two flags that symbolise the Great Arab Revolution first sparked by Ali Ben Alhusein, the great grandfather of King Abdullah II.

Although MSA is the prominent language on top-down signs (Appendix VIII), this spatial positioning of languages is found reversed on some municipal signs where English functions as the prominent code by virtue of size of wording, as demonstrated in Figure

5.16. In Karak, the common feature of street name signs is the visual salience of English and RA by virtue of larger font sizes.



Figure 5.16: A municipal sign featuring English as the prominent code (Karak)

It might be argued that the municipal council of the city realises the importance of English in promoting tourism in Karak, one of the most historical cities in Jordan; this is manifested in the presence of Karak Citadel first built by the crusaders in 1132 as well as the shrines of the Prophet Muhammad's companions. All these historical facts can account for the use of English as a preferred code on some street name signs.

On information, business and instruction signs, English is intended for both referential and appealing purposes. In conveying the same message in two different languages, shop keepers might have the intention to give an instruction to different linguistic communities, namely members of the Arabic-speaking community, non-Arab foreign workers and tourists, as shown in 5.17.



Figure 5.17: English and MSA in covert multilingual writing (Amman)

Corporate globalization is widely observed on brand signs, business name signs, advertisements and product labels. The global use of English in many domains, especially the commercial domain, has given Roman script a global appeal and connections. It seems that the visibility of Roman script in the commercial domain is eye-catching and appealing to the quality of services and products provided by businesses. The advertisement in Figure 5.18 is an instance of ‘fragmentary multilingualism’, whose complete text is written in English, while part of text is inscribed in MSA. The MSA text reads ‘SANA9OUD BA9DA KHAMASA AASHARA DAQEEQEH’ meaning ‘We will be back after 15 minutes’. The question is why English functions as the original language of the sign. The answer is twofold; a possible explanation for this linguistic practice is the fact that this sign belongs to a newly established store for personal computers in a newly established commercial part of Mecca Street in Zarqa.

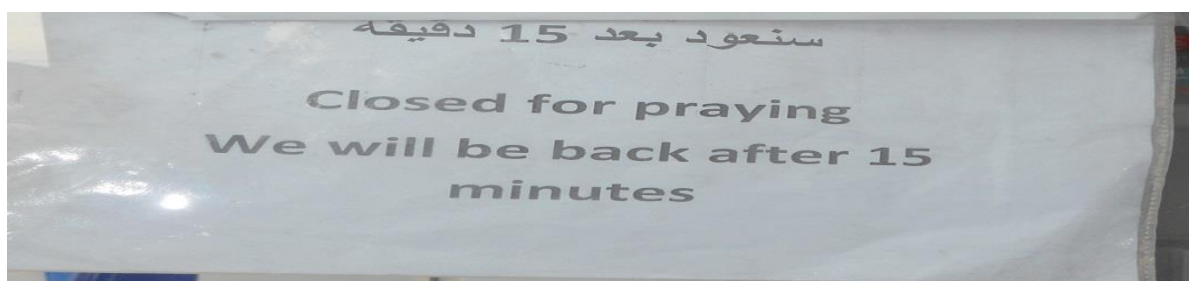


Figure 5.18: An advertisement displaying fragmentary multilingualism in English and MSA (Zarqa)

To promote products available in the store, English seems to be economically closely linked to success, modernity and good quality (see Cenoz & Gorter, 2009). The wide spread of English is motivated by the power of globalisation. This means that the

influence of English as the language of globalisation has an impact on the decision made by the shopkeeper to rationalise the importance of English by virtue of a complete English edition. English seems to be part of the store's advertising appeal and an effective means of communicating the value of the products sold in the store.

Not only are many foreign brands and trademarks presented in English such as 'Western Union', 'Money Express', 'MasterCard', 'Google', 'National Express', and others, but also national branding is often provided in English such as 'National Paints', 'Arab American Express' (Aramex), and 'Jet'. The wide spread of English has made it possible that English functions as the language of brand slogans as in this case of 'Western Union' slogans that might be inscribed in English as 'money transfer' and 'Express Money' ones as 'simple, fast, and safe'. This supports what has been highlighted by Taylor-Leech (2012), who stresses that 'brand advertising is another of the many features of English in global advertising'. The author shows his observations through discussing the 'Western Union' brand which is found to be in the areas the company operates (Kasanga, 2010; Taylor-Leech, 2012). The same brand is everywhere in the commercial streets of Jordan, as shown in Figure 5.19

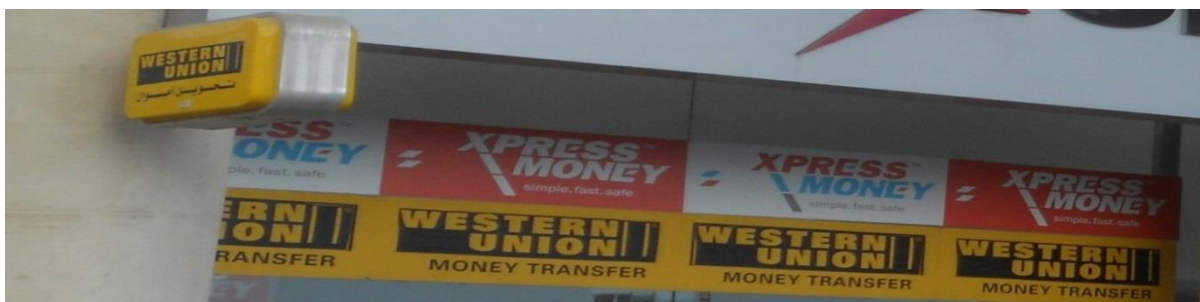


Figure 5.19: 'Western Union' brand featuring English and MSA (Amman)

While the company name in yellow lettering is placed on a black background on a yellow background, factual information that reads ‘TAHWEEL AAMWAAL’ and is translated on other signs in the LL as ‘money transfer’ is provided on a yellow background.

The high presence of written English on other commercial signs such as business name signs is due to the mutual relation between English and success in marketing (see Appendixes III and IV). In Figure 5.20, MSA and English are reserved for a sign belonging to ‘BANK AALAAISKAAN’.



Figure 5.20: A business name sign featuring English and MSA (Irbid)

The Housing Bank, a commercial bank headquartered in Amman, has many branches throughout Jordanian cities. It seems that the bank realises the linguistic importance of MSA and English in attracting customers within demographic and globalising contexts.

The wide spread of English in public life has made it possible that English and Roman script are used as popular mediums for expressing fondness in Western culture, especially among affluent classes. English is used to reflect local taboos and themes. This theme is noticed on graffiti. The use of English on graffiti is meant to express feelings. Sexism is one of the major themes available on graffiti. On the one hand, Roman script is the most prevalent script on sexist graffiti for eight occurrences (see Appendixes III and IV), due to the wide spread of English as a global language involving a conscious

linguistic landscaping by its users. Figure 5.21 shows how Roman script dominates sexist graffiti.



Figure 5.21: A sexist graffito featuring Roman script (Amman)

The emplacement of the sign in Figure 5.21 is very important in understanding why Roman script is used for sexist graffiti. Most sexist graffiti are found in a wealthy and prestigious district in Amman as discussed earlier. Wakalat Street is an area for affluent classes to come for shopping and entertainment. These classes are possibly more exposed to Western culture, which might give an explanation about why most sexist graffiti are written in Roman script as a sign of a more developed culture. As Jordanians' language contact with foreign people increases for globalisation, young generations are expected to get accustomed to new ways of thinking to the extent that young Jordanians are willing to imitate not only Westerners' social behaviours, but also their linguistic ones.

'In any case, English becomes so rapidly part of the local that it is far less clear than it might appear what it means to say something in English' (Pennycook, 2007:115). In Jordan, as other countries in the 'Expanding Circle', the 'Inner circle' Englishes, especially American and British English, serve as linguistic standards. The occurrence of grammatically, lexically and orthographically non-standard expressions in bottom-up and

top-down signage shows how valuable a standard form of English in Jordan is. It is noticed that most of these occurrences are non-innovative; this means that a lack of English language proficiency is the major cause for the occasional presence of non-standard English expressions on signs. Most of the examples are easily noticed by educated people, who might judge inscriptions featuring such a non-standard variety of the English language as socially inferior when observed. From the perspective of ‘grassroots literacy’, there is a gap between the language practices of ordinary members of the local communities and those of elite literacies (Blommaert, 2008; 2013).

At the orthographic level, most of the occurrences occur in the domain of commerce, particularly on signs belonging to food stores and mobile stores. With respect to the reasons behind the two patterns, they would be associated with a lack of English language proficiency rather than an emergence of new English. Sign producers in the LL are not expected to be very competent in English, even though it might be suggested that such uses are innovative. This can be easily identified by those who are exposed to a great deal of English acquisition as a foreign or second language. In Figure 5.22, the word ‘planning’ is misspelt on a governmental sign in the LL of Karak. Highly educated people have the ability to identify such non-standard forms; the elite reader might not display tolerance towards such misspelt forms when he understands that it is issued by a governmental institution.



Figure 5.22: An example of English misspelt words on a top-down sign (Karak)

At the morpho-syntactic level, there are diverse types of non-standard English expressions. The non-standard use of the apostrophes might sometimes be seen when the plurals are involved such as the misuse of ‘Jordanian womens union’ instead of ‘Jordanian women’s union’. The same applies to the misuse of the imperative verb ‘enter’ to have the exact meaning of ‘MADKHAL’ meaning in English ‘entrance’. Such non-standard forms not only appear on commercial signs, but also they occasionally appear on top-down signs, as in Figure 5.23, which displays a sign belonging to the Jordanian Women’s Union.



Figure 5.23: An institutional sign featuring non-standard English forms (Karak)

The Jordanian Women’s Union (JWU), headquartered in Amman, is a non-governmental, democratically elected organization that is committed to improving the status of women. It seems that language interference between English and Arabic contributes to the non-capitalisation of the initials of the proper nouns and absence of the possessive apostrophe. At the morpho-syntactic level, it can be argued that the author does not draw a distinction between common and proper nouns. The text is socially stigmatised when such writing practices are understood against the background of elite literacies

(Blommaert, 2008; 2013); these language practices might also be a source of ridicule and laughter, given the above sign is produced by an institution established in 1945 before Jordan gained its independence from Great Britain.

At the lexical level, it is observed that there are some non-standard English collocations. Sign producers, who seem to be non-native users of English in the ‘Expanding Circle’, as suggested by Kachru (1986; 1992), seem to be responsible for translating the text into English. That is why signs displaying non-standard translations might be presented in the LL, examples of which might be a source of ridicule and laughter because foreign readers might not be able to understand the intended meaning. This results from the widening gap between the language practices of ordinary people and the educated elite (Blommaert, 2008; 2013). In Figure 5.24, the sign producer does not distinguish between ‘pull’ and ‘push’; it is expected that he translates ‘AAIDFA9’ to ‘push’ rather than ‘pull’, a misrepresentation of the intended meaning.



Figure 5.24: Fake covert multilingual signs showing a non-standard English translation (Aqaba)

This linguistic behaviour might be misleading to foreign tourists because there will be a difference between what the sign says and means.

5.6 Linguistic glocalisation

In this section, linguistic glocalisation refers to the mixing of Arabic and English elements on signs. Two mixed codes are commonly used in the LL: RA and AE. The former appeared on 1191 signs, of which 737 were commercial signs (only 96 monolingual signs), 61 (48 monolingual signs) were examples of graffiti, 278 and nineteen municipal and institutional signs featured on RA respectively. The latter was visible on 980 commercial signs (only 43 monolingual signs), eighteen (eleven monolingual signs) and ten were municipal and institutional signs respectively. The introduction of RA and AE into the LL reflects a conscious language policy on the part of their users and advocates to fulfil a number of functions. Within this section, the use of RA and AE on signs are examined in terms of: (a) advocating linguistic tolerance and glocal identity, (b) promoting local names and cultural references and (c) creating new functions, including lexical needs and euphemisms.

RA could be connected to both Jordanian local culture and Western values to reflect a dual cultural and linguistic identity shared among its advocates, especially young generations. This is apparent on advertisements with a pragmatic view to attracting young generations to the services provided by commercial enterprises and companies. Figure 5.25 illustrates the use of RA on a commercial multilingual sign.



Figure 5.25: An advertisement featuring RA with English and Jordanian Arabic (Amman)

The authorship of this trilingual sign is affected by the sign producer's perceptions of the intended readers' sociolinguistic competence. It seems that the sign designer is fully aware of his targeted readers. The selection of English as the main written text of the advertisement is an embodiment of the promoters' and customers' fondness in English. These meanings intersect with the identity of the local community through the incorporation of the RA single word 'WAIN' meaning 'where', originally a Jordanian Arabic word transliterated into Roman script. RA appears in slightly larger characters than the local variety in Arabic alphabet. As Figure 5.25 illustrates, the poster includes a drawing of a head scarf. The company has chosen its emblem to be the red cotton scarf with 'Iqal', a circular black band worn around the head, known as 'Hatteh Waliqaal', commonly worn by traditional men residing in Jordan. The importance of this traditional head scarf comes from a set of cultural meanings that it bears: Jordanian national identity, generosity and good deeds.

On business name signs, both RA and AE function as a symbol of linguistic tolerance and Western values. In Figure 5.26, a prime example of 'duplicating multilingual writing', a business name is presented in AE and English. The use of AE is meant to assert the importance of modernity, good quality and reconciliation with the local community via using AE in white Arabic letters, whilst English is used in smaller black uppercase letters on a red background.



Figure 5.26: A business name displaying AE and English (Irbid)

In branding, using RA reflects the tendency of companies operating in the HKJ to reflect a global and local character. National companies thus demonstrate willingness to use two codes, namely RA and English, which are primarily intended to be read by people who have knowledge of these two languages, particularly the local people and foreign tourists. Two essential parts of the message are delivered in two different codes, which correspond to ‘complementary multilingual writing’ as termed by Reh (2004). As illustrated in Figure 5.27, ‘mada’, the RA brand name in purple, denotes a business proper name, while the pink lettering in English specifies the slogan of the cellular telecommunications company. Whilst the company uses English as a way of advertising the brand, the linguistic mixture of the brand itself has a symbolic value for both local culture and globalisation.



Figure 5.27: RA appearing alongside English on brand name signs (Aqaba)

Similarly, it seems that graffiti writers use RA to associate their characters with meanings of ‘originality’ and ‘modernity’ (see Al-Tamimi & Gorgis, 2007). The most common type of graffiti involves ‘tags’ where the writer signs his name on a wall of

residential and commercial areas or on transport hubs such as bridges. The graffito in Figure 5.28 shows how walls of commercial streets are used for self-identification purposes.

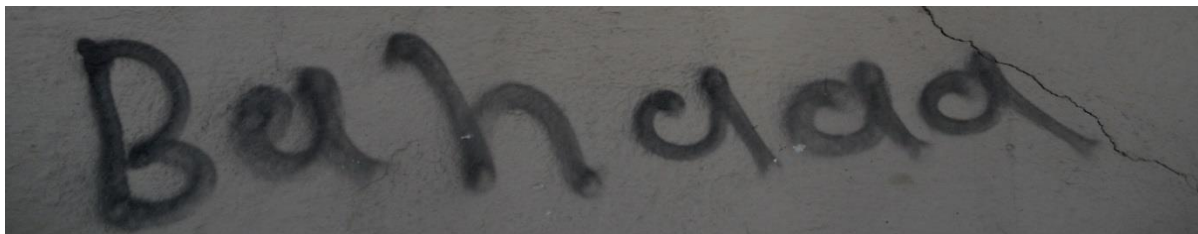


Figure 5.28: A graffito featuring RA (Karak)

The mixing of Arabic and Roman script on municipal signs and multifunctional signs is a strategic choice to promote local names and cultural references through transliterating MSA proper names into Roman script. To address and communicate with non-Arabic speaking people, it seems that sign writers tend to incorporate cultural references, especially proper names, into apparently English main text. This means that the municipal actors tend to include cultural references to be analysed and interpreted by the targeted readers, especially tourists and foreign workers. Figure 5.29 indirectly indicates the importance of cultural references through the replacement of ‘AALKHADRAA’ meaning ‘the green’ in the upper sign by ‘AALKHADER’, a historical figure whose story with the prophet Moses is mentioned in the Qur’an.



Figure 5.29: An older and newer version of a street sign (Karak)

On the one hand, the upper sign that underwent complete corrosion that turned it into a brown colour is solely provided in MSA. On the other hand, the lower sign is a trilingual sign where RA has a prominent position over English and MSA by virtue of top placement and size of larger characters. This sign denotes traces of the state's language policy change from monolingual linguistic landscaping to multilingual linguistic landscaping such as to increase the use of English on street signs.

The transliteration of Arabic into Roman script on older and newer versions of signs can trace the historical and political development of the HKJ. This can be seen on top-down signs, as illustrated in Figure 5.30.



Figure 5.30: An older and newer version of a street name sign (Irbid)

The Arabic wording in the lower sign reads 'SHARI9 AALMALIK 9ABDULLAH', whereas the upper version reads 'SHARI9 AALMALIK 9ABDULLAH AATHAANI'. When comparing the upper and lower signs in Figure 5.29, several points can be observed. These two signs reflect remnants of the historical development and record the modern history of the city; each sign is inscribed in a different period. More specifically, a street name change gives societal information about the presence of two kings in Jordan in two different eras. The newer version was installed after king Abdullah II succeeded to the throne, whereas the older version had been affixed to the wall before that. However, other features may make the older sign visibly older. Unlike the older version of the sign, the cleanliness of the newer edition enhances its visibility; the newer sign appears bright and newly painted, whereas the older one looks dim, dirty, not newly engraved and nailed to the wall. Another point refers to the correction of the abbreviation of 'street', which might be analysed in terms of signs displaying non-standard English (This has been discussed in Section 5.5). This finding is consistent with that of Backhaus (2007), who demonstrates that growing competence in English and foreign languages in relation to newer editions of coexisting signs is noticeable. As street name signs issued by the state, a Roman transliteration of the proper names is combined with an English abbreviation for the word 'street', in addition to the English word 'King'.

Innovative function might be the reason behind the use of AE on advertisements and many multifunctional signs. This is apparent in the use of product names and new technical words such as 'keyboard', 'laser mouse', 'software' and 'hardware'. Figure 5.31 shows a multilingual advertisement where AE is embedded in a MSA dominant text. The text reads 'JUBNAT GREEN LAAND' (first line) and 'THAMAANIYET QITTA9

AARBA9EH BIKHAMS WATISOUN QIRSH' meaning 'Greenland cheese' and '8 portions/4 Cheeses with 95 pence'.

