

Brand Names in the Linguistic Landscape of Aqaba, Jordan

Thesis Submitted in accordance with the Requirements of the University of Liverpool for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Ghazi Khaleel Al-Na'imat

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Dedication

I dedicate this Thesis to my parents, brothers, and sisters for their endless support and encouragement.

Ghazi Kh. Al-Na'imat

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This Thesis would not have been finished without the help and support received from many people whom I have encountered during my Ph.D study. Firstly, I am deeply indebted to Dr. Robert Blackwood and Dr. Stefania Tufi, the supervisory team, whose insightful suggestions and constructive feedback helped me very much over the course of writing this Thesis. My ideas benefited greatly from their guidance and support during the last four years. I am also grateful to other academic members in the school, Professor Kate Marsh, and Professor Eve Rosenhaft for their advice and encouragement. I am also thankful for comments and support provided by my best friend, Omar Al-Omouh.

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Ghazi Kh. Al-Na'imat

Abstract

This study addresses the interconnections between brand names, scripts, and languages in the Jordanian context through an investigation of the brand names in the linguistic landscape (LL henceforth) of Aqaba and of Jordanians' attitudes and beliefs towards the occurrence of these brand names in the city.

For the purpose of conducting the study, six streets were selected in Aqaba city on the basis of their commercial and tourism significance. The data collected within these survey areas generated a corpus of 1,810 signs. In the Thesis brand names, which constitute 25% of the entire corpus, are divided according to two typologies: the languages of scripts, and scripts in association with the language of slogans and business names. For the former typology, the mono-script brands contain Roman, Romanised Arabic, and Arabic, and the multi-script brands contain the pairings of Arabic and Romanised Arabic, and Roman and Arabicised Roman. The second typology identifies the brand names according to four patterns: brand advertising, hybrid brand, clone brand, and brand imitation. Brand names in both typologies have been examined from the perspective of semiotics, particularly the use of 'composition' and 'multimodality' as pertinent premises of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design. The visual semiotic analysis has uncovered that the elements of the brand names perform as toolkits to disclose different socio-cultural and symbolic meanings in connection with both global and Jordanian brand names. Whilst the Arabic-script brands reflect local cultural practices in connection with the Jordanian community, such as the significance of religion, social habits, the customs exemplified in Bedouin life, and the display of Jordanian Arabic, the global brands, generally expressed in Roman scripts, display symbolic meanings associated with prestige, youth, decoration, success, and progress in the LL. In order to test the model proposed by Tufi and Blackwood (2010) regarding the impact of the socio-economic composition of individuals on their responses to the language(s) and countries of representation of brand names' scripts, 42 Jordanian residents of the city with different demographic backgrounds were interviewed on their understanding of 20 recurrent brand names in the LL. The analysis of the data pinpoints five broad themes and perspectives: the prestige of English, the prestige of the US, Islamic associations, linguistic nationalism, and sound suggestions. The first two of these themes highlight the positive beliefs of younger people with respect to 'English' and the US as prestigious labels and marks. Cosmopolitan traits enhance this perception so that LL actors and viewers participate in new social identities which, in many situations, do not belong to the local setting. As for Islamic associations and linguistic nationalism, these are mostly mentioned by middle-aged and older respondents, who associate certain brand names with the teachings of Islam and the preference of the Arabic language over foreign languages. Islamic associations in turn relate to negative political and social concepts with regard to the brands' perceived country of representation. This extends to negative evaluations of the inhabitants' norms and customs in the given countries, which are then transferred to the languages themselves. Responses incorporating elements of linguistic nationalism exhibit views about the decreased appearance of the Arabic language and its replacement with foreign languages, as well as the respondents' devotion to Arabic as the language of Islam. Finally, sound associations, that is the relations between the phonological shape of the brand name and the particularities of a local language, were identified and articulated by some educated inhabitants of different age groups. The Thesis concludes by highlighting the key role of age in the identification of the diverse viewpoints regarding the perceived language(s) and countries of brand names. Jordanian linguistic preferences towards the languages of these signs are also dependent on their viewpoints on the political meanings surrounding the perceived country of the brand names. The Thesis contributes to the field of LL in so far as it provides a wealth of original data from an unexplored setting, it devises a new method of coding brand names, and it contributes to establishing a solid linguistic framework in which to place the language policy of brand names in other LLs.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This Thesis engages with a particular set of issues that constitute part of wider discussions within the field of the Linguistic Landscape (hereafter LL). Studying LL is a relatively new area of sociolinguistics that comprises written language on public road signs, billboard advertisements, and commercial shop signs. The term LL dates back to the seminal work of Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25), who examine the sociolinguistic aspects of the LL in Canada from the perspectives of language planning, and the language behaviour of French Canadian minorities. Gorter (2006) studies the written visible language in public space, which refers to the sociolinguistic setting of a certain community. The LL, as a sub-field within sociolinguistics, seeks to analyse the different languages appearing in the public space as a multilingual setting across the world (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009). Further, the languages appearing on signs have been analysed in terms of their informative and symbolic functions. Whilst the former refers to the frequent use of a specific language on signs and the actual use of languages in the public space, the latter reflects the presence of a language that contributes towards feelings, values, and status in a particular social setting (Landry and Bouhris, 1997). In particular, this Thesis addresses the roles and functions performed by brand names as they appear in the public space. With the advent of globalisation, brand names have become transnational symbols, giving ideas about the way people live, look, and think (Holt, Quelch, and Taylor, 2004). Brand names as particular advertising signs in the LL have been introduced within ‘the sociolinguistic consumption’ as ‘a way of approaching the question of language in late modernity’ (Stroud and Wee, 2012: 205). This cultural perspective is socially associated with language mobility, where the phenomenon of ‘language-in-motion’ leads to deploying similar global signs in real socio-cultural and political contexts (Blommaert, 2010: 5). The