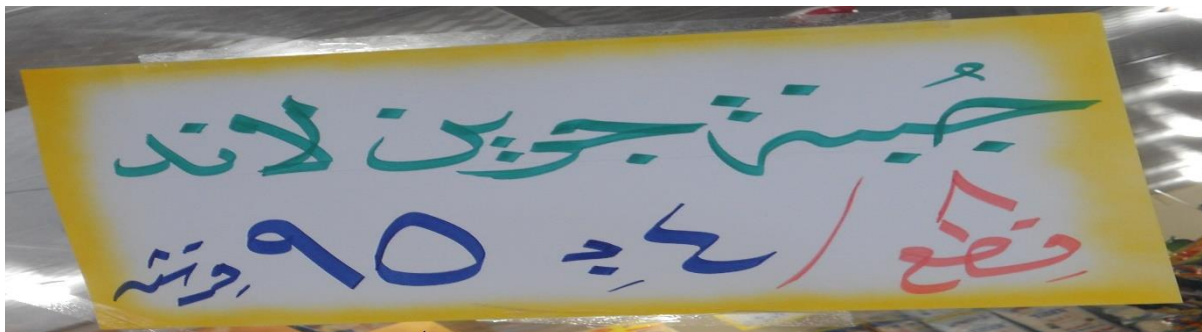


Figure 5.31: AE appearing alongside MSA on an advertisement

Euphemisms may be used to avoid what might be considered culturally 'unpleasant'. It is clear that Islamic and Arab culture imposes restrictions on certain topics and issues (see Alkhatib, & Sabbah, 2008) Thus, using English words in Arabic script is a linguistic decision to overcome the use of 'taboo' words in the LL. These words include 'lingerie' and 'underwear'. The text in Figure 5.32 reads 'NEW FASHION' (first line) and 'ISPOURAAAT, AAKHISAAYOUN JHAZZAAT 9ARAAYES, LINGERIE' (third line) meaning 'sportswear, specialists in wedding dresses and accessories, lingerie'. As Figure 5.32 shows, the word 'lingerie' is used for a societal need because using the MSA equivalent 'MALAABIS DHAKHLIYEH' and the Jordanian Arabic offensive use of 'KALAASYEEN' are considered 'taboo' in a predominantly religious community, especially the vast majority of the customers of the fashion store are women.



Figure 5.32: AE appearing alongside English and MSA on a multifunctional sign (Karak)

5.7 European linguistic fetishes and tourism

The European languages, including French (113 occurrences, 46 of which are monolingual signs), German (46 occurrences, 28 of which are monolingual signs), Italian (43 occurrences, nineteen of which are monolingual signs), Turkish (29 occurrences, fourteen of which are monolingual signs), Spanish (twenty occurrences, seventeen of which are monolingual signs), and Russian (two occurrences on multilingual signs) have a presence in the commercial domain. The vast majority of these occurrences appeared on brand name signs and business name signs (Appendixes V and VI). It is observed that the vast majority of the occurrences of these languages on multilingual signs are associated with ‘complementary multilingual writing’ (Appendix VIII). Haarmann (1986) uses the term ‘impersonal multilingualism’ to describe such a use of foreign languages in proper names. In general, it could be argued that the visibility of European languages reflects a set of symbolic meanings rather than referential ones, as claimed by Kelly-Holmes (2005). The language practices and beliefs suggest that these languages appear to have prestige in advertising in the HKJ. Many brands are presented in French such as ‘Rivage’, a national

brand, ‘Hansgrohe’ and ‘Siemens’, German brands, and ‘Provinas’ and ‘Vestel’, respective Spanish and Turkish brands. The majority of Italian, French and German occurrences are proper names. Fashion and design constitute an essential component of Italy’s cultural life and elegance and perfumes of France’s cultural life. Germany products are well-known for their solidity and reliability. Spanish products are also of high quality. As regards Turkish, even though the Jordanian stereotype about Turkey is not shared by Europeans, Turkish textile and food products are recognised for their good quality in Jordan. Therefore, the explanation for the visual presence of the national languages of Italy, France, Germany, Spain and Turkey on signs might fall within the framework of the stereotypes cited above (Kelly-Holmes, 2005).

In branding, what attracts the consumers’ attention is the size and typeface of the font used (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). That’s why the overwhelming majority of occurrences of European languages such as French, Italian, German and Turkish as ‘code preferences’ are mere examples of brand names inscribed in larger size fonts (Appendix VIII). PEDROLLO, for example, is written in larger characters than other parts of the text to attract the consumers for the quality of water pumps produced by the Italian company, as shown in Figure 5.33.



Figure 5.33: Italian appearing as a preferred code on a brand name sign (Amman)

PEDROLLO, a world registered trademark, is present with its products in many parts of the world. The poster in Figure 5.33 is overwhelmingly in blue indicating water, whilst the company logo appearing in red colour, which is also intended to enhance visibility, symbolises high pressure created by the Italian water pumps for maximum efficiency. As other global brands discussed throughout, PEDROLLO exploits the global value of English to provide factual information about the company.

‘Legrand’ that appears in red characters on the left position of Figure 5.34 is one of the leading firms, headquartered in France, in products and systems for electrical installations and information networks. It is a registered trademark as shown by the acronym ‘R’ in small black font. In the middle of Figure 5.34, there appears the trademark ‘Osram’, an international lighting company in Germany, on a red background. ‘Shneider Electric’ in green lettering is another German firm in electricity distribution, automation management and production of installation components for energy management.



Figure 5.34: A brand name sign displaying German, French and English (Aqaba)

The emplacement of these brands is essential to the interpretation of their metaphorical meanings. In the light of observations in the LL of urban Jordan, this is the default emplacement of business name signs; this means that the store owner attempts to gain authenticity from the stereotypes attached to Germany and France. This supports what

has been demonstrated by Edelman (2009; 2010) that brand names are suitable for imperonal multilingualism, which means that they are not meant to provide factual information but to appeal to emotions.

On business name signs, shopkeepers resort to the above stereotypes to increase sales. Figure 5.35 illustrates Turkish and French in Zarqa. It seems that the choice of the Turkish word 'TEXTIL' in a large font size is considered a conscious decision taken by the store owner, who reflects ideologies towards Turkish products having a high quality to preserve economic interests.



Figure 5.35: A business name sign featuring Turkish and French (Zarqa)

Another observation is the use of European languages for the purpose of tourism. This exploitation of European languages for touristic purposes means that their visibility in the LL have acquired clear economic values for commercial enterprises. The sign in Figure 5.36 shows that MSA, English, French, German, Russian and Italian are employed on a multifunctional commercial sign that belongs to a money exchange store.



Figure 5.36: A multifunctional commercial sign displaying six languages (Aqaba)

The visual presence of these languages can be ascribed to the good-reasons principle as suggested by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). A plausible explanation for this might be accounted for in terms of the fact that Aqaba is the only seaside city in Jordan and considered a touristic destination for many non-domestic tourists from different parts of the world, especially from Europe. It seems that the store owner is aware of the importance of these languages in attracting the attention of tourists speaking the above languages through providing currency exchange services.

German newspaper and magazine names such as ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’ and ‘Der Spiegel’ are visible in Aqaba. In Figure 5.37, there appear ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’, a national German newspaper, and ‘Der Spiegel’, a German magazine.



Figure 5.37: A newspaper rack displaying German and English (Aqaba)

The use of German is likely to be intended to attract German tourists as well as Jordanians interested in the commercial aspects of Germany and probably emotionally attached.

Similarly, Hungarian is found to be used for the purpose of tourism. The sign in Figure 5.38 illustrates an advertisement placed on the front glass window of a bookshop in Aqaba. The text is inscribed in Hungarian other than the English singular auxiliary 'is'. The main reason behind the appearance of the Hungarian language is that Aqaba is one of the preferred tourist attractions in Jordan.



Figure 5.38: Hungarian in combination with English (Aqaba)

The text in Hungarian meaning 'translation is available in Hungarian' is intended to attract Hungarian tourists on a language basis. In other words, since Hungarian tourists are presumably incompetent in Arabic, interpreting or transforming any document or text from Arabic into Hungarian might attract them to the bookstore. That is why the whole text is almost found to be in Hungarian.

5.8 Minority language marginalisation

Not only are minority languages socially stigmatised, but they are also chiefly marginalised in all informal and formal domains. In this respect, minority languages have a marginal role in moulding the LL. The visibility of minority languages is limited to Romanised Chechen (three occurrences alongside French on commercial signs), Arabacised Chechen (three occurrences alongside MSA on multifunctional commercial signs) and Chinese (seven occurrences on commercial signs, three of which are monolingual signs) (see Chapter Six for the visibility of minority languages in the LL). Turkish is present, but the overwhelming majority of occurrences are merely brand names as discussed above.

Even though the state of Jordan is populated by minorities, including but not limited to Circassians, Chechens and Armenians, their own languages are scarcely displayed on commercial multilingual signs. The invisibility/limited visibility of these minority languages in the LL may be an index of the current sociolinguistic situation in Jordan (see Chapter Six for examination of minority groups in the LL). In Zarqa, the main residence of Chechens since being resettled by the Ottomans in Jordan after the Russian invasion of Caucasus, Chechen in Roman and Arabic script is exclusively found in combination with French and MSA on three commercial bilingual signs; all the occurrences are merely examples of tribal Chechen names, as in the sign down below.



Figure 5.39: Chechen in Roman script in combination with French (Zarqa)

The text in Figure 5.39 is a combination of Romanised Chechen and French. ‘Boulad Boutique’ is one of the many shops selling fashionable women clothes in Zarqa’s city centre. This is supplemented by an image of a woman in red sitting on the initial of the proper name ‘Boulad’ that appears in larger, black characters.

Aside from the correlation between the visual visibility of written Arabic in public spaces and ethnolinguistic vitality of their spoken Arabic, the visibility of minority languages in public spaces might not have a connection with the ethnolinguistic vitality of their spoken ones (see Sebba, 2010: 61). Instead, their visibility might be related to symbolic reasons such as economic power. Most of the languages of foreign workers are not seen in signage. Of foreign workers’ minority languages, Chinese is the only language that appears on commercial display signs. The only multilingual signs encountered in the Chinese language combining with MSA and English are three trilingual signs placed on Chinese food restaurants in Amman and Aqaba, whose commercial value and significance have been a magnet for new workers coming from Asian countries, including but not limited to China, India and the Philippines. However, the Chinese community in Jordan is not the most numerous of new immigrant communities. With the emergence of China as one of the world powers that give shape to global commerce and economy, Chinese is a manifestation of the economic power gained by China in the recent decades. This reflects the fact that there is no direct relationship between the visibility of new minority languages in linguistic signage of Jordanian cities and their actual use in daily life activities.



Figure 5. 40: A business name sign featuring Chinese alongside MSA and English (Aqaba)

Figure 5.40 represents an example of how Chinese culture publicises itself through the existence of the Chinese script and the image of two dragons, the legendary creature in the Chinese culture. With the importance of dragons as a symbol of power and luck, this sign represents a magnet for Chinese workers in Aqaba. Accordingly, the choice of MSA, English and Chinese might be intended to attract customers from the local community, foreign tourists and members of the Chinese-speaking community.

5.9 Conclusions

Qualitative and quantitative results seem to support the initial hypothesis of the current project that English is the second most visible language in public spaces after Arabic. Indexical and symbolic reasons are behind the code choices on monolingual and multilingual signs. It seems that the LL of urban Jordan is controlled by perceptions of multilingualism through the visible use of varieties of Arabic and English in most domains. Each one might be preferable in certain segments of the community; for example, many business owners and readers would visualise English as a code choice participating in adding a value and prestige to the businesses involved.

Two main actors seem to be responsible for the linguistic diversity in the LL: bottom-up and top-down social actors. The appearance of multilingual bottom-up signs not containing the state's official variety and English monolingual signs is a result of the less strict rules imposed by municipalities in Jordan, the efforts extensively exerted by the Jordanian government to back up the learning of English and the prestige values closely linked to the English language. All these forces have participated in the frequent use of English on monolingual and multilingual signs in urban Jordan's LL.

The visibility of more than one High language variety for Jordanians in the LL suggests that 'multiglossia' is a more accurate term (Hary, 1996). The first common language variety used on top-down and bottom-up is MSA, which invokes the notions of Jordanian patriotism and Arab nationalism, whereas Jordanian Arabic is the stigmatised language variety, challenging the linguistic power of educated people. Jordanian identity markers have imposed the use of the subordinate code to emphasise the centrality of local culture and tradition in the commercial LL. This explains why all top-down signs are written in MSA rather than Jordanian Arabic.

As opposed to MSA and Jordanian Arabic, CA is less visible in the multilingual and monolingual writing of the LL of Jordanian cities, even though it appears steadily in all the cities surveyed. It is noticed that much of CA monolingual and multilingual LL items' writing is Qur'anic verses, 'Dhikr' and 'Hadith' on the doors and windows of food stores and on electricity poles. In this regard, CA is more associated with Arab-Islamic identity, as accounted by many linguists such as Ennaji (2005) that CA is a sacred and superior language in the Arab world. From an analysis of language practices on signs, CA is intended to remind people of Allah and the principles of Islam, symbolise cultural identity of shop keepers to attain economic success and reject unacceptable behaviours from the perspective of Islam.

Even though the vast majority of Jordanians are Arab, English appears alongside MSA with somewhat similar quantitative trends. The presence of English in the LL of urban Jordan is best explained within the framework of the good-reasons hypothesis suggested by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). The importance of English in the LL of urban Jordan is associated with two main reasons. First, the position of English as a high-status language paves the way for its being considered as a status marker in the community. In this sense, the English language is a highly distinctive language and relates to the notions of globalisation and success in all domains of life. In fact, English has found its way into the lives of highly educated people, middle and upper classes. Second, to promote tourism in the state of Jordan, it is essential to use English on signs.

Even though there is a trend for preferring Standard English uses on signs, grammatically, orthographically and lexically non-standard expressions are occasionally used. The main reason behind these uses is that sign producers are non-native users of English. This has invoked a data analysis based upon Blommaert's (2013) model of 'grassroots literacy'. Thus, non-standard English expressions are a result of sub-elite literacies, which might be a source of ridicule and laughter when understood against elite literacies.

This language contact has set the stage for multiple forms of monolingual and multilingual writing, as suggested by Gorter (2006). Arabic texts would appear not only in Arabic letters, but also in Roman alphabet. Arabic in Roman script is found on many signs. The same applies to English in Arabic script. The wide spread of English in bottom-up and top-down domains, especially the commercial sector, has made it possible that RA and AE are popularly used in the LL. On monolingual and multilingual signs, both RA and AE are found to advocate linguistic tolerance and glocal identity, promote local names and cultural references and serve new functions such as lexical needs and euphemisms.

It seems that the visibility of particular European languages such as French, Italian, German, Spanish and Turkish are intended for symbolic functions. The linguistic choice of these languages on signs indexes the important role of the European countries in promoting tourism and commerce in Jordan. However, the majority of Italian, French, German, Spanish, and Turkish occurrences are proper names and business names; for example, fashion and design form an important part of Italy's cultural life, elegance and perfumes are an important part of France's cultural life and French are well-known for their elegance, and German products are considered for solidity and reliability. Products produced in Spain are also well-known for high quality. Even though the Jordanian stereotype about Turkey is not shared by European people, Turkish products in Jordan are reckoned for good quality, including but not limited to textile and food products. Therefore, the explanation for the visual presence of the national languages of such European countries on signs might fall within the framework of the stereotypes cited above (Kelly-Holmes, 2005).

It is linguistically striking that several minority languages are virtually absent from the commercial streets surveyed, including Circassian, Armenian, Kurdish and the majority of the native languages of recently arrived immigrants. The chapter that follows is intended to discuss the findings of a questionnaire related to the linguistic attrition of minority languages in the LL of urban Jordan.

Chapter Six: Minority languages in the linguistic landscape

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Five, minority languages are not only deleted from the top-down LL, but they are also chiefly marginalised in the bottom-up LL. The aim of this chapter is to present a study examining minority languages in the LL. As will be discussed next, the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL is closely linked to ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ (Landry and Bourhis, 1997), which will be useful in the analysis of limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

In the first section, the analysis investigates the language practices of long-term migrant communities and the reasons behind intergenerational minority language transmission with various degrees of language endangerment. In the second section, the analysis examines the language practices of short-term communities and the reasons behind minority language maintenance. The third section will provide an analysis of language practices of minority groups on inscriptions available in the areas in which they live and work. Based on the trends observed in the first two sections and the participants’ responses on limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL (Appendix IX), a set of explanations elicited from the existing data are dedicated to explaining the limited visibility and invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

6.2 Long-term minority groups and language maintenance

As Table 6.1 shows, the linguistic practices/behaviours of minority groups are all different. Chechens have a stronger tendency to maintain their mother tongue, especially in informal domains and settings. According to the UNESCO Endangerment Framework (UNESCO, 2009), it can be assumed that Chechen is a ‘safe’ language; this means that Chechen is still in the first stage where all members of Chechen population use Chechen as their first language (May, 2006). However, they use Arabic in the realm of religious and formal settings because they are Muslims and Arabic is the medium of wider communication and primary and secondary instruction. Conversely, other ethnic groups display a greater tendency to use Arabic in most informal and formal domains with varying degrees of language endangerment, even though Armenian is dominant in the realm of religion because Armenians are Christians. Armenian and Circassian seem to be ‘vulnerable’ and ‘severely endangered’ languages respectively, in so far as they are used by a decreasing number of users. Turkish seems to be ‘critically endangered’ in the sense that it is mainly used by grandparent generations, while Kurdish participants do not use Kurdish, which is replaced by Arabic in all informal and formal domains (In Chapter Four, information relating to the participants and their coding was provided).

Table 6.1: Degree of language endangerment after adapting the UNESCO Endangerment Framework (2009)

Minority Language	Endangerment Degree	Intergenerational language transmission
Chechen among Jordan Chechens	Safe	Chechen is spoken by all generations; ‘intergenerational language transmission is not interrupted’.
Armenian among Jordan Armenians	Vulnerable	Most participants speak it but in restricted domains, especially at home.

Circassian among Jordan Circassians	Severely endangered	The language is used by grandparents and older generations; while ‘the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves’.
Turkish among Jordan Turks	Critically endangered	‘The youngest speakers are grandparents and older’, and they ‘speak the language partially or infrequently’.
Kurdish among Jordan Kurds	Extinct	There are no participants claiming to speak it.

There are several reasons for the different stages of language maintenance and shift among older migrant groups. The characteristics of the groups such as size, cultural distance/proximity, religious affiliation, closeness of networks, length of settlement, the pressure exercised by both overt and covert top-down language policies and language practices in different age groups are plausible explanations for the different degrees of intergenerational language transmission. Other important reasons include migration, linguistic hostility, parental and institutional support and the rate of literacy in the minority language (An outline of the responses of the participants is provided in Appendix IX).

Minority languages are not supported by the state, as highlighted by a set of participants who indicate the pressure exercised by both overt and covert top-down language policies.⁷ TUF45BDTE argues that ‘The constitution of the country stipulates that Arabic is the official language of the state’. On the one hand, there is no explicit language policy in the state of Jordan which favours the use of Arabic, the official language of the country, in public domains over that of minority languages. Even though no constraints have been imposed on the use of minority languages in Jordanian social settings, there is a belief among the minority groups that their minority languages are not important in public life (Rannut, 2009: 298). Globalisation and ethnic fragmentation can put pressure ‘on the one language-one nation ideology’ (Hornberger, 2002:31, 32). This

⁷ In particular CIM78PSRE, CIM58BDTE and TUF45BDTE.

necessitates activating minority language rights that involve the recognition and advocacy of these rights through a state-sponsored language policy, even though the Jordanian state gives minority groups the freedom to establish their own cultural and linguistic institutions. In light of the respondents' responses, minority languages require linguistic equality to bring about a linguistic balance between the majority language and the minority language. This means that minority languages lack some of the protections and formal institutional support that the majority language receives (May, 2006:266). 'Ethnolinguistic democracy', linguistic management efforts exercised by the national minority language groups rather than linguistic equality involving the state intervention, is not sufficient for minority groups to maintain their minority languages (May, 2006:266). This might lead to the continuous intrusion of the majority language into private domains, including home, until minority languages reach the third and final stage (see May, 2006: 267).

With the absence of an ethnolinguistic diversity policy promoted by the state, ideological and implementational spaces need to be filled by minority language educators, planners, and users by implementing a multilingual language policy among younger generations (Hornberger, 2002:48);⁸ otherwise, it seems that minority language endangerment is on the rise. In the discourse of 'Language Citizenship', it can be assumed that parental and informal institutional support play a vital role in reversing language shift with varying degrees across national minorities (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004). For example, in the Chechen case, familial language policy succeeds in maintaining the Chechen language. As in other contexts, the loss of intergenerational language transmission occurs within the family. In this sense, the family domain lies outside the control of government, which is evident in the failure of the Irish government to persuade

⁸ After adapting Hornberger's terminology (2002: 30), 'language educators' include linguists, researchers, and language teachers. Language planners include bottom-up, organisational and individual agents of language planning. Language users include minority language learners, parents, community members, and others.

families to teach children Irish at home (Spolsky, 2012:4). Nevertheless, the pressure exercised by established majority ideologies and by official agencies cannot be underestimated, especially in countries such as Jordan where non-conformity with Arab values and lifestyle can lead to marginalisation. In addition, as in other contexts the majority language facilitates ‘social mobility’, ‘higher earnings’ and integration into the dominant culture (Ricento, 2006:8).

The network size of minority groups is an important factor in issues of language maintenance. A number of participants hold the belief that their minority languages are used by small populations, so they are marginalised in public life.⁹ ARM46SST argues that:

There is no interest in the Armenian language even from the Armenian population in Jordan in addition to the small population of Jordan Armenians who are now integrated into the Jordanian population.

Small minority language populations seem to be more susceptible to language shift and loss because of possible socio-economic factors putting pressure on their members to shift to the majority group language (Holmes, 2013). Since the sizes of minority groups are small when compared to the Arab population, these minority groups might not be able to influence state language policies to revitalise threatened languages. As pointed out by Ostler (2011:327), ‘small populations of language users attempt to change to the languages perceived as big and successful’.

Another reason is interethnic marriages, an obstacle facing language maintenance. Seven participants state that this matter contributes to the shrinkage of minority languages.¹⁰ On the one hand, Chechens have imposed strict rules on interethnic marriages

⁹ The participants include KUM69BDFM, KUF30BDEN, KUM45BDNU CIM58BDTE, CIF35DDSE, ARM41SSGS, CHM17SSST, and CHM42SSSA.

¹⁰ The participants are TUF68ESHW, TUM81ESME, TUF45BDTE, CIM58BDTE, CIM78PSRE, ARF68ESHW, KUM45BDNU.

supported by a close-knit community. The sociolinguistic situation in which Jordan Chechens are living is similar to language maintenance among the Greek and Chinese communities in New Zealand, as examined by Holmes (2013: 65):

Although the pressures to shift are strong, members of a minority community can take active steps to protect its language. If we consider the influence of social factors such as participants and setting, for instance, on language choice, it is clear that social factors may help resist the influence of economic pressures. Where the normal family organisation for an ethnic group is the extended family with grandparents and unmarried relatives living in the same house as the nuclear family, for example, there is good reason to continue using the minority language at home. Similarly, groups which discourage intermarriage, such as the Greek and the Chinese communities, contribute to language maintenance in this way. Marriage to a majority group member is the quickest way of ensuring shift to the majority group language for the children.

On the other hand, other national minorities do not impose strict lines on interethnic marriages. For example, ARF68ESHW states that ‘The main reason for the disappearance of the Armenian language from the LL is interethnic marriages. Male Arabs marry female Armenians and male Armenians marry female Arabs, so Armenian is shrinking’. The same is true of the Circassian community, which has not imposed strict rules on interethnic marriages. Turkish and Kurdish Jordanians also encourage interethnic marriages with their Arab counterparts; it is now clear that this situation contributes to the acceleration of language shift towards the majority language.

Closeness of networks is a very important factor in reversing language shift. A number of participants stress the importance of close-knit communities in language maintenance/shift.¹¹ Successful language resistance needs a conscious, firm determination to maintain the minority language. Holmes (2013:73) writes that both demographic factors and closeness of the minority members contribute to language maintenance:

Where a group is large enough to provide plenty of speakers and reasonably able to isolate itself from contact with the majority, at least in some domains, there is more chance of language

¹¹ The participants are TUM81ESME, KUM45BDNU, KUM69BDFM, TUF68ESHW and ARF68ESHW.

maintenance. Where members of ethnic communities are living in the same area this too helps maintain minority languages longer.

On the one hand, the extended families play a vital role in maintaining the Chechen language. According to Pauwels (2005:124), close ties with relatives contribute to language maintenance. Dweik (2010: 184) also argues that Chechens in Jordan have been able to maintain their mother tongue through isolating themselves from the Jordanian life, which is promoted by the creation of cultural and linguistic islands of their own. On the other hand, other ethnic groups, especially Turkish and Kurdish families, have tended not to be clustered in closed areas. TUM81ESME argues that ‘The spatial distribution of Turks is part of the problem. All Jordan Turks are not clustered in specific isolated areas like Chechens’, which anticipates the outcome of minority language maintenance among its members.

Voluntary migration is a problem facing minority groups, especially the Armenian community in Jordan. ARF68ESHW argues that ‘People do not understand it (Armenian) except Armenians. They are a minority group and there are Armenians who migrated to Western Amman, Armenia and America’. The migration of many Armenians is likely to threaten continued survival of a close-knit community that attempts to reverse language shift among Armenian users. Individuals can migrate to another area in the same country or move to another country, so they are likely to come into language contact with a majority language community and might learn a new language. It can be argued that:

The smaller or less concentrated the group that has moved or that comes into language-learning contact, the more likely it is that the migrant or language-contactor will lose his own or her own language and adopt that of the target community (Ostler, 2011:322).

Likewise, Paulston & Heidemann (2006: 295) demonstrate that voluntary migration, particularly individual people and families, leads to accelerating language shift.

Language hostility is one of the reasons that create aggressive attitudes towards minority languages, which is reflected in the critical endangerment of Turkish in social domains. TUM81ESME describes the situation after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire:

This (speaking Turkish) used to make Arabs behave with hostility towards Turks. Around the villages in which we lived, villagers were so hostile towards us. The point is that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire created this situation.

The participant mentions hostility towards Turkish after the Great Arab Revolt against Turks in 1916 as a reason perpetuating negative attitudes toward using Turkish among members of Turkish minority group. Issues of language conflict are the outcome of top-down and bottom-up language policy and planning through which a certain language is supported in ‘public validity’ and social settings (Schiffman, 2006:122; Wodak, 2006: 170). That is why Arab nationalists hold the belief that members of ethnolinguistic groups have to abandon their ethnic nationalities and shift to the majority language through suppressing other languages such as Kurdish and Berber in favour of Arabic in countries such as Syria and Algeria respectively (Bassiouny, 2009).

On the basis of responses elicited from a number of respondents, it can be suggested that cultural distance/proximity and religious affiliation contribute to varying degrees of language endangerment.¹² Religion might contribute to the retention of language and culture, especially in the absence of informal institutional and home support. Since Islam supports interethnic marriages, the importance of religion as a factor in language shift cannot be neglected. As Demos (1988:64) points out, interethnic marriages result in a decline of minority culture and language alike. Thus, the loss of Kurdish among research subjects and the critical endangerment of Turkish can be best explained by the notion of acculturation, a term referring to a ‘melting pot’ of all cultures for the nationalism of the

¹² The research subjects are CHM78BDDC, CHM42SSSA, CHM17SSST, CHM78BDDC, CHF35DDTE, CIM74SSRE, KUM45BDNU, KUM69BDFM.

majority group (Krashen, 1998). This sharply contrasts with Chechen subjects, who are more culturally distant than the Kurds from the Arab population, who consider Islam the driving force to resist Russian acculturation as a result of events in Chechnya 20 years ago. The linguistic repercussions are correlated with the spread of Russian at the expense of minority languages such as Chechen. One of the Russian language policies is the replacement of the Arabic alphabet by the Russian writing system. Russian adoption of such a language policy might be thought as an attempt to limit the role of Islam. In many Muslim regions of the Russian Empire, Orthodox Christianity was first promoted over other faiths, including Islam in the late part of the 19th century.¹³ This cultural intolerance was accompanied by imposing restrictions on the use of the local languages to the advantage of Russian (Jersild, 2000). These observations are in line with other studies about the Cyrillic alphabet such as Dolbilov (in Pavelnko, 2011: 345) and Staljunas (in Pavelnko, 2011: 345) who demonstrate that Catholic Lithuanians refused publications in Cyrillic because they were linked to Orthodox Christianity.

Even though Armenian appears to be a ‘vulnerable’ language, religion is very important in maintaining Armenian because the church governs all the cultural and linguistic institutions intended for preserving Armenian ethnic identity, heritage and traditions. For example, ARF68ESHW argues that ‘There was no school and church where we would have learned the Armenian language’. In this respect, it seeks to resist cultural and linguistic assimilation. Han (2013) argues that minority church reinforces language maintenance. This sharply contrasts with the findings of Demos (1988:171) that the church did not succeed in maintaining Greek among Greek Americans in the USA. Some Armenian participants hint at the shrinkage of Armenian in oral communication among

¹³ In the late part of the 19 century, the term russification depicts repressive policies adopted by the Russian Empire against non-Russian ethnic groups (Jersild, 2000).

Armenians and the absence of participation in events organised by the church.¹⁴ This means that the continuous erosion of Armenian in private domains appears to be a serious problem facing the Armenian community language management bodies that need to exert further efforts to halt the decline of Armenian in informal domains.

The length of settlement appears to be correlated with different patterns of minority language endangerment. ARF47BDTE states that Armenians are early settlers in Jordan and have contributed to building the country. Since Armenians are known for their skill, working as professional technicians, handymen and mechanics, as demonstrated by AlKhatib (2001:160), they have a significant role in the establishment of modern Jordan. Long-term minority groups are more likely to have developed feelings of belonging to Jordan and a higher level of integration, which leads to accelerating language shift towards the Arabic language.

The current study shows that older participants, largely responsible for intergenerational language transmission in domestic domains, have a stronger tendency to maintain minority languages. According to Holmes (2013:180), 'When a linguistic change is spreading in a community, there will be a regular increase or decrease in the use of the linguistic form over time'. For a form which is disappearing, younger people will tend to use a small amount of the 'linguistic form', whilst older people will show much of the same form (Holmes, 2013:180). This means that age as an agent of change is very crucial in using minority languages. With the presence of small language communities, younger generations do not tend to acquire the minority language, therefore 'setting up a timetable for its impending death' (Ostler, 2011:334). In the light of the tendency among elderly participants to use minority languages more often than other participants, it is a plausible interpretation that older participants tend to speak minority languages while socialising

¹⁴ The participants are ARF68ESHW, ARM41SSGS, and ARF47BDTE.

with their counterparts, even though Chechens tend to use Chechen with all age groups. Conversely, younger participants seem to be ‘vulnerable’, because they can be ‘more mobile with their language skills and susceptible to exogamy’ (Cartwright, 2006:199).

The evidence suggests that parental and institutional support is an important factor in slowing down language shift with varying degrees across national minorities to Arabic. By virtue of informal institutional support, Armenian and Circassian are respectively read and written by most Armenian and Circassian subjects. As far as Turkish and Kurdish subjects are concerned, both home and informal institutional support is almost absent, especially the latter, which is a direct result of illiteracy in minority languages. Likewise, KUM45BDKO elaborates on lack of home and informal institutional support for the Kurdish language in Jordan:

Nothing has been done so far. Kurds in Jordan are integrated into the Jordanian community and most of them use Arabic even at home. They do not pay attention to Kurdish which is almost diminished. There are promises from the charity association in Amman to build schools to teach Kurdish to young generations.

In such a situation, it is very hard to reverse language shift. According to Fishman (1991:8), weakened or endangered languages are affiliated with cultures that do not participate in directing the everyday lives of their members.

Several various recommendations are therefore suggested by the participants. A number of participants insist on the role of home and community support through building institutions like schools or even a television station together with language materials and the importance of informal institutional enhancements through building language labs and studentships on the part of the minority group communities,¹⁵ whilst some concentrate on the role of oral communication.¹⁶ Whilst CIM78PSRE stresses the key role of government

¹⁵ The participants are ARM46SSTR, KUM69BDFM, KUM45BDNU, CIM58BDTE, CHM78BDDE, TUF45BDTE, and TUF19UGST, and CIM74SSRE

¹⁶ The participants are ARM41SSGS, ARF68ESHW, CIF35DDSE, and TUF68ESHW.

intervention, other participants attach a great value to the role of oral communication together with teaching through giving language courses, teaching children in early age and building schools.¹⁷ As Fishman (1991:4) points out, reversing language shift cannot be achieved without ‘the intimate family and local community levels’. That is why the participants suggest the importance of institutions in supporting language maintenance. Ostler (2011:319) asserts the significance of linguistic institutions in language maintenance, including but not limited to modern innovations:

Broadcasting – like many of the sound- and video-recording media which became available in the twentieth century – appears to have the advantage of short-circuiting the necessary analysis of a language which will underlie providing it with an orthography and literacy. Every speaker of a language can benefit immediately from access to broadcast media, without special training – though they will require special equipment, if only a transistor radio. It certainly can play an important role in raising the profile, and the prestige, of a language – and also its practical importance as a long-distance means of communication.

It seems that minority groups are linguistically discriminated against in light of the state’s indifferent language policy towards minority languages. Some participants hint at the insufficient management efforts exerted by the minority communities, which should oblige the government to intervene on the behalf of these communities. CIM78PSRE comments on that situation:

There should be more interest in learning the language at Emir Hamzeh Prince School. We (Circassians) do not see tangible government interest in teaching the language as other university courses such as engineering and chemistry. Government officials say that students (Circassian ones) can learn the language from their parents and relatives.

This can be best explained in light of a subordinate status attached to minority languages as opposed to a superordinate status of Arabic, not only by the majority community, but also among members of the minority community itself. Even though the state intervention might eliminate feelings of stigmatisation or even linguistic discrimination towards

¹⁷ The participants include CHF35DDTE, CHM17SSST, CHM42SSSA, and TUM81ESME.

minority languages and consequently elevate their statuses among members of minority groups, minority groups can have control over their minority languages via meeting the necessary conditions of 'Language Citizenship' (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004).

Aside from Chechen subjects, it seems that there is a relatively conflicting correlation between minority language beliefs and practices. The majority of participants highly value minority languages as carriers of history, heritage and ethnic nationalism. Many of them use Arabic more often than minority languages and some lost them.¹⁸ This is pointed out by Edwards (1985: 85, 92) that minority languages are likely to be viewed as a symbol of identity and accompanied by shrinkage of language choice. The ideas of 'linguistic instrumentalism', as suggested by Wee (2003), can account for the use of Arabic in a wide range of domains at the expense of minority languages. It is also confirmed by AlKhatib (2001:165) who demonstrates that Arabic is used for instrumental purposes at the expense of Armenian among Armenians.

In sum, a number of reasons are behind the various stages of intergenerational language transmission among the participants. These reasons include cultural remoteness/nearness, religious affiliation, close ties, early settlement, the influence of both overt and covert top-down language policies, code choices according to different age groups, migration, language hostility, parental and institutional support and the rate of literacy in the minority language.

6.3 Economic participants in terms of language maintenance and underlying language policy

The native languages of the participants, including Sinhalese, Tagalog, Urdu, Pashto, Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Indonesian, Mandarin and Burmese are mainly used in the family

¹⁸ All Circassian, Armenian, Chechen participants, and some Turkish subjects, namely TUF68ESHW and TUF45BDTE, advocate this view. However, TUM81ESME does not favour the use of minority languages for hostility against Turks and TUF19UGST does the same for incompetence in Turkish, which is demonstrated by the responses of all Kurdish participants.

and school domain. They are also used in the friendship domain and as the languages of telling facts and stories, expressing feelings, making jokes and counting, whilst the participants except for the Indonesian subjects, INF46SSMA and INF30SSMA, and SIF44ESMA having communication skills in Arabic, due to their occupations as maids, use English in these domains. Arabic is mainly used by Pakistani, Indonesian and Sri Lankan subjects in a wide range of functions and domains for religious and occupational reasons. In the religion domain, Pakistani, Bengali and Indonesian participants use Arabic while praying. Arabic is the language of the Qur'an by which Muslims perform their daily five prayers. The rest of participants perform prayers via their mother tongues. On the one hand, the vast majority of the participants used their mother tongues together with English in the school domain. On the other hand, BEM30PSSU and BUF30BDRE only used Bengali and Burmese respectively. They were likely to use English at school, especially it is taught in Burma and Bangladesh, but it is possible that they used their home languages extensively.