mobility of brand names' languages means that they often appear in almost unchanged forms, from cities as diverse as São Paulo, Jakarta, and Cairo. This Thesis examines both the presence of and engagement with brand names in the Jordanian city of Aqaba, Jordan.¹ I respond directly to challenges identified in particular by Tufi and Blackwood (2010) and Lanza and Woldemariam (2014) regarding the decoding of brand names by individuals.

1.2 Background to the Study

Brand names are at the heart of this Thesis, and in particular the sociolinguistic dimensions of these seemingly mundane and almost omnipresent signs. Brand names are examined from several different perspectives in scholarship across the arts and humanities. I explore brand names from the perspectives of marketing, sociolinguistics, and semiotics in Chapter Two, although in this Thesis I privilege the questions specifically related to studies of the LL. More precisely, I position this Thesis around work that has already been published on the correlation between brand names and specific named languages. From a linguistic anthropology perspective, the debatable key issue is how global languages are understood locally, in which 'to understand the language use, Indeed to incorporate local language' (Makoni and Pennycook, 2006: 20). Of note in terms of LL research into brand names and languages, I engage with Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Edelman (2009), Tufi and Blackwood (2010), and Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (forthcoming). Kress' contributions to the semiotic analysis of signs in terms of their font and composition (see Hodge and Kress, 1988; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress, 2010) informed Scollon and Scollon (2003: 94) in their categorisation of those brand names appearing in multiple contexts, in the same manner as 'decontextualised semiotics', where the goal of branding is to establish a universal recognition of the names and their products worldwide. Edelman (2009) proposes two approaches for

¹ A full overview of the city of Aqaba is provided on pp. 47-59 of this Thesis.

understanding brand names in the LL: the first eliminates brand names from the study of LL, and the second considers brands as part of their original languages. On the one hand, I agree with Tufi and Blackwood (2010) and Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (forthcoming), who reject the first approach, since the removal of brand names from LL studies of city centres erases a significant proportion of the tokens which constitute the public space. On the other hand, I further agree with Tufi and Blackwood (2010) who fail to agree on the ‘original’ language of brand names. Tufi and Blackwood (2010) argue that the individual’s composition, in terms of age, gender, social class, nationality, faith, etc., colours their understanding of the language of a given brand name. Meanwhile, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (forthcoming) identify what they refer to as ‘Big Commercial Names’ which, they conclude, ‘share no semantic link to what they stand for and are submitted to no grammar’. In other words, they belong to no language at all, and therefore do not fit with this kind of analysis of the LL. I do not subscribe entirely to this conclusion, since I believe, and seek to test in this Thesis, that individuals appropriate brand names on behalf of specific, named languages, and therefore ascribe to them values that they – for a variety of reasons – identify with the particular language(s).