The economic participants' linguistic practices suggest a high degree of minority language maintenance. There are several reasons for minority language maintenance among recently arrived economic participants, including the short length of settlement, electronic and traditional correspondence with linguistic peers, the educational language policies exercised in the homeland, and affective attachment and positive attitudes towards mother tongues.

The first explanation is the relative short period of time during which the economic participants spend to work in the country. SIF57PSMA describes the linguistic situation of her minority language in Jordan: 'It is not useful in Jordan and I came here for work and will not stay for good'. It has been similarly suggested by Kloss (1966) that time of immigration impacts language maintenance. Other studies (Velman, 1988; Stevens, 1992;

Portes & Schaufliker, 1994) also show that language shift and loss are related to the duration of exposure of immigrants to the American society. It is very difficult for many recently arrived migrants to acquire good communication skills in Arabic, so many use their mother tongues frequently and use acquired communication skills in English, motivated by their willingness to speak English for economic and instrumental purposes.

Conscious language maintenance strategies, including but not limited to using the internet for social and communicative purposes, sending and receiving letters and messages from linguistic peers, are employed by the participants to be in constant contact with linguistic peers in the homeland and members of the same minority group in Jordan. INM39MDAC states that 'I know it better than any other language and it is the best medium to write to relatives and many friends in India'. SIF57PSMA also maintains that 'I use it to communicate with my friends via mobile messages on Facebook'. Nowadays, electronic social network services seem to be valuable environments for resisting language shift. This is in line with Honeycutt & Cunliffe (2010) that social network sites such as Facebook serve as important environments for minority language maintenance and assist in the composition of close ties that help minority language speakers resist pressures to shift to the majority language. According to Holmes (2013: 73), 'support for language maintenance from bilingual peers can contribute to maintenance (just as pressure from monolingual majority group peers can lead to shift)' and frequent contact with the home country can also lead to language maintenance.

The economic participants' linguistic practices are largely affected by the language policy of their home countries in which their native languages, except for Pashto that is not recognised as an official language in Pakistan, are official languages in the Philippines (Tagalog and English), Pakistan (Urdu and English), Indonesia (Malay and English), Sri Lanka (Sinhalese), India (Hindi, Punjabi, English and other languages), Bangladesh

(Bengali), China (Mandarin Chinese) and Burma (Burmese). In Sri Lanka, China, Burma and Bangladesh, English is taught in primary and secondary schools as a global medium of communication. Whilst English as a global language puts pressure on migrant groups to include it as an essential part of their linguistic repertoire for economic reasons, occupational and religious factors put pressure on having some knowledge of Arabic; Islam imposes on all Muslims to recite Qur'anic verses in CA when praying five times a day and the occupation of a housemaid often requires communication skills in Arabic for many Jordanian families.

One of the reasons that minority languages are maintained is likely to be attitudinal. Economic participants are emotionally attached to their mother tongues, which are highly valued as a marker of cultural identity, history and tradition. The majority of the participants do not worry about language shift, so there is no need for taking active steps to maintain the language as long as they do not stay in the country for a long period of time. Holmes (2013: 73) argues that the value of a minority language among its speakers contributes to slowing down language shift towards the majority language. A minority language tends to be maintained when it is considered a marker of a minority group's identity. Nevertheless, some respondents do not hold the same belief.¹⁹ For example, FIF28SSMA thinks that Tagalog should be practiced at home and school alike, commenting on that situation in relation to the Philippines rather than Jordan:

My first language should be practiced at home and even at school too. I have this situation. My 5 year old cousin is on his grade one. He does not excel in Filipino subject. He has poor performance in school in this particular subject because he did not practice to speak Tagalog at home. He excels more in English subject. His parents are teaching him more Filipino because it is our lingua franca, believing that they neglected to introduce him Tagalog.

This shows how the global spread of English poses a threat to linguistic diversity. It is not only a danger to minority languages, but also to majority linguistic codes. The global

¹⁹ The participants are SIF57PSMA, FIF28SSMA, BEM30PSSU and BUF30BDRE.

English appeal might have devastating effects on the ideologies of people towards the need to learn English at the expense of home languages. Nowadays, having a good command of English at the expense of other languages even home languages is an urgent need for many people to get well-paid jobs, so English might impose socioeconomic pressures on the participants' ideologies largely affected by language practices. It is assumed that minority languages often struggle 'for their very survival in the face of the greater national functionality of majority languages and the greater appeal of English' (Hogan-Brun & Wolff, 2003: 13).

The idea of 'linguistic instrumentalism', as suggested by Wee (2003), is very crucial in understanding the language ideologies and practices of economic participants. The data analysed show that there are conflicting ideologies and behaviours towards minority languages. While most economic participants have positive attitudes towards their minority languages thought of as transmitters of identity and culture, many use English widely and some participants use Arabic in different social domains. This tension apparently arises out of the functionality of both English and Arabic in work environments where minority languages are more related to affective purposes. In an Arabic-speaking country, minority languages are not widely used, so economic immigrants have to acquire communication skills either in Arabic or English as an international language. That is why minority languages are seemingly used for communicative purposes outside the work environment and not used for gaining economic success and social mobility.

6.4 Visibility of minority languages in the LL of urban Jordan

In this section, the focus moves to the visibility of minority languages in the LL. It aims to provide plausible explanations for the limited visibility of minority languages in the LL with a view to building upon issues of language maintenance and underlying language

policy. The LL can be used as an instrument to assess the vitality and status of minority languages. Minority languages have varying degrees of visibility in the LL of urban Jordan: ranging from invisibility to limited visibility. It was noticed that Circassian, Armenian, Chechen and Turkish are scarcely present in the LL, whereas Kurdish is absent.

As Table 6.2 shows, most monolingual signs are privately used to convey messages to members of the same minority and simultaneously to claim the territory. The analysis of monolingual signs indicates that the inhabitants of Circassian, Armenian and Chechen areas occasionally use their minority languages for identification purposes. Their visibility in the LL seems to be associated with individual and communal actors such as residents, churches and shop owners.

Table 6.2: Monolingual signs featuring minority languages in the areas where the participants live or work

Language	Commercial	Graffiti	Domestic	Celebratory	Total
Circassian	-	2	-	-	2
Circassian in Roman script	1	11	-	-	12
Armenian	-	-	3	2	5
Chechen in Roman script	-	2	-	-	2
Total	1	15	3	2	21

The data include instances of Circassian graffiti written on the walls of a Circassian neighbourhood in Sweileh, Amman. The majority of them were proper names in Roman script such as ‘ADIGA’ meaning ‘Circassian’, ‘SHAPSAUGH’, a name of a Circassian tribe, ‘SHEGEM’, a Circassian family name, ‘SI YANAM’ meaning ‘my home’, ‘BJANT ALA’, a family name, ‘NALCHIK’, a city in the Caucasus, and ‘NART’, a male personal name.

The word in Figure 6.1 that reads ‘ADIGA’ meaning ‘Circassian’ is mainly intended for identification purposes. The wording is presented in blue characters that

symbolise a traditional colour of women's clothing. This means that the word 'ADIGA' is a symbol of identification of the residents of a Circassian neighbourhood in Amman and a way of claiming space.



Figure 6.1: Graffiti displaying Circassian in a Circassian neighbourhood (Amman)

The viewer is likely to identify this 'geosemiotic' meaning when he/she knows where this sign is placed. The emplacement of this sign is authorised for the residents of the Circassian neighbourhood, but it is transgressive for municipal authorities (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 162). Of 12 monolingual signs, Figure 1 is one of two examples of transgressive writing provided in the Russian writing system. It might be suggested that Circassian people are more literate in Roman script than Cyrillic script. This might be explained in light of limited exposure to Circassian as compared to English. At the same time, it provides important insights into the minority language use restricted to Circassian proper names. Rannut (2009:305) argues that there is a language plan to enhance the status of English and Arabic over Circassian at Emir Hamzeh School,²⁰ which means a continuous diminishing status of Circassian in Jordan.

²⁰ Circassian community has only two schools: Emir Hamzeh School and Emir Ali School. At both schools, the Circassian educational language policy entails teaching Arabic as the medium of primary and secondary education together with Circassian and English as separate subjects. Ironically, 'the Circassian language is an optional extra and not included in the curriculum, it is

It is noted that Chechens use Roman script in their transgressive writings on walls of Chechen areas, whilst Arabic appears on signs belonging to their institutions. Graffiti are rarely seen in Chechen areas, as shown in Figure 6.2, where graffiti writers show two types of graffiti: emotive and sexist graffiti provided in Roman script.



Figure 6.2: Graffiti in a Chechen area (Amman)

The green colour symbolises the dominant colour in the Chechen flag. Green is used to paint English wording and the Chechen proper name ‘Borz’ on the wall. Salience appears to be conveyed through the use of larger characters indicating that English is more prominent than Romanised Chechen (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 18).

Using names in Romanised Chechen is closely linked to Chechen history and culture. This is manifested in the transgressive writing of ‘Borz’, a Chechen traditional symbol. The ‘Borz’ submachine gun produced in Chechnya is named after the wolf ‘Borz’ because, to the Chechens, the wolf ‘Borz’ is the most respected and famous animal in nature.²¹ Usmanov (1999) maintains that the Chechen people were the ‘most rebellious and

neither graded nor assessed’ (Rannut, 2009: 308). Thus, even in one of the only two Circassian schools, Circassian is not used as a medium of instruction.

²¹ Usmanov (1999) explains that for wolf’s courage and adroitness:

hostile to Russian Empire'. This is possibly a result of a conscious policy of russification and denationalisation by the Russian Empire and recently by the Russian Federation (Pavlenko, 2011: 331). Using the Roman script as 'Borz' is a form of rebellion against russification and a way to claim ethnic identity and independence. These feelings have been widespread after events in Chechnya 20 years ago (Knezys & Sedlickas, 1999). This applies to religious affiliations with Islam and use of Arabic that are emphasised for the same reasons. This is mainly manifested in the use of Arabic for institutional purposes, as illustrated in Figure 6.3.



Figure 6.3: A Chechen institutional inscription featuring Arabic in the LL (Zarqa)

The Arabic lettering in red reads 'AALJAMIYEH AALRDUNIYEH AASHIISHAANYIEH LINSAA' meaning 'Jordanian Chechen Charity Association for Women' and in blue reads 'LITANMIYEH ALAAIJTIMAAIYEH TASASAT 16/11/2011' meaning 'for social development, founded in 16 November, 2011'. On the left

The lion and the eagle are the symbols of strength, but they attack only the weak animals. The wolf however, is the only beast that dares to attack a stronger animal. Its lack of strength is compensated for by its extreme daring, courage and adroitness. If he loses the struggle, he dies silently, without expression of fear or pain. And he dies proudly, facing his enemy.

position of the sign, non-linguistic devices are employed to assert the above meanings. The flag of Jordan surrounds a woman wearing white Islamic clothes. The white colour symbolises the white race of Chechens as well as the Caucasus mountains.

In an Armenian neighbourhood, monolingual domestic signs are occasionally placed on house fronts surrounding the church, in addition to two commemorative church inscriptions, as shown in Figure 6.4.



Figure 6.4: A monolingual sign in Armenian commemorating the Armenian genocide (Amman)

Figure 6.4 reads ‘YEGHERRNI NAHATAKATS YUHAKOTVOGH’ meaning ‘Genocide Martyrs Monument’. The Armenian genocide martyrs monument was erected in 2005 to commemorate the martyrs of the Armenian genocide perpetrated by the Turkish in 1915. The emplacement of this commemorative sign inside the church boundaries sends a very important ‘geosemiotic’ message to readers, especially Armenians. Such a commemorative inscription solely provided in Armenian has a socio-symbolic value for Armenians in the sense that it reminds them of a tragic historical event closely associated

with past memories in the homeland and fosters Armenian collective identity. The discourse of ethnic pride and nationalism remains the prevailing characteristics of the two Armenian commemorative signs, as illustrated in Figure 6.4.

Multilingual institutional inscriptions are generally employed to index the cultural uniqueness and distinctive identity of minorities, whilst commercial signs in minority languages were much scarcer. As Table 6.3 shows, Armenian appeared on five institutional inscriptions, whilst Circassian and Turkish on two signs. As far as Chechen was concerned, it appeared on a business name sign.

Table 6.3: The multilingual signs featuring minority languages in the areas where the participants live or work

Language Combination	Commercial	Institutional	Total
MSA-English-Circassian	-	2	2
MSA -English-Circassian in Arabic script	1	-	1
MSA-Armenian	-	2	2
MSA-English-Armenian	-	3	3
MSA-Turkish	-	2	2
MSA-English- Chechen in Roman script	1	-	1
Total	2	9	11

By virtue of institutional support, Armenian is read and written. Two contradictory attitudes towards the appearance of Armenian in the LL are common among the respondents. The first appeals to the visibility of Armenian on travel brochures and signs belonging to the Armenian Church, School and National Sporting Club, while the second refers to the disappearance of Armenian in the LL. Institutional inscriptions were available in spaces belonging to the above institutions. In Figure 6.5, there appears a bus displaying an institutional inscription, which shows the revitalisation effort of the Armenian language among young generations through teaching Armenian together with Arabic and English from the first grade till the sixth grade in the Armenian School.



Figure 6.5: Arabic and Armenian displayed on an Armenian primary school bus (Amman)

The text in Armenian reads ‘V. IWZPACHEAN G. KIWL PENKEAN AZG VARZHARAN AMMAN’ meaning ‘V. Iwzpachean G. Kiwlpenskean national college in Amman’. The bilingual text appears on an orange background; orange is used because it is one of the colours of the flag of Armenia. From the perspective of Scollon & Scollon’s ‘code preference’ (2003), Arabic is displayed on the upper position, while Armenian occupies the lower place.

This multilingual text is a prime example of ‘overlapping multilingualism’ as articulated by Reh (2004). The sign producer seems to emphasise the socio-symbolic importance of linguistic diversity through displaying both Armenian and Arabic on a school bus. More specifically, this bilingual sign is a representation of minority-majority relations where Arabic represents the majority language of the state, while Armenian symbolises a minority language promoted in Armenian signage for identity purposes.

There is a tendency to support the appearance of Circassian on institutional inscriptions in Amman. The image presented in Figure 6.6 is another example of

'overlapping multilingual writing' (Reh, 2004), whose Circassian wording reads as 'ADIGA FISHA SHASA' meaning 'Circassian Charity Association'.



Figure 6.6: An example of Circassian appearing on the Circassian Charity Association (Amman)

To make their messages understandable to the viewers, the message producer uses forms of expressions maximally transparent to other participants (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996:13). Non-textual means in the logo of the Circassian Charity Association are employed to represent carriers of tradition and history. From the perspective of 'visual semiotics' given by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996), the blue, green and white colours tend to feature as colours of high modality for Circassian people. The blue is symbolic of a traditional colour of women's clothing. The green colour also appears at the bottom of the logo as a symbol of the main colour of the Circassian flag. The white colour symbolises the Caucasus Mountains as well as the white Caucasian race. Other non-linguistic and linguistic means are used to provide a socio-symbolic message displaying the cultural distinctiveness of Circassians. The twelve stars presented in the Circassian flag present the

twelve Circassian tribes,²² whilst the crescent symbol appears to be a symbol of the mosque as an index of Circassian religious affiliation.

From the point of view of ‘code preference’ as articulated by Scollon & Scollon (2003), by virtue of bigger size of letters, the preferred code is Arabic featuring the right position of the sign, whilst English is more prominent than Circassian because of its top position. Closer examination of Figure 6.6 shows that the Circassian community gives top priority to Arabic and English over Circassian, a conclusion already drawn from the participants’ responses. Both Arabic and English are inscribed on top of the sign involved, while Circassian is written on the lower part of the sign with smaller characters.

The institutional sign appearing in Figure 6.7 belongs to the Turkish Charity Association in Amman. Both linguistic and non-linguistic means are used to establish a socio-symbolic message. Even though the star is absent, the flag of the Ottoman Empire consists of a red background with a crescent with the basic message of Islam ‘LAA AAILAAHA AAILAA ALLAH MUHAMMED RASOUL ALLAH’ meaning ‘No god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah’.



Figure 6.7: An institutional sign showing traces of Turkish (Amman)

²² Kaya (2005:131) mentions various Adygei-speaking tribes such as Shapsaugh, Abzekh, Ubikh, Kabardian, Besleney, Bjadugh and Hotquay tribes, etc.

Figure 6.7 is a typical example of 'fragmentary multilingualism' (Reh, 2004). Arabic appears in the first line that reads 'ALJAMIYEH AALKHIYERIYEH AALTURKIYEH' duplicated in Turkish in the second line meaning 'Turkish Charity Association'. In the third line, Arabic lettering reads 'TAASASAT AAM 1975' meaning 'founded in 1975'.

In the light of Scollon & Scollon's grammar of place semiotics (2003), more emphasis is given to Turkish by virtue of larger white characters. Even though Arabic occupies the top position, Turkish lettering is more visible for the reader from street level. In this sign, Turkish is promoted to emphasise meanings of cultural identity and history for the established Turkish minority community in Jordan.

Chechens read and write Chechen infrequently. This is manifested in institutional inscriptions such as signs displayed on voluntary charities and cultural and sporting clubs, which are solely provided in Arabic. Chechen is occasionally observed in the commercial LL; this is reflected in proper names that appear on some commercial signs, as illustrated in Figure 6.8, which displays that the use of Roman script and Arabic script represents a way to resist linguistic and cultural Russian assimilation in a Chechen area in Zarqa. This trilingual sign featured Romanised Chechen, English and Arabic. The sign whose Arabic wording reads 'SAALOUN' meaning 'salon' is a typical instance of 'complementary multilingualism' (Reh, 2004). The use of a Chechen proper name on such a commercial sign is indicative of the socio-symbolic functions of Chechen in the LL where the female personal name, namely 'TAMESHA', emphasises the unique identity of Chechens.



Figure 6.8: A commercial multilingual sign featuring Romanised Chechen (Zarqa)

Within the framework of Scollon & Scollon's grammar of place semiotics (2003), the choice of fonts in red in Figure 6.8 indicates the existing languages used among the residents of a Chechen neighbourhood in Zarqa. It seems that Arabic and Chechen in Roman script are given equal prominence on this commercial sign, whilst English is given secondary importance for smaller red characters. It might be suggested that Romanised Chechen represents the Chechen community within which it is used to be a way to claim the locality.

Different reasons contribute to the limited visibility and absence of minority languages in the LL. Various patterns of language endangerment as highlighted above, 'linguistic instrumentalism' (Wee, 2003), different rates of literacy in minority languages, resistance to russification and top-down language policies exercised by the state are plausible explanations for the infrequent use of minority languages in the LL.

The vitality of a minority language might be measured by restaurant signs, shop signs, church signs and advertisements in the minority language (Holmes, 2013: 67). Even though there is no direct relationship between a minority language and its visibility in the LL, the presence of minority languages in the LL is very important for their continuous

maintenance, development and for their status. If a language tends to be maintained, there is more chance for a minority language to be visible in the LL. That is why many participants associate the limited visibility of minority languages with issues of language maintenance. In light of the absence of Kurdish in the LL, KUM45BDNU argues that ‘It is impossible to write a language in public spaces not used in the community and even Jordan Kurds do not use it’.

The notion of ‘linguistic instrumentalism’ plays a vital role in the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL.²³ For example, ARM41SSGS argues that:

No one will understand it (Armenian) and there are no Armenian tourists coming to Jordan. No one understands it (Armenian) except for the Armenian minority group in Jordan. If it (Armenian) appeared in the LL, people would make you feel a headache coming on and ask questions like ‘What is that language? How dreadful it is!’.

This extract emphasises that most people cannot read minority languages, which are considered to be useless in the LL. It looks like members of the community make assumptions about the negative effect of Armenian on people, which is the result of internalised perceptions about the minority language. This means that minority languages, if visible in the LL, have a symbolic function and are more affiliated with cultural identity. The Armenian participant emphasises that Armenian has not acquired value in tourism and even members of the majority group view minority languages in the LL negatively. The marginal role of Armenian in tourism is noteworthy, which can be justified in the light of the marginalisation of Armenian in public domains as well as everyday activities.

The rate of illiteracy in the minority language among minority group members also contributes to the absence/limited visibility of minority languages in the LL. Both Circassian and Armenian are the most visible minority languages in the LL, which is part

²³ The participants are CIM74SSRE, ARM41SSGS, KUM69BDFM, KUF30BDEN, KUM45BDNU, CHM42SSSA, CHM17SSST, CHF35DDTE, FIF33BDMA, FIF28SSMA, PAM23UGWO, INF30SSMA, INF46SSMA, INM26SSSU, SIF44ESMA, and SIF57PSMA.

manifested in the high rate of literacy in Circassian and Armenian among Circassian and Armenian participants respectively. Chechen is acquired orally and tends to be maintained by Chechens, but the visibility of Romanised Chechen in the LL is limited to personal names displayed on some commercial front stores and two instances of graffiti. Since participants of Kurdish and Turkish origin cannot read and write their minority languages, Turkish is limited to two institutional inscriptions, while Kurdish is absent from the LL.

One of the reasons for the limited visibility of Chechen in the LL is possibly due to resistance to linguistic russification after the conquest of the Caucasus. CHM78BDDC states:

In the process of russification, the Russians replaced Arabic script, which was formerly used for the Chechen language, with the Russian alphabet in order to blur the Chechen language and isolate Chechens from Islam. Russians would not have done that if Mustafa Ataturk had not changed the alphabet of Turkish from Arabic to Latin script.

It might be argued that Jordan Chechens are not currently living in Chechnya and so have no relation with the process of russification. However, not only Chechens but also Circassians appear to be still strongly emotionally attached to the Caucasus. CIM78PSRE argues that ‘We love our mother tongue to maintain nationality, heritage and traditions and we might go back to the Caucasus willingly or unwillingly at some point in time’. The process of russification not only aims to spread the Russian language, but it is also historically linked to Orthodox Christianity (Dowler, 1995). By the same token, an emphasis on teaching the Russian language over other ethnic languages in Russia may change ethnic identification to Russian (Anderson & Silver, 1983:463). This seems to explain why Chechens prefer to use the Arabic and Roman alphabets instead of the Russian writing system. The use of the former alphabets constitutes forms of cultural and linguistic resistance against Russian acculturation.

Linguistic hostility exercised by the local community is a plausible reason for further shrinkage of Armenian in the LL. ARM46SSSTR says ‘Personally, I placed signs in Armenian on my storefront, but the boys removed them and threw them away’. The Armenian participant’s response suggests that there are feelings of hostility towards the appearance of signs on his storefront from the Arab population. This might explain the disappearance of some signs in Armenian, including commercial signage and graffiti. This might stem from social conflict that validates modes of aggressiveness towards minority groups, especially if social groups have distinctive religious affiliations (Dollard, 1938). As a result, Armenian would be conceived and treated as a socially-stigmatised language.

The LL is one of the areas in which minority languages are marginalised. Overt and covert top-down language policies exercised by the state support Arabic as the official majority language in education and official domains where minority languages are marginalised. That is why the supporters of LHRs are dissatisfied with the top-down language policies of the state of Jordan and indicate discrimination against minority languages.²⁴ For example, CIM58BDTE argues that ‘This is simply a human right. It is the linguistic right of Circassian people for their language to be seen in public spaces, the state is not interested in keeping that right’. When the majority language is perceived as a language of wider communication and minority languages are viewed as a symbol of tradition, history and heritage, they might be considered as limited languages not only by members of the majority group, but also by minority language users (Ricento, 2006:257). That is why the advocates of LHRs call for activating minority language rights that involve the recognition and advocacy of these rights through a state-sponsored minority language policy, even though the state gives minority groups the freedom to establish their own cultural and linguistic institutions.

²⁴ The participants are TUF68ESHW, CHM78BDDC, ARM46SSSTR, ARF47BDTE, and CIM58BDTE who advocate their linguistic rights to see their minority languages in the LL.

The responses analysed in the present study show that the advocates of LHRs support the visibility of various LL categories. These include street name signs, institutional inscriptions (e.g. hospital name signs, public school signs and signs on governmental buildings) and commercial signage (e.g. labels, advertisements, business name signs and signs on storefronts). The attitude of the participants reflects support of multilingualism as a feature of the LL. For example, TUF68ESHW refers to the benefits of linguistic diversity as well as the history of Turks who conquered Jordan for a long period of time: ‘There are many Turkish students learning the Arabic language and many Turks working in this country. It would be helpful if Turkish was available in public spaces’. She therefore advocates the importance of indexing the Turkish community via the LL as a means of asserting its status and relevance. In addition, the responses of the participants show that they are aware that the LL is an arena for languages in competition and one where language actors can articulate their demands for equality and rights. Minority languages are always marginalised in many social settings and domains such as mass media resources and public places, so the LL is an important space for the acknowledgement of different ethnolinguistic groups. For example, ARF47BDTE indirectly hints at the linguistic discrimination against Armenian in the LL where state intervention should take place to protect Armenian from further stigmatisation in public life.

This provides insights into the respondent's opinion and the wider societal context. The respondent is not satisfied with the state's language policy that elevates the status of particular languages, namely Arabic and English, at the expense of her minority language. If the state does not intervene for national minority language protection, Arabic will continue to dominate in most informal and public domains. ‘Formal protection and support for national minority languages along with active linguistic protection by the state for the

unhindered maintenance of other languages' would contribute to reversing language shift and reducing power differences between all languages involved (Ricento, 2006: 234). The government intervention on the behalf of national minorities is very crucial. It can be argued that the influence of Arabic on minority languages is very harmful and this requires the state to take active steps to protect minority languages from language loss in accordance with the necessary conditions of 'substantive equality' (Hogan-Brun & Wolff, 2003: 41).

With respect to economic participants' attitudes towards the disappearance of their minority languages from the LL, some participants hold the belief that Bengali and Chinese are not marginalised and present on walls as proper names and on commercial signs in the city respectively.²⁵ Aside from Chinese, economic participants' first languages, Tagalog, Urdu, Pashto, Malay, Hindi, Punjabi, Sinhalese, Bengali and Burmese, did not appear in the LL. Figure 6.9 illustrates the limited visibility of Chinese in the commercial written domain.



Figure 6.9: Chinese appearing in the LL on a sign of a Chinese foot care massage centre (Amman)

²⁵ The research subjects are BEM30PSSU and CNF27SSMA.

Figure 6.9 is a typical example of 'fragmentary multilingualism' as proposed by Reh (2004). In Chinese culture, red features as a colour of high modality. In the first line, the Arabic text in blue characters reads 'MARKIZ AALMAHAREH' meaning 'Skilled Centre' and 'AINAAYEH BILADAFIYER' meaning 'nail care' on the right position. In the second line, the red lettering reads 'AALMARKIYEZ AASSEENI LILANAYIEH BILKADEM' meaning 'Chinese foot care massage'. The Chinese wording in smaller blue letters that reads 'JON GO TSU DAO' meaning 'Chinese foot care massage' shows the fact that Chinese is marginal on the sign.

Building upon Scollon & Scollon's place semiotics (2003), even though the presence of Arabic and English texts on the above sign appears to be of the same font size, Arabic is the 'preferred code' by virtue of amount of information provided as well as top emplacement. From the view of social semiotics, as developed by Kress & Hodge (1999), colours are important features to understand the semiotics of Chinese culture. In Chinese culture, red and blue symbolise colours of high modality. The red colour symbolises good fortune and joy to the Chinese people, whilst the greenish blue is a symbol of the spring represented by a greenish-blue sun whose main guardian god was a greenish-blue dragon (Colours in Chinese culture). Dragons are prominent features of Chinese mythology and legends. For example, the blue dragon controls the Chinese astrology (Colours in Chinese culture).

The Chinese participant mentions that Chinese appears on the store front. This appears to assert the assumption that in the age of globalisation the Chinese language is expanding its territories in every part of the world. However, the occasional appearance of Chinese in the LL seems to be more related to symbolic values rather than instrumental

purposes.²⁶ In the commercial establishments involved, Chinese is found on storefronts serving Chinese food or providing traditional Chinese message, as shown in Figure 6.9. Even though the Chinese participant ascribes the appearance of Chinese for its power, this cannot be accepted uncritically. Since the Chinese language is not largely present in the LL, it might be suggested that its visibility relates to power in other countries, but the Chinese population is so small in Jordan and Chinese does not have the same power and prestige as English in Jordan.

The responses elicited from the participants suggest a number of reasons for the absence/limited visibility of economic participants' mother tongues from the LL. The majority of the participants agree that economic minority groups are small populations in a predominantly Arabic-speaking country, which attaches a great value to English as a global language because Jordanians can access to modern technology and universal knowledge through English, the language of social prestige and success.²⁷ Another important reason is correlated with some participants' perceptions that Islam is one of the obstacles leading to the absence of minority languages from the LL.

Since economic small populations play a marginal role in everyday activities, the small sizes of minority communities seem to be an essential factor in the absence of most minority languages from the LL. BUF30BDRE states the reason for the invisibility of her mother tongue in the LL: 'It is not that important in Jordan. Burmese is a small community in Jordan in comparison with the Arab population'. Small immigrant minorities are not expected to be linguistically tolerated, so linguistic toleration or non-discrimination does not work with respect to minority communities, especially small ones (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006: 284).

²⁶ The survey conducted in Jordanian cities between November and December 2012 shows that the visibility of Chinese is limited to a number of signs totalling seven commercial signs.

²⁷ The participants are FIF33BDMA, FIF28SSMA, PAM23UGWO, PAM33MDTR, INF30SSMA, INF46SSMA, INM26SSSU, INM39MDAC, SIF44ESMA, SIF57PSMA, and BUF30BDRE.

The fact that Arabic and Islam are closely related contributes to the wide spread of Arabic and the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL.²⁸ For example, PAM33MDTR argues that ‘Arabic should be available everywhere in public spaces and Arabic is better than Urdu because it is the language of the Qur’an’. In recent years, religion has been viewed as one of the obstacles and discriminations that have been attacked as illegitimate (Schmidt, 2006: 104). Arabic is closely related to Islam, the official constitutional religion of the state of Jordan, but minority languages do not have the same religious status in Jordan. Not only is Arabic conceived as a linguistic symbol of Arab nationalism in Jordan, but Islam also emphasises the important role of Arabic in shaping the LL. Therefore, it is plausible that Arabic is widely used and minority languages are marginalised in the LL.

Instrumental reasons play a central role in the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL. The instrumental functions of Arabic are emphasised by referring to the majority language of wider communication in the state of Jordan. From the perspective of ‘linguistic instrumentalism’, as suggested by Wee (2003), an emphasis is directed at learning English communication skills so as to be successful in the labour market. For instance, INF30SSMA demonstrates that ‘This (Jordan) is an Arab country and Indonesian is useless here. People are not interested in this language and they are more interested in Arabic and English’. In an Arabic-speaking country such as Jordan, minority languages only function as transmitters of culture, tradition and identity and are not widely spread and accepted by the majority community, whilst English has much more economic significance than any other foreign language, functioning as a lingua franca in many top-down and bottom-up domains and settings, including the LL.

²⁸The participants are PAM33MDTR, INF30SSMA, and INM26SSSU.

For these reasons, the majority of the participants think that their home languages should not be visible in the LL.²⁹ Such majority language ideologies, which might have been internalised by immigrants, perpetuate negative attitudes towards immigrants' first languages in new foreign places. Shohamy (2006: 68) provides explanations for the immigrants' feelings of stigma towards their first languages when they come to a new place:

They may have internalised such ideologies and these may have affected their behaviours and not the official policies. Immigrants realise very fast, given such propaganda and myths, that the languages they used in their home countries have no relevance in the new place, are of no value in the new societies and may communicate disloyalty, resulting in negative language stigmas and stereotypes about belonging and exclusion that can also cause discrimination in terms of language rights.

This stigmatisation of economic participants' minority languages as opposed to the majority language and English might lead the participants to negatively assess the possibility of visibility of their minority languages in the LL. In other words, since economic participants' minority languages are viewed as subordinate linguistic codes in a place outside the home country where only Arabic and English are supported not only by the state, but also by the Arab population, such internalised ideologies reflect the fact that Arabic and English are much more instrumental than foreign workers' first languages in the LL.

Supporters of LHRs advocate their minority language rights to be seen in the LL.³⁰ Two main categories are suggested to be presented in minority languages, including medical signs and commercial signs. Some participants argue that the visibility of their mother tongues in the LL will make them feel proud of their first languages, whilst INM39MDAC argues that 'There are many advertisements written in Arabic which we

²⁹The participants include FIF33BDMA, FIF28SSMA, PAM23UGWO, PAM33MDTR, INF30SSMA, INF46SSMA, INM26SSSU, SIF44ESMA, and SIF57PSMA.

³⁰ The participants are INM39MDAC, BEM30PSSU, CNF27SSMA, and BUF30BDRE

cannot understand'.³¹ It seems that minority languages are viewed as symbols of self-identification and not promoted for communicative purposes because English, which is the most commonly used language among the participants, is widespread in the commercial LL. This means that the visibility of immigrants' mother tongues will guarantee respect and recognition for the language rights of minority groups.

6.5 Conclusions

A number of findings can be highlighted from the current study with respect to a set of themes. The analysis of the data has revealed that there are similarities and differences between immigrant groups in terms of language maintenance, language policy and visibility of minority languages in the LL. As far as older migrants' minority languages are concerned, a set of determinants play a key role in language maintenance, shift and loss such as spatial distribution of the community, linguistic rights of minorities, interethnic marriages, top-down and bottom-up language policies, migration, hostility towards some minority languages, religion, and institutional and home support. In relation to Chechen, Circassian and Armenian participants, the evidence suggests that parental and institutional support are decisive factors in reversing language shift. On the one hand, it is implied that the government should intervene to eliminate the stigmatised status often attached to minority languages as compared to Arabic and English via state-sponsored language policies. On the other hand, a more effective solution might be to build stronger 'Language Citizenship' (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004). From the perspective of 'Language Citizenship', minority groups have control over their language choice and can maintain their minority languages. This tension can result from the assumption that the discourse of LHRs is internalised by some participants and that the fear of the imminent language shift

³¹ The participants are BEM30PSSU and BUF30BDRE.

and loss may lead to an overreliance on state-sponsored measures for language maintenance. To reverse language shift, minority language education should not only be formally and informally supported, but also it must be accompanied by active language use (Fishman, 1991:368).

The value of studying language maintenance in relation to the LL can be summarised as follows: in the given context, if minority languages tend to be maintained, it is more likely that they are visible in the LL. The analysis that follows provides a snapshot of the language practices of national minority groups to identify how language maintenance, shift and loss mould the LL. After adapting the UNESCO Endangerment Framework (2009), currently Chechen seems to be a 'safe' language spoken by all participants, while other languages face varying degrees of language endangerment. Chechens speak their own minority language in the domains of home, friendship and in social functions such as telling facts and stories, expressing feelings, making jokes with Chechens, and speak Arabic with other Jordanians, and in the religion and school domains. Used by most participants in very restricted domains, especially home and Church, Armenian is scaled as a 'vulnerable' language. Circassian is considered as a 'severely endangered' language because it is used by elderly participants but it might be understood by younger participants who do not use it with their children. Turkish is 'critically endangered' because it is only used by elderly participants and younger participants do not use it anymore, while Kurdish is never spoken by any participant.

There seem to be several possible causes explaining varying degrees of language endangerment. First, minority groups appear to be small populations that are subject to socio-economic and cultural pressures to shift toward Arabic. Second, the top-down language policies do not support ethnolinguistic diversity for homogeneity. Third, interethnic marriages appear to be a plausible interpretation for the different patterns of

language endangerment among members of minority groups, even though the Chechen community has created cultural and 'linguistic islands' where interethnic marriages are discouraged. Fourth, most minority groups are not close-knit communities. Language maintenance is usually fostered by maintaining close ties with relatives and ethnolinguistic peers. Fifth, voluntary migration seems to be an important reason contributing to the decreasing number of minority groups and language shift. Sixth, cultural distance/proximity and religious affiliation seem to be important reasons for language maintenance, shift and loss. Seventh, all long-term minority communities are early settlers in Jordan, so the length of settlement is a possible interpretation for the various stages of language endangerment. Finally, it is noted that elderly participants have a stronger tendency to maintain minority languages than younger ones.

Most research subjects concentrate on the role played by parental and institutional support in language maintenance. This is apparent in the rate of literacy in minority languages among members of minority groups. Communally supported, the Chechen language is acquired orally and is not accompanied by informal institutional support, a reason behind the inability to read and write the Russian writing system. Institutionally supported by minority groups, the Cyrillic and Armenian scripts are read and written by most Armenian and Circassian participants respectively.

All Chechen subjects maintain their language because such a close-knit community does not believe in interethnic marriages, even though there are no institutions established to support language survival. Chechen subjects cannot read and write the Russian writing system, which is in sharp contrast with what is observed in the Circassian and Armenian case. This indicates that Chechen is only acquired orally and proper names such as Chechen tribal and personal names are used to indicate their distinctive identity and assert ownership of given localities. As a result of institutional support, most Armenian and

Circassian subjects are literate in Armenian and Circassian. That is why Armenian and Circassian are visible in Armenian and Circassian spaces. This sharply contrasts with Turkish and Kurdish participants illiterate in their minority languages because institutional support is almost absent. This is evident in the finding that the research subjects cannot read and write Turkish, especially after the replacement of the Arabic alphabet by the Latin writing system in Turkey in 1920.

Most respondents think that their minority languages should not be visible in the LL because they are not as instrumental as Arabic and English. From the perspective of 'linguistic instrumentalism', as suggested by Wee (2003), members of minority groups seek to acquire communication skills in Arabic to facilitate social mobility and ensure economic success. Of monolingual and multilingual signs recorded in the LL, minority languages are found not to be used for communicative purposes, but they tend to function as carriers of ethnic origin, identity and culture.

Linguistic russification and hostility are found to be possible interpretations behind further limited visibility of Chechen and Armenian respectively. The Russian writing system is not read and written by all Chechen participants, because it is closely related to Orthodox Christianity. It can be inferred that language hostility towards Armenian contributes to the disappearance of some LL categories, especially graffiti and commercial signage.

The state's language policies also contribute to the marginalisation of minority languages in the LL. That is why advocates of LHRs have the concern that minority language loss occurs when the majority language has greater socio-political power over other minority languages. With the passage of time, the majority language takes over the social functions and domains of the minority language (May, 2006:257, 258). Even though the state of Jordan does not have a special language policy for supporting minority

language rights, it does not impose any restrictions on teaching such languages in private schools (Rannut, 2009: 305). From the perspective of 'Language Citizenship', members of minority groups decide which languages in which domains and they are the most eligible agents and actors for changing the current visibility of minority languages in the LL (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004). However, the lack of institutional support has a negative impact on minority language maintenance and indirectly authorises forms of linguistic intolerance.

The supporters of LHRs promote the visibility of LL categories, including street name signs, governmental and nongovernmental institutional signs, and commercial signs. It seems that the fear of the impending language shift and loss has led to the advocacy of minority language rights in the LL based on a set of arguments. Firstly, TUF68ESHW argues that linguistic diversity should be promoted in settings to strengthen the cultural and historical bonds between Turks and Arabs. Secondly, ARF47BDTE sheds light on the multilingual benefits of linguistic diversity in language knowledge and identification. Thirdly, ARM46SSTR stresses the role of Armenians in building the country. Finally, CIM58BDTE considers visibility of Circassian in the LL as a human right. These responses indicate that the state of Jordan is not committed to ethnolinguistic diversity and multilingualism, so the above participants are dissatisfied with the linguistic inequality practiced by the government against their minority languages and call for the state support of their linguistic rights as it advocates the majority language. This lack of state intervention is reflected in the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL.

The evidence suggests that economic respondents' minority languages are seemingly 'safe' languages. There appear to be several reasons behind this high degree of minority language maintenance, including the temporary settlement in the country, the daily use of minority languages via electronic and traditional correspondence, the

educational language policies in their home countries, and positive perceptions and attitudes towards their first languages.

Based on issues of language maintenance and policy, a number of reasons are thought to be behind the invisibility/limited visibility of minority languages in the LL. These include the small sizes of economic immigrant populations, religion, and linguistic instrumentality of Arabic and English. That is why minority languages are perceived as inferior languages in a predominantly Arabic-speaking country, not necessarily by the majority group but also by members of economic minority groups. The notion of linguistic instrumentality plays a vital role in the marginalised status of minority languages in the LL. It can be inferred that both Arabic and English are more useful and practical than their first languages. Arabic is the language of the receiving country, whilst economic minority languages are merely used by small migrant communities. Equally important, the Arabic language indexes Islam, especially among Muslim participants. That is why many participants of recent migrant communities think that their home languages should not be seen in the LL. All this displays the limited visibility of economic migrant native languages in the LL, which clearly reflects the internalised ideology of the participants that their native languages are socially-stigmatised.

Supporters of HLRs advocate the visibility of their home languages in the LL, providing a number of types of signs such as medical centres, shop signs, and advertisements. Two reasons are suggested for promoting economic minority languages in the LL: national pride in mother tongues and inability to understand many advertisements written in Arabic. However, it seems that minority languages are more supported for symbolic rather than instrumental reasons, because English is used for communicative purposes by the vast majority of economic participants.

As a final comparison between established minority and recent migrant populations, there are similarities and differences between the two communities. In terms of language maintenance and policy, established minority populations seemingly have varying degrees of language endangerment, while recently arrived migrant populations appear to be 'safe' languages. On the one hand, several reasons are responsible for these different patterns of language endangerment, including spatial distribution, interethnic marriages, top-down and bottom-up language policies, migration, hostility towards some minority languages, religion, and institutional and home support. On the other hand, the short period of settlement, electronic and traditional correspondence, the educational language policies in the home countries, and national pride in home languages seem to play a vital role in language maintenance. As a result, several reasons play a very important role in the absence/limited visibility of established minority languages, including the impending language shift and loss, 'linguistic instrumentalism', the rate of illiteracy, linguistic russification, linguistic hostility and overt and covert top-down policies exercised by the state. As far as the absence/limited visibility of recent minority languages are concerned, linguistic instrumentality of Arabic and English, religion and the small sizes of economic minority groups contribute to their marginalised status in the LL. For these reasons, most participants do not promote that minority languages should be visible in the LL. By contrast, some promoters of LHRs advocate their human linguistic rights in the LL, which can be best justified by the fear of the imminent language shift or loss on the part of established minority groups and national pride on the part of recent minority subjects.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

In the foregoing chapters, this study investigates visual multilingualism in the LL of urban Jordan, in order to give a full account of language practices on both top-down and bottom-up signs. The main aims of this study were three-fold:

1. To identify the extent of linguistic diversity in the LL of Jordanian cities by examining existing languages and scripts on both monolingual and multilingual signs.
2. To tease out themes and trends from the existing data to identify the dynamics that give rise to these languages/language varieties and scripts on signs.
3. To provide empirical evidence about how minority languages are presented in the LL through a questionnaire delivered to 32 migrants and foreign workers and LL data collected from the areas in which they live and work with a view to identifying the reasons behind the limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

To achieve these goals, quantitative and qualitative methods were used to collect and analyse data. This chapter is divided into two main sections: summary of findings and suggestions for future work.

7.2 Summary of findings

The current research has provided a full account of the linguistic situation of Jordan on top-down and bottom-up signs. A number of analytical themes and trends are drawn from the primary data. The Analysis demonstrates that both top-down and bottom-up signs show the key roles played by municipalities, governmental and non-governmental

institutions, commercial companies, shopkeepers and individuals in the construction of the LL with a view to orienting the readers.

The empirical data provide evidence for the dominance of both MSA and English on monolingual and multilingual signs. It can be easily observed that the trend is numerically in favour of MSA and English. Landry & Bourhis (1997) observe that the dominant language of public signs is normally the language of the majority group that largely controls a specific region or area. This is true of the Arabic language whose majority group makes up about 98% of the Jordanian population. MSA is the most used language variety for functions of Arab and state nationalism. The top-down linguistic landscaping suggests that both MSA and English are supported in visual regulatory environment.

It is linguistically striking that Jordanian Arabic is deleted from the top-down LL because it is closely related to informal displays of texts. On bottom-up signs, Jordanian Arabic is employed to emphasise local culture. It can be suggested that CA is mainly used to convey religious functions in the LL. First, it is used to remind the reader of Allah and the pillars of Islam. Second, it serves as a symbol of cultural identity of shop keepers for economic ends sought out. Third, it functions as a means for rejecting religious misconduct in the community.

Although MSA and English are the most prevalent codes on bottom-up signs, a wide range of languages are used in the bottom-up LL, including but not limited to French, German, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Russian, which are found to be mainly used on brand name and business name signs. These languages are less visible in the LL and often used by those who are interested in the commercial and cultural aspects of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Turkey and Russia.

The high presence of English, on the other hand, refers to the ideas of globalisation, sophistication and modernity, as observed by many scholars, including but not limited to

Kelly-Holmes (2005) and Jaworski & Thurlow (2003). Through the quantitative and qualitative results that are presented in Chapters Five and Six, English has a central multi-functional role in moulding the LL of urban Jordan. It plays a key role as a global language of commerce, visual communication, official and unofficial domains. Although the Jordanian constitution seemingly supports a monolingual language policy, language practices on top-down signs show the fact that English is supported in official domains because the government desires the English language to expand for reasons of education, economic development and communication with foreign tourists and workers. Companies and shopkeepers' own uses of English on signs appear to be different from those of the government. English is generally used for appealing purposes, especially on business name signs, brand name signs, advertisements, multifunctional signs and labels on products, whilst it might be used for both symbolic and communicative purposes on information, instruction and business signs. In addition, the wide spread of English has made it possible that English is used for expressing local themes and taboo meanings, especially in areas where members of affluent classes go for shopping.

Due to the wide use of English in CMC, mixed codes are commonly used in the LL for fulfilling a set of functions. The mixing of Arabic and English on signs is used to advocate linguistic tolerance and glocal identity, promote local names and cultural references, meet the social needs of people and avoid taboo expressions in Arabic.

As empirical data show, not only are minority languages stigmatised, but also they are significantly marginalised on both top-down and bottom-up signs. As Chapter Six shows, a number of explanations account for the marginalisation of minority languages. Building upon issues of language maintenance and policy, several interpretations seem to be behind the limited visibility of established minority languages in the LL. It is possibly a result of cultural and linguistic assimilation that limits the role of small languages. Several

manifestations of acculturation are explored, including interethnic marriages, spatial distribution of migrant communities, the small size of minority communities, and lack of (sufficient) institutional and parental support, migration, and absence of close ties with families and linguistic peers. Other important interpretations include linguistic russification, hostility, instrumentality of both Arabic and English, and top-down language policies enacted by the Jordanian government. Although foreign workers' minority languages tend to be maintained due to the short period of settlement, electronic and traditional correspondence, the educational language policies in the home countries and national pride in home languages, their minority languages are significantly marginalised in the LL. The instrumental functions of both Arabic and English, Islam and the small sizes of economic minority groups have played a key role in the limited visibility/invisibility of minority languages in the LL.

7.3 Future work

The study used quantitative and qualitative methods to highlight the what, how and why of the LL, as illustrated in Chapters Five and Six. The study is conducted in Jordan's urban areas. Whilst rural environments have not been researched at length in LL studies, future studies may concentrate on the LL of rural areas and compare the existing languages with those in towns and cities. Multilingualism in the LL of Jordanian rural areas such as small towns and rural villages might be the focus of LL investigation; future LL studies might identify whether minority languages in Amman's and Zarqa's rural areas heavily populated by Circassians and Chechens respectively are visible in the LL.

The current study is mainly concerned with fixed and semi-transient signage, while moving objects and non-textual signs are not examined. 'Languages in motion' are recently discussed in the LL, as examined by some linguistic landscapers (Moriarty, 2014).

A wide range of mobile objects displaying monolingual and multilingual writing might be further researched in Jordan's LL. These aspects might be the centre of LL examination in Jordan's LL in the future and compared with fixed and semi-transient signs displaying linguistic writing.

Members of long-term communities should follow effective strategies for maintaining their home languages. In order to revitalise their home languages, it is recommended that they be used in written language. In this respect, the visibility of minority languages in the LL might make them strive to show stronger commitment to their culture and language through the establishment of (new) schools. In this sense, minority language instruction might be introduced from the first grade, so children of minority groups read, write and engage in classroom conversations in minority languages.

Based on the data compiled in this study, the need arises for supporting the visibility of minority languages in the top-down and bottom-up LL. Therefore, further research on minority languages in the LL of Jordan may help to understand the impact of the visibility of minority languages in the LL on children from ethnic minority backgrounds. In this respect, future research might throw new light on the connections between the invisibility/limited visibility of minority languages in the LL, on the one hand, and minority language maintenance and culture, on the other hand. This is not only the case; future LL research studies might understand how individuals and families construct their ethnic identities through using the LL as a tool.

There is a need for more LL studies to be conducted in the LL of Jordan. For example, given the fact that Jordan is an attraction to foreign tourists, future work might focus on tourists' perceptions and attitudes towards the linguistic practices of top-down and bottom-up actors on signs. In addition, future LL studies need to be conducted in Jordan's historical places and touristic attractions (e.g. Petra, Amman's Roman theatre, Umm Qais,

Madaba and The Dead Sea), which attract hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists coming from different parts of the world.

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Appendix I: Informed consent form for social science research in Arabic

University of Liverpool

عنوان البحث: التعدد اللغوي في المشهد اللغوي في الأردن في المناطق الحضرية

الباحث: عمر العموش

نموذج موافقة المشاركين في الدراسة من المهاجرين

أولاً: أؤكد أنني قد قرأت وفهمت ورقة المعلومات بتاريخ اذار 2013.

ثانياً: أنني أفهم أن مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة هو طوعي ولدي الحق في الانسحاب من هذه المشاركة دون إعطاء أسباب.

ثالثاً: أنني أفهم أن مشاركتي لمليء بنود الاستبانة ستكون مجهولة تماماً.

رابعاً: أنني أفهم إذا أصبحت منزعاً أو شعرت بعدم الارتياح في أي لحظة أثناء دراسته فلدي كامل الحق في الانسحاب من الدراسة.

خامساً: أنا أفهم أنه لدي الحق في الوصول إلى المعلومات التي أشارك بها. وعلاوة على ذلك يمكنني أن أطلب الغاء هذه المعلومات متى أريد.

سادساً: أوافق على المعلومات الموجودة في الدراسة بحيث يتم تخزينها لمدة سنتين بعد تسليم أطروحة الدكتوراه. والسبب في ذلك أن الباحث قد يرتأي نشر الأطروحة، وربما يحتاج إلى الوصول إلى البيانات بعد تاريخ تسليم الأطروحة.

سابعاً: أنا موافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

التاريخ	التوقيع	اسم المشارك
_____	_____	_____
التاريخ	التوقيع	اسم الباحث
_____	_____	_____

تفاصيل الاتصال :

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Appendix II: Informed consent form for social science research in English

University of Liverpool

Title of research: Multilingualism in the Linguistic Landscape of Urban Jordan

Researcher: Omar Alomoush

Letter of consent for respondents of foreign or migrant origin

Please read the following statements:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated July 2013. I have had the opportunity to consider this information, ask questions and gain answers.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw without explanation if I so wish.
3. I understand that my participation in the completion of the questionnaire will be fully anonymous.
4. I understand that if I become upset or feel uncomfortable at any point in the study, I have the full right to withdraw from the study.
5. I understand that I have the right to demand access to information that I provide. Furthermore, I can demand for this information to be destroyed if I so wish.
6. I consent for the data generated in this study to be stored for two years following the submission of the researcher's Thesis. The reason for this is that the researcher hopes to publish the Thesis and may need to access the data after the submission date.
7. I consent to participate in this study.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Contact details:

Researcher

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Appendix III: The questionnaire in Arabic

عزيزي المشارك في الدراسة،
إن هدف هذه الاستبانة التعرف على موقفك تجاه الاسباب وراء اختفاء اللغة الشيشانية واللغة الشركسية واللغة الارمنية ولغات العاملين من ذوي الاصول الاجنبية من المشهد اللغوي للمدن الاردنية. عزيزي المشارك في الدراسة، تتضمن هذه الاستبانة بعض التمارين التي يأمل الباحث أن تجيب عليها بشكل موضوعي، فهدف هذة الاستبانة اكايمي بحت. واذا شعرت بعدم الارتياح لسبب ما، فلك الحق الكامل بالانسحاب من المشاركة في الدراسة في وقت لاحق.
القسم الأول

ان المشهد اللغوي يمثل النص المكتوب ضمن إطار محدد مكانيا. ان المشهد اللغوي يحتوي على لافتات مكتوب عليها اسماء الشوارع، و اسماء العلامات التجارية والملصقات على واجهات المتاجر والجدران، واللوحات الإعلانية و القارمات على المباني الحكومية، والملصقات مثل "اسحب وادفع" و'مفتوح ومغلق' والإعلانات على أعمدة الكهرباء، والكثير من الكتابات الأخرى التي تظهر على الدعسات عند ابواب المتاجر.
عزيزي المشارك في الدراسة قبل أن تكمل هذه الاستبانة، أرجو أن تدون المعلومات التالية عن نفسك:

العرق: _____

الجنس: _____

العمر: _____

مستوى التعليم: _____

المهنة: _____

القسم الثاني

اجب عن الاسئلة التالية والتي تتناول اللغة او اللغات التي تتحدثها في الحياة اليومية:
اولا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تتحدثها في الحياة اليومية؟

ثانيا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تفهمها؟

ثالثا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي يمكن ان تقرأها او تكتبها؟

رابعا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي يستخدمها ابواك عند الحديث اليك؟

خامسا: هل تستخدم لغات مختلفة مع اختلاف افراد العائلة؟ ماهي اللغات ومع من؟

سادسا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تستخدمها عند الحديث مع اصدقائك؟

سابعا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تستخدمها في المواقف التالية؟

ا. لرواية القصص وسرد الحقائق

ب. لسرد النكت واطفاء جو من الفكاهة.

ج. لتعبير عن المشاعر.

د. للعد والحساب.

ز. للصلاة

ثامنا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تستخدمها في المدرسة؟

تاسعا: ماهي اللغة او اللغات التي تحب ان تستخدمها في المدرسة؟ ولماذا؟

عاشرا: هل تحب استخدام اللغة الام ؟ ولماذا؟

القسم الثالث: هل تتفق او تختلف مع العبارات التالية والتي تتعلق بلغتك الام: اذا تتفق ضع اشارة صواب واذا تختلف ضع اشارة خطأ:

- ا. لغتي الام يجب الحفاظ عليها لانها جزء من هويتي. _____
- ب. يجب ان تكون ثمة خطوات وتدابير ملموسة للحفاظ على لغتي الاصلية من الاندثار. _____
- ما هي التدابير والاجراءات؟ , أرجو أن تكتبها في الأسطر التالية:

ج. لغتي الام لا فائدة منها. _____

القسم الرابع: اجب عن الاسئلة التالية والتي تتناول التعرف على موقفك تجاه وجود لغتك الام في المشهد اللغوي للمدن الاردنية والذي يمثل النص المكتوب ضمن إطار محدد مكانيا.

اولا: اذا كنت تقرا وتكتب باستخدام لغتك الام , ماهي الغايات المنشودة وراء ذلك؟

ثانيا : هل تكتب النصوص باستخدام هدة اللغة ليراها الناس؟

ثالثا: هل ترى كتابات او ملصقات او قارمات مكتوبة عليها بلغتك الام في المدن ؟

ا. اذا كانت الاجابة بنعم , ارجو ان تحدد الاماكن التي تظهر فيها هدة الكتابات و نوع هدة الكتابات:

ب. اذا كانت الاجابة بنعم , ماهو الخط الاعتيادي لهدة الكتابات:

أ. الخط اللاتيني.

ب. الخط العربي.

ج. كلاهما

د. خط آخر

ج. . اذا كانت الاجابة بلا, ارجو ان تحدد الاسباب وراء اختفاء اوتهميش لغتك الام من المشهد اللغوي للمدن الاردنية:

رابعاً: هل تعتقد ان لغتك الام يجب ان تكتب وترى في الاماكن العامة؟ ولماذا؟

خامساً: ما هو نوع الكتابات و الفارمات التي ترغب ان تكتب بلغتك الاصلية و التي ترغب ان تظهر في الاماكن العامة ؟ ولماذا؟

Appendix IV: The questionnaire in English

Dear respondent,

This questionnaire attempts to understand how immigrant groups and foreign-origin workers use their community and native languages in the Jordanian public space. I hope to answer to the items of the questionnaire objectively because the purpose of this questionnaire is purely academic. However, if you feel uncomfortable after the interview for any reason, you have the option to withdraw from the participation in the study at a later date.

Section 1

A linguistic landscape item represents a written text within a spatially defined frame. Linguistic landscape objects include street name signs, business name signs, posters on shop windows and walls, noticeboards and billboards, signs on governmental buildings, 'pull and push' and 'open and close' signs, announcements on electricity poles, and lettered door mats.

Before you complete the questionnaire, please provide the following information about yourself:

Ethnic Origin _____

Gender _____

Age _____

Education: _____

Occupation _____

Section 2

Answer the following questions about the languages that you speak:

- a. What language(s) do you speak?

- b. What language(s) do you understand?

- c. What language(s) can you read/write?

- d. What language(s) do/did your parents use with you?

- e. Did/Do you use different languages with different members of your family? Which language(s) with whom?

- f. What language(s) do you use with your friends?

- g. What language(s) do you use in the following situations:

To tell stories/report facts

To make/tell jokes

To express feelings

To count

To pray

- h. What language(s) did/do you use at school?

What language(s) would you have liked/like to use at school? Why?

- i. Do you like using your mother tongue? Why?
-

Section 3

Do you agree/disagree with the following statements related to your first language: (If you agree put tick if you do not put X)

- a. My first language should be maintained because it is part of my identity. _____
- b. Something should be done so that my first language is kept alive. _____

Specify what should be done:

- c. My first language is useless. _____

Section 4

Answer the following questions which investigate your attitude toward the existence of your first language in the linguistic landscape, which is defined as written texts within a spatially defined frame:

- a. If you read/write your first language for what purposes are you likely to read/write it?

- b. Do you use your first language to write texts that are for everybody to see?

- c. Do you see your first language in written signs anywhere in the city?

If the answer is yes, could you please specify the places where such linguistic writings appear:

If the answer is no, why do you think that your language does not appear in the linguistic landscape?

If the answer is yes, what is the usual script of these writings?

- a. Arabic Script
- b. Latin Script
- c. Both
- d. Other

d. Do you think that your first language should be visible in the public space? Why?

e. What type of signs written in your first language would you like to see in the public space? Why?

Appendix V: Tables for distribution of monolingual signs according to existing languages and scripts

(In Tables that follow, commercial signs, political signs, religious signs, graffiti, municipal and institutional signs are abbreviated as CL, PL, RL, GR, ML and IL respectively, while business name signs, brand name signs, advertisements, information, business signs, instructions, product labels, multifunctional signs and newspaper racks are abbreviated as BN, BR, AD, IN, BS, INS, LB, MF, and NR respectively.)

Table for distribution of main LL categories according to the existing languages and scripts

Language/ Script	Bottom-up Signs				Top-down Signs		Total
	CL	PL	RL	GR	ML	IL	
MSA	1544	70	-	51	35	45	1745
English	1403	-	-	26	2	-	1431
CA	-	-	216	5	-	-	221
RA	96	-	-	48	-	-	144
Jordanian Arabic	81	-	-	45	-	-	126
French	46	-	-	-	-	-	46
AE	43	-	-	-	11	-	54
German	28	-	-	-	-	-	28
Roman script	83	-	-	-	-	-	83
Italian	19	-	-	-	-	-	19
Spanish	17	-	-	-	-	-	17
Turkish	14	-	-	-	-	-	14
Chinese	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Arabic script	33	-	-	-	-	-	33
Persian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Romanised Persian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dutch	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

Table for distribution of commercial monolingual signage according to the existing languages and scripts

Language/Script	BN	BR	AD	IN	BS	INS	LB	MF	NR	Other
MSA	395	67	478	14	118	49	-	356	57	10
English	257	754	148	5	112	37	30	52	6	2
RA	39	55	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jordanian Arabic	34	-	38	-	6	-	-	3	-	-
French	4	41	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AE	20	18	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1
German	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Roman script	-	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Italian	7	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	3	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turkish	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chinese	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Arabic script	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Persian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Romanised Persian	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dutch	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table for distribution of political sub-categories according to languages and scripts

Language/Script	Dynastic Signs	Political Campaigning Signs	Patriotic Signs	Total
MSA	50	17	3	70

Table for distribution of religious sub-genres according to existing languages and scripts

Language variety	Qur'anic verses	Dhikr	Hadith
CA	174	38	4

Table for distribution of graffiti sub-genres according to existing languages

Language profile	Identity	Emotive	Sexist	Political	Religious
MSA	35	9	-	7	-
English	13	6	7	-	-
Jordanian Arabic	31	14	-	-	-
RA	41	7	-	-	-
CA	-	-	-	-	5
Total	117	36	7	7	5

Table for distribution of municipal and institutional signs according to existing languages and scripts

Code	Municipal Inscriptions		Institutional inscriptions	
	Street name signs	Regulatory signs	Governmental inscriptions	Non-governmental inscriptions
MSA	35	-	23	22
English	-	2	-	-
AE	-	11	-	-
Total	35	13	23	22

VI: Tables for distribution of multilingual signs according to existing languages and scripts

Table for distribution of multilingual broad categories according to existing languages and scripts

Code	Bottom-up Authorship				Top-down Authorship	
	CL	PL	RL	GR	ML	IL
MSA	3208	4	6	12	300	68
English	2248	-	-	7	287	58
Jordanian Arabic	1416	-	1	13	-	1
AE	937	-	-	-	7	10
RA	737	-	-	13	278	19
French	67	-	-	-	-	-
Roman script	43	-	-	-	-	-
Italian	24	-	-	-	-	-
CA	27	4	6	1	1	1
German	18	-	-	-	-	-
Turkish	15	-	-	-	-	-
Arabic script	9	-	-	-	-	-
Chinese	4	-	-	-	-	-
Romanised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-
Arabaised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	3	-	-	-	-	-
Russian	2	-	-	-	-	-
Other	4	-	-	-	-	1

Table for distribution of multilingual commercial sub-genres according to existing languages and scripts

Code	BN	BR	AD	IN	BS	INS	LB	MF	NR	Other
MSA	525	105	661	112	136	34	115	1392	127	1
English	483	186	323	110	136	33	114	785	78	-
Jordanian Arabic	179	18	370	-	-	1	2	846	-	-
AE	169	22	302	-	-	-	4	421	19	-
RA	230	38	70	2	-	-	1	304	92	-
French	7	26	17	-	-	-	6	11	-	-
Roman script	-	31	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-
Italian	4	13	2	--	-	-	-	5	-	-
CA	7	-	5	-	-	-	-	14	-	1
German	1	7	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
Turkish	1	6	0	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
Arabic script	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
Chinese	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Romanised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arabacised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russian	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Hungarian	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Polish	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ukrainian	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swedish	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table for distribution of multilingual graffiti sub-genres according to existing languages and scripts

Code	Religious	Emotive	Identity	Sexist	Total
RA	-	8	4	1	13
Jordanian Arabic	1	8	4	-	13
MSA	1	4	7	-	12
English	-	6	-	1	7
CA	1	-	-	-	1
Total	3	27	14	2	

Table for distribution of municipal and institutional sub-categories according to existing languages and scripts

Code	Municipal Inscriptions		Institutional inscriptions	
	Street name signs	Regulatory signs	Governmental inscriptions	Non-governmental inscriptions
MSA	273	27	39	29
English	269	18	37	21
RA	272	7	11	5
AE	6	1	4	6
CA	--	1	-	1
Greek	-	-	-	1

Appendix VII: Multilingual patterns according to types of signs

Table for frequency of bilingual patterns containing two languages or varieties according to main LL categories

Bilingual Combination	Bottom-up Signs				Top-down Signs		Total
	CL	PL	RL	GF	ML	IL	
MSA-English	980	-	-	1	19	39	1039
MSA-Jordanian Arabic	796	-	-	6	-	-	802
MSA-AE	184	-	-		-	10	194
English-RA	141	-	-	5	-	-	146
MSA-RA	101	-	-	3	7	-	111
English-AE	63	-	-		-	-	63
English-French	45	-	-		-	-	45
Jordanian Arabic-AE	39	-	-		-	-	39
English- Jordanian Arabic	40	-	-	1	-	-	41
MSA-CA	13	4	5		1	-	23
Jordanian Arabic -RA	15	-	-	4	-	-	19
English-Italian	16	-	-	-	-	-	16
MSA-Roman script	17	-	-	-	-	-	17
English-German	9	-	-	-	-	-	9
Roman script-Arabic script	7	-	-	-	-	-	7
English-Turkish	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
MSA-French	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
English-RA	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
French-Romanised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
MSA-Arabacised Chechen	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
English-Arabic script	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jordanian Arabic-Roman script	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
English-Spanish	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
RA-AE	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
MSA-Turkish	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Jordanian Arabic-Roman script	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
English-Hungarian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
English-Polish	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-Greek	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Swedish-English	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	2501	4	5	20	27	50	2607

Table for distribution of Trilingual signs according to main LL categories

Trilingual Combinations	Bottom-up Signs				Top-down Signs		Total
	CL	PL	RL	GF	ML	IL	
MSA-RA-English	234	-	-		266	18	518
MSA-English-AE	276	-	-		2	-	278
MSA-Jordanian Arabic-AE	144	-	-		-	-	144
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic	112	-	-		-	-	112
MSA-RA-AE	22	-	-		5	-	27
English- Jordanian Arabic-AE	25	-	-		-	-	25
MSA- Jordanian Arabic-RA	22	-	-	1	-	-	23
English- Jordanian Arabic-RA	20	-	-		-	-	20
MSA- Jordanian Arabic-Roman script	10	-	-		-	-	10
MSA-CA-Jordanian Arabic	5	-	1	1	-	-	7
English-RA-AE	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
MSA-AE-Italian	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
MSA-AE-Roman script	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
MSA-CA-RA	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
MSA-RA-Jordanian Arabic	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Jordanian Arabic-RA-AE	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
MSA-English-Chinese	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
MSA- Jordanian Arabic-German	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
MSA-Jordanian Arabic-Roman script	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
MSA-English-CA	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
English-German-French	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-AE-Roman	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-Jordanian Arabic-Spanish	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-English-Ukrainian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
English-Jordanian Arabic-French	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
English-RA-French	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-AE-Chinese	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-English-Ukrainian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	912	-	1	2	273	18	1206

Table for quadrilingual combinations according to main LL categories

Combinations with four languages and more	Bottom-up Signs				Top-down Signs		Total
	CL	PL	RL	GF	ML	IL	
MSA-RA-English-Jordanian Arabic	73	-	-	-	-	-	73
MSA-RA-English-AE	72	-	-	-	-	-	72
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic-AE	69	-	-	-	-	-	69
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic-Turkish	7	-	-	-	-	-	7
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic-AE	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
English-Jordanian Arabic-RA-AE	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
MSA-English-AE-French	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic-German	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
MSA-RA-English-Jordanian Arabic-AE	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
MSA-CA-English-Jordanian Arabic	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
MSA-English French-German-Russian-Italian	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
MSA-RA-English-French	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
English-CA-Jordanian Arabic-RA	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
MSA-Jordanian Arabic-AE-French	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-Jordanian Arabic-English-AE	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-English-Jordanian Arabic-AE-French	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-RA- English-Jordanian Arabic	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-RA-English-CA	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-RA-English-German	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
MSA-RA-English-Italian	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total	256	-	-	-	-	1	257

Appendix VIII: code preferences

Table for first codes on signs according to ‘complementary’, ‘duplicating’, ‘overlapping’, and ‘fragmentary multilingual writing’

Preferred code	Complementary	Duplicating	Overlapping	Fragmentary	Total
MSA	1260	563	322	304	2449
English	309	107	211	152	779
Jordanian Arabic	227	30	32	4	293
AE	125	27	49	1	202
RA	112	29	14	4	159
French	46	1	5	2	54
Italian	16	1	2	-	19
Roman script	5	4	5	-	14
CA	25	-	-	-	25
German	9	2	1	-	12
Turkish	8	-	-	-	8
Romanised Chechen	3	-	-	-	3
Arabacised Chechen	3	-	-	-	3
Spanish	2	-	-	-	2
Hungarian	1	-	-	-	1
Total	2155	760	640	468	4023

Table for distribution of equivalent codes according to types of signs

Language combinations	Bottom-up Signs	Top-down Signs	Total
MSA-English	40	1	41
English-AE	3	-	3
MSA-RA	3	-	3
Total	46	1	47

Appendix IX: Summaries of the participants' language practices and beliefs about their mother languages in private and public domains.

1. Home languages 2. Languages used in other private domains 3. Religion domain 4. Languages used in school 5. Are you literate in minority language? 6. Views on language preference in school education 7. Views on minority language 8. Should minority language be maintained? 9. How? 10. Why is minority language not visible in the LL? 11. Should minority language be visible in public spaces? 12. Types of signs in the LL

CIM58BDTE

1. Arabic and only Circassian with parents
2. Arabic oftener than Circassian
3. Arabic
4. Arabic and English
5. Yes
6. All people speak Arabic in Jordan, while Circassian represents my origin and culture.
7. It is part of my culture and heritage so I love to use it.
8. Yes
9. To open language institutes, provide courses for teaching the language, and provide educational books in Circassian.
10. Because Arabic dominates the public life. As you know, Circassian people are a minority group in comparison with the Arab population. In addition, they do not have a strict stance on interethnic marriages.
11. Yes, this is simply a human right. It is the linguistic right of Circassian people for their language to be seen in public spaces, the state is not interested in keeping that right.
12. Signs on public schools and governmental buildings because as I said this is a human right.

CIM78PSRE

1. After parents passed away only Arabic used because sons and daughters cannot speak it.
2. Arabic and Circassian only with people speaking it
3. Only Arabic
4. Only Arabic
5. Little Circassian
6. Arabic because it is the official language of the state.

7. We love our mother tongue to maintain nationality, heritage, and traditions and we might come back to the Caucasus willingly or unwillingly at some point in time.

8. Yes

9. There should be more interest in learning the language at Emir Hamzeh Prince School. We (Circassians) do not see tangible government interest in teaching the language as other university courses such as engineering and chemistry. Government officials say that students (Circassian ones) can learn the language from their parents and relatives.

10. Unlike Circassian Jordanians, the overwhelming majority of Chechens maintain their language. Chechen adults and children have all maintained their language. Unlike Circassian people, Chechens do not believe in interethnic marriages.

11. I do not think so. Those who are proficient in this language are a few people even among the Circassian population in Jordan.

12. N/A

CIM74SSRE

1. Arabic oftener with sons and daughters and Circassian with parents 2. Arabic and Circassian

3. Arabic

4. Arabic and English

5. Yes

6. Arabic is the language of Qur'an, while Circassian represents my heritage and traditions. English is now the medium of communication with people from different parts of the world.

7. This means that we maintain our language, heritage and traditions. I can give the Arab population an idea about the Circassian language, Circassian traditions and norms.

8. Yes

9. Teaching the language should be further enhanced at Emir Hamzeh School via building language labs and in some nurseries run by the Circassian Charity Associations. There should be studentships to Circassian republics in the Caucasus. Another important thing is to speak the language as possible as we can.

10. I think that there are no reasons for the disappearance of Circassian but there is respect for the language of the Arab community.

11. It is extremely difficult to display Circassian on signs in public spaces because the Arab community does not understand it and Arabs cannot be blamed for that, but such signs can appear in Circassian private spaces such as Circassian associations.

12. N/A

CIF35DDSE

1. Circassian with parents. Arabic but sometimes Circassian with husband and children
2. Arabic and English to a lesser degree
3. Arabic
4. Arabic and English
5. No
6. Arabic, English, and French, because I am interested in learning languages and this will increase my knowledge.
7. It demonstrates my origin and culture.
8. Yes
9. To increase the use of Circassian in all domains and teach it for Circassian and Arab people alike.
10. The main reason is the decreasing number of people who speak Circassian. Circassian is now used by a limited number of people. I am Circassian, but I use Arabic rather than Circassian.
11. I think it is unnecessary to be visible in public spaces. It should be seen on charities and clubs belonging to Circassian people.
12. N/A

ARM41SSGS

1. Turkish and Armenian with parents and Arabic and Armenian with other members of family
2. Arabic and sometimes Armenian
3. Armenian
4. Armenian, Arabic, and English
5. Yes
6. Surely Armenian because the Elementary Armenian School teaches Armenian till the sixth grade. It also teaches in Arabic and English but after the sixth grade we are exclusively taught in Arabic and English.
7. We got used to speaking it and it is part of Armenian history and heritage. We learned how to read and write it at school because it is part of Armenian tradition and heritage.
8. Yes
9. Every language is important and those who know languages understand the importance of using a language on a regular basis. We have to speak the language with each other otherwise we will lose it.

10. The Armenians of Jordan are a minority group and Arabs are far much greater in Number than Armenians whose population is about 2000 thousand.

11. No, because no one will understand it (Armenian) and there are no Armenian tourists coming to Jordan. No one understands it (Armenian) except for the Armenian minority group in Jordan. If it (Armenian) appeared in the LL, people would make you feel a headache coming on and ask questions like 'What is that language? How dreadful it is!'.
12. N/A

ARM46SSTR

1. Only Arabic with parents and Arabic and Armenian with brothers and sisters.

2. Arabic

3. Armenian and Arabic.

4. Arabic.

5. No

6. Arabic because no one spoke Armenian at school as the majority was Arabs.

7. It represents everything; it represents my origin and the place my ancestors came from.

8. Yes

9. Learning, teaching, and speaking the Armenian language here.

10. There is no interest in the Armenian language even from the Armenian population in Jordan in addition to the small population of Jordan Armenians who are now integrated into the Jordanian population.

11. Yes in order to know and identify it. Accordingly, it will have a value and importance among people.

12. Labels, discount advertisements, business names and signs on storefronts. Personally, I placed signs in Armenian on my storefront but the boys removed them and throw them away.

ARF47BDTE

1. Armenian

2. Armenian with Armenians and Arabic with Arabs

3. Armenian

4. Arabic, Armenian, and English

5. Yes

6. Armenian to maintain the language and help the students be competent in Armenian.

7. It is my mother tongue so I should maintain it. I am proud of my language and it is part of my identity.

8. Yes

9. We should send our children the Armenian Primary School and the Armenian Club. Another thing is that we participate in Armenian celebrations and religious and national occasions.

10. N/A

11. Yes because Armenians are available in Jordan and they are an essential component of the Jordanian community and we take pride in that

12. Motorway signs, street name signs inside the city, hospital name signs, government institutional inscriptions, and shop signs because Armenians have been existent in Jordan since 1920 and they have a role in building Jordan.

ARF68ESHW

1. Arabic and Turkish with all members of family

2. Arabic most of the time and sometimes Turkish with people speaking it and some words in Armenian

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because schools used to teach Arabic and even English used to be taught from the fifth grade. I only completed the second grade.

7. If I had been taught the language I would have liked it.

8. Yes

9. Armenian is the language of our ancestors. There are people who are called Armenians and speak Arabic.

10. The main reason for the disappearance of the Armenian language from the LL is interethnic marriages. Male Arabs marry female Armenians and male Armenians marry female Arabs, so Armenian is shrinking.

11. No, because people do not understand it but Armenians. They are a minority group and there are Armenians who migrated to western Amman, Armenia, and America.

12. N/A

KUM69BDFM

1. Arabic

2. Arabic

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because it is my first language.

7. I am proud of Arabic because it is the language of Qur'an and it is the way to enter paradise.

8. Yes

9. The language can be maintained if it is taught for children but there are no efforts exerted to build a school to maintain the language, for example. This might be attributed to lack of interest to maintain the language and Jordan Kurds did not attempt to isolate themselves from Arabs as Chechens do.

10. There is no interest among Jordan Kurds to maintain the language and there is no enthusiasm for new generations to learn such a language. It is difficult to find people who use Kurdish nowadays.

11. No because it should be seen in its homeland, Kurdistan not in Jordan.

12. N/A

KUF30BDEN

1. Arabic

2. Arabic

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because it is the only language that I speak and it is my mother tongue

7. My parents did not use Kurdish with me and I am not fluent in Kurdish.

8. No

9. N/A

10. My parents did not use Kurdish and they only use Arabic with me. The same is true of many Kurds who know nothing about Kurdish.

11. No because it is not used in Jordan and not highly valued among Jordan Kurds, whilst Arabic and English are widely used in Jordan

12. N/A

KUM45BDNU

1. Arabic

2. Arabic

3. Arabic

4. Arabic and English

5. No

6. Arabic and English. Arabic is the language of Noble Qur'an while English is the medium with communication with the other world.

7. I do not use it anymore. Now my native language is Arabic and it is the language of the Noble Qur'an and I am proud of that.

8. Yes

9. Nothing has been done so far. Kurds in Jordan are integrated into the Jordanian community and most of them use Arabic even at home. They do not pay attention to Kurdish which is almost diminished. There are promises from the charity association in Amman to build schools to teach Kurdish to young generations.

10. As I mentioned before the Kurds in Jordan do not care about Kurdish. In addition, they have married outside their ethnic origin and they are scattered and do not live in certain areas.

11. No because it is impossible to write a language in public spaces not used in the community and even Jordan Kurds do not use it.

12. N/A

CHF35DDTE

1. Arabic and Chechen

2. Arabic and Chechen

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic, English, and French. Arabic is the main medium of communication between people here, while English and French are global languages.

7. It is easier to communicate with members of family than Arabic. It is very useful to communicate with Chechen population in Jordan even though they are a minority group. Do not forget the fact that language is part of culture and identity.

8. Yes

9. Speaking Chechen, teaching the language to children and giving language courses for those who want to be proficient in Chechen.

10. Because this minority group language is not considered by the majority group, even the Chechen population itself cannot write and read it because the priority is primarily given to the language of the Noble Qur'an.

11. No because it relates to a minority group no influential in the Jordanian population.

12. N/A

CHM78BDDC

1. Chechen

2. Arabic and Chechen

3. Arabic and Chechen

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because it is the official language of Jordan as well as the language of the Noble Qur'an.

7. It is part of our heritage and identity, so it has to be used to protect it from shrinkage and loss.

8. Yes

9. First, a centre for teaching Chechen reading and writing should be founded. Second, historical stories and books that are written in Chechen should be available. Finally, setting up a TV channel that transmits programmes in Chechen.

10. In the process of russification, the Russians replaced Arabic script, which was formerly used for the Chechen language, with the Russian alphabet in order to blur the Chechen language and isolate Chechens from Islam. Russians would not have done that if Mustafa Atatürk had not changed the alphabet of Turkish from Arabic to Latin script.

11. Yes in public spaces associated with Chechens such as clubs and charity associations.

12. N/A

CHM17SSST

1. Chechen

2. Arabic and Chechen

3. Arabic

4. Arabic and English.

5. No

6. Arabic because my friends understand it and it is the language of Qur'an.

7. It is the language of ancestors

8. Yes

9. Chechens should continue teaching their children Chechen from an early age. There should also be language courses for teaching Chechen and language centres for attaining this goal.

10. Because this language is used by a small population in Jordan and as I said before most Chechens cannot write and read Chechen. It is unreasonable that such a language is written in public spaces and most people cannot understand it. The bottom line is that it is only used among people who can understand it.

11. No because the vast majority of people do not understand the Chechen language.

12. N/A

CHM42SSSA

1. Chechen and Arabic

2. Arabic and Chechen

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because it is the language of majority group and it is used by all people.

7. It represents our culture and origin.

8. Yes

9. We should keep speaking Chechen. We should also continue teaching the language to our sons and daughters in early childhood.

10. This language is a national language associated with a minority group and not a language used by all people. It is exclusively used among people who can understand it. We live in a predominantly Arabic-speaking environment and we have been affected by its norms and traditions.

11. No I think that Arabic should appear in the linguistic landscape rather than Chechen because it is commonly used in the Arab world. It is extremely difficult for people who know nothing about it understand it.

12. N/A

TUM81ESME

1. Turkish with parents. Arabic and Turkish with brothers and sisters and only Arabic with sons and brothers.

2. Arabic and sometimes Turkish

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic because the majority are Arabs and we have to adapt to the situation

7. This (speaking Turkish) used to make Arabs behave with hostility towards Turks. Around the villages in which we lived, villagers were so hostile towards us. The point is that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire created this situation.

8. Yes

9. Individual attempts or the Turks come back. Speaking the language on a daily basis and Opening schools contribute to revitalising the language among Jordan Turks.

10. We have been taught Arabic not Turkish. Another reason is that we were interested in mastering the Arabic language at the expense of Turkish. In addition, the spatial distribution of Turks is part of the problem. All Jordan Turks are not clustered in specific isolated areas like Chechens'. Marriages with Arabs also made Turkish shrink.

11. No we are a fully integrated minority group into the Jordanian population and we cannot read or write Turkish, so there is no need for it in Jordan.

12. N/A

TUF45BDTE

1. Parents used Turkish with me, but I use only Arabic with family,

2. Arabic

3. Arabic

4. Arabic

5. No

6. Arabic and English because Jordan is an Arabic speaking country and English is taught from the fifth grade but now it is taught from the first grade.

7. It is part of identity and culture

8. Yes

9. Schools have to be built to teach the language for children otherwise it would be lost sooner or later. The Turkish Charity Association is not enough activated in the sense that it only receives from 6 to 11 students each term and this won't make any use.

10. Firstly, we are a minority group. Secondly, the constitution of the country stipulates that Arabic is the official language of the state. Thirdly, those who intermarried with Arabs completely lost the language, while those whose mothers are of Turkish extraction still use the language at home because it is the mother that teaches not the father. That is why it is marginalised in the LL.

11. No it is not necessary in this country and Jordan Turks who are already a minority group are now integrated into the Jordanian community

12. N/A

TUF19UGST

1. Arabic

2. Arabic and English
3. Arabic
4. Arabic and English
5. No
6. Arabic is my first language and it is the language of teaching at schools and English is taught from the first grade as a separate subject.
7. I wish I can speak Turkish because this would make me feel with my ethnic origin.
8. Yes
9. It is an embarrassing question. I do not speak the language. If schools were established to teach the language, this would keep it alive. Indeed, we are now essential part of Jordanian community and we cannot turn the clock back.
10. We were taught in Arabic not Turkish at schools and the Turks of Jordan are now no longer interested in maintaining the language. My parents used Arabic rather than Turkish.
11. It is unnecessary to be seen in public spaces because it is more important that Jordan Turks learn the language.
12. N/A

TUF68ESHW

1. We use only Arabic and Turkish. We use Turkish to make my sons and daughters learn my mother tongue. We use Arabic because we are living in an Arab country
2. Arabic and Turkish
3. Arabic
4. Arabic
5. No
6. Arabic and Turkish. Both of them are considered as part of my identity. Turkish is part of my nationalism and Arabic is part of my Islamic identity
7. I like using Turkish because it is the language of my father and mother. For instance, my mother was not accustomed to speaking Arabic very often. We came from a town in east-north Turkey. Speaking the Turkish language is part of our tradition and heritage just like not entering one's home with shoes. The prime minister of Turkey Erdogan does not enter home with his shoes.
8. Yes
9. We should maintain Turkish through using it in everyday life. We have to use the Turkish when we visit each other and with the people who are proficient in it. The problem is interethnic marriages, especially with Arabs and Jordan Turks did not isolate themselves from them.

10. N/A

11. Surely. Turkish should be spread out to be seen by people because if you know the language of a certain nation you would prevent their evil deeds and any one teaches you a letter you would respect him for all your life. Turkey overruled this country, during which time our ancestors came to Jordan. When the rule of Turkey came to an end, many Turks remained in Greater Syria and West Bank. We will remain settled in this country.

12. Street names, Trademarks and institutional inscriptions are needed to present in the LL. There are many Turk students learning the Arabic language and many Turks working in this country. It would be helpful if Turkish is available in public spaces.

FIF28SSMA

1. Tagalog

2. Filipino and English.

3. Filipino and English.

4. Filipino and English.

5. Yes

6. Filipino and English. It depends upon the teacher and subject and both of them are widely spoken in Philippines.

7. It is my first language. I know it well and I use it a lot with my friends. I send and receive text messages from family and friends. This is the main thing.

8. Yes

9. My first language should be practiced at home and even at school too. I have this situation. My 5 year old cousin is on his grade one. He does not excel in Filipino subject. He has poor performance in school in this particular subject because he did not practice to speak Tagalog at home. He excels more in English subject. His parents are teaching him more Filipino because it is our lingua franca, believing that they neglected to introduce him Tagalog.

10. Most people here do not know Tagalog. It sounds odder to appear in the city than to see Arabic and English. I mean that both are seen not only here because I worked in many Arab countries.

11. No because it is unimportant for people here.

12. N/A

FIF33BDMA

1. Tagalog

2. Tagalog and English

3. Tagalog and English

4. Tagalog and English

5. Yes

6. English because I am an educated person and to get a well-paid job I have to be fluent in English

7. It is my first language and it is commonly used in the homeland. I use Tagalog, especially in text messaging on Facebook with friends in the homeland

8. No

9. N/A

10. I think Tagalog is not important in this country. The majority speak Arabic and English is used everywhere in the city, so there is no need for it.

11. No because Jordanian people do not know it like Arabic and even English. It is ridiculous to use a language hardly spoken here. I use it when I speak to my family and friends or send them text messages on phone or internet.

12. N/A

PAM23UGWO

1. Pashto with parents and Urdu and Pashto with sisters and brothers

2. English, Urdu, Pashto, and Arabic

3. Arabic

4. English and Urdu

5. No

6. English and Urdu because they were commonly spoken while Pashto I spoke it with parents and people of my town in Pakistan.

7. It is the language of parents

8. No

9. N/A

10. Jordan is an Arabic-speaking country and Pakistanis are a small population in Jordan.

11. No, because Arabic is a good language and Pashto is used in a small city in Pakistan. Arabic is widely spread in many countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and many other. As I said, Pashto is not a good language like Arabic and English

12. N/A

PAM33MDTR

1. Urdu and Arabic

2. Urdu, Arabic, English

3. Arabic
4. Urdu and English
5. Yes
6. Urdu because most of my friends were Pakistani so I had to use it a lot.
7. My ethnic origin is Pakistani so it is part of Pakistani heritage and culture
8. No
9. N/A
10. Urdu is not used in Jordan. According to the Arab population, Arabic should be available everywhere in public spaces and Arabic is better than Urdu because it is the language of Noble Qur'an.
11. No because Arabic is better to be used because it is the language of Qur'an.
12. N/A

INF46SSMA

1. Malay
2. Malay and Arabic
3. Arabic
4. Malay and English
5. Yes
6. Malay because it was commonly used by all students
7. Malay is my mother tongue so I write to my friends and they write to me.
8. No
9. N/A
11. Many people prefer Indonesian housemaids as they can speak the Arabic language and are Muslims not only in Jordan but also in Arab Gulf states because I worked in these countries. Arabs cannot understand Malay and it is not a prestigious language like English.
12. No, because it is useless in an Arabic-speaking country.
13. N/A

INF30SSMA

1. Indonesian
2. Indonesian and Arabic
3. Arabic

4. Indonesian and English.

5. Yes

6. Indonesian and English. I was taught in Indonesian and English was one of the school subjects.

7. Of course, because it is my native language and I use with my family and Indonesian people. I send messages to family and friends and receive messages on mobile phone.

8. No

9. N/A

10. This (Jordan) is an Arab country and Indonesian is useless here. People are not interested in this language and they are more interested in Arabic and English

11. No, people are not familiar with it. They like to see Arabic, the language of Qur'an, and English.

12. N/A

INM39MDAC

1. I use Hindi with all members of family, including parents. I also use English, the official language of India, with sisters and brothers.

2. Hindi and English

3. Hindi

4. Hindi and English

5. Yes

6. I liked to use both Hindi and English because the Hindi language is my original language, while English is the official language of India.

7. Hindi is my first language. I know it better than any other language and it is the best medium to write to relatives and many friends in India

8. No

9. N/A

10. Because we (Indian workers in Jordan) are living in a country totally different from India. We (Indian workers in Jordan) are a minority group in comparison with the Jordanian community.

11. Yes because it is my original language and it is part of my culture and identity.

12. On shop signs and supermarket advertisements because there are many advertisements written in Arabic which we cannot understand.

INM26SSSU

1. Punjabi

2. Punjabi, Hindi, English, and a little Arabic
3. Punjabi
4. Hindi, Punjabi, and English
5. Yes
6. I like Hindi, Punjabi, and English.
7. Because it is the language of my parents and I know it very well. I use Punjabi to communicate with my friends and relatives through texting and I should keep it because it is part of personal identity.
8. No
9. N/A
10. This is a predominantly Arabic-speaking country and it is a Muslim country and Indians are not many in Jordan.
11. No because Jordan is not my country and Punjabi is already available in the Indian public space.

12. N/A

SIF57PSMA

1. Sinhalese
2. Sinhalese, English, and Arabic.
3. Sinhalese
4. Sinhalese and English
5. Yes
6. English and Sinhalese. Sinhalese is the official language of Sir Lanka and English is taught at school and spoken everywhere in the world. English makes me understand people and it is even better than Sinhalese
7. Even I love it I prefer English because it is more useful. I use it to communicate with my friends via mobile messages on Facebook.
8. Yes
9. To speak the language regularly. I use the language with my friends a lot.
10. It is useless in this part of the world and it is widely seen in Sir Lanka. Arabic and English is seen everywhere in the Jordanian public space
11. No because it is not useful in Jordan and I came here for work and will not stay for good.
12. N/A

SIF44ESMA

1. Sinhalese
2. Sinhalese and Arabic.
3. Sinhalese
4. Sinhalese and English
5. Yes
6. Both Sinhalese and English. My father and mother used Sinhalese with me and I know it more than other languages, while I was introduced into English at school.
7. I love using the language with parents, friends, and relatives. I write and read it because it is my native language and I use it to text my family, friends, and relatives. We also send each other personal letters.
8. No
9. No
10. Sinhalese is not important here and Sir Lankan workers are a minority group. In Jordan, people speak Arabic, so my first language is not used.
11. No because it is important in Sir Lanka, but not in Jordan. People use Arabic and English, but it is impossible to use it here.

12. N/A

BEM30PSSU

1. Bengali
2. Bengali and sometimes English
3. Arabic
4. Bengali
5. Yes
6. Bengali because my mother and father speak it
7. It is the native language of my parents and it is part of my own culture and nationality. When I contact my family and friends I have to use Bengali and use it with Bengalis in text messages.
8. Yes
9. N/A
10. N/A sometimes I see some hand-written writings on walls, particularly Bengali personal names.
11. Yes because it is my mother tongue and is part of culture and identity.
12. Signs on medical centres and shop signs because this will make feel proud of my native language and it would be important as English and Arabic.

CNF27SSMA

1. Mandarin
2. Mandarin, little English, and little Arabic
3. Mandarin
4. Mandarin and English
5. Yes
6. All students used it and China's language.
7. Mandarin is a good language like English. All Chinese speak it. I use it send and receive messages via mobile phone
8. No
9. N/A
10. N/A
11. Yes because China is a powerful country and it is seen in the city.
12. You can see it on the store front.

BUF30BDRE

1. Burmese.
2. Burmese and English.
3. Burmese
4. Burmese.
5. Yes
6. Burmese because I am from Burma and it is the language of the country.
7. It is part of my national identity. It is my mother tongue so I use it to communicate with relatives and friends in Burma
8. Yes
9. To use the language in daily life. I use Burmese when I contact my family, friends, and relatives via mobile phone.
10. It is not that important in Jordan. Burmese is a small community in Jordan in comparison with Arabic-speaking community.
11. Yes because I take pride in my mother tongue
12. Shop signs and advertisements on storefronts because I like my mother tongue and this would make me feel at home.