1.3 The Scope and Guiding Principles of the Study

This Thesis, as identified above, addresses in particular the challenges identified by Tufi and Blackwood (2010), and Lanza and Woldemariam (2014). In particular, I respond to the call by Tufi and Blackwood (2010) to seek to measure the symbolic associations between brand names and languages. In this context, I use the term the language of representation (LOR) to explore individuals’ viewpoints of the brand names appearing in Aqaba’s LL, and the term country of representation (COR) to examine the diverse political viewpoints of the perceived states of the brand names. These two concepts have been tested for this Thesis by showing the

informants the most visible brand names in the LL, and eliciting potential social perspectives to their occurrence. Second, I note the appeal by Lanza and Woldemariam (2014: 499) whereby they identify a lack of understanding on the part of their respondents regarding the international status of brand names in Addis Ababa. More specifically, they call for extensive ethnographic interviews to pursue this issue; the approach of interviewing is adopted in this Thesis to understand a specifically Jordanian perspective of the relationship between brand names and languages. Despite the fact that this study has benefited from the principles of the ethnographic tradition, which aims to delve deeper into the views and beliefs of a particular group of participants over a period of time (Fetterman, 1989), an ethnographic study is not actually carried out; rather, the issue of ethnographic reflexivity in conducting qualitative interviews is reflected on. This issue relates to the researcher's reflexivity on the study, in particular, when he/she has a direct contact with the cultural context in which the fieldwork is conducted. This has been reinforced by Davies (2008), who highlights the role of reflexivity in all phases of the research, including choosing the topic, conducting the fieldwork, or detecting and analysing the findings. For Seale (1998), reflexivity involves the researcher's capability to reflect upon one's actions and values during the research, demanding the researcher to evaluate the results under his/her analysis in the same way that others view them. For these reasons, I acknowledge the impact of the ethnographic tradition on the present study at different stages of the research. As such, I take on the role of both the 'insider' and the 'outsider' to the topic in question, where the fact that I am part of the culture and the context of the research helps me to understand and analyse the participants' views better; at the same time, I perform as a researcher, who aims to report and inspect the different responses in an objective manner. This implies that ethnographic tradition establishes and retains a set of parallel tensions between the concepts of being both insider and outsider, which move in various paths through all the stages of the research, and its authority is based to a great extent

on the ethnographer's success in balancing this tension (Headland, Pike, and Harris, 1990). As a result, this tension makes it difficult to define the concepts of insider and outsider; as Deutsch (1980: 123) states, 'We are all multiple insiders and outsiders.' In agreement with this, Clifford and Marcus (1986: 2) discuss how the 'artificial nature of cultural accounts' are constructed by ethnographers, whether insiders or outsiders to the research. Equally, this tension is applied to the course of the description and analysis of the findings. In the process of writing up, researchers need to balance these tensions when writing for two audiences: the audience of other professional anthropologists and that of the research subjects (Davies, 2008). The former group includes those who are working outside academic institutions, studying the practices of anthropology and changing the links between pure and applied research, whilst the other group refers to the participants who comprise the community of the research. Accordingly, ethnographic work demands a mediation between these two extremes, which both demonstrate different ways of referencing. The ethnographer's capability to manage this tension, mediating without tipping the balance too far in one direction, provides a valid basis for the overall authority and acceptance of the findings (Davies, 2008). However, the methodology for interviewing takes advantage of the ethnographic reflexivity, as is outlined in full in Chapter Five.

The data collection for this project explicitly invites respondents to discuss their views on transnational brand names, languages, and the symbolic associations that form in their minds. As such, I actively apply the model proposed by Blackwood and Tufi (2010) to residents in the city of Aqaba with a view both to testing the appropriateness of this approach, and to discern specifically Jordanian trends in the engaging with language(s) of brand names. From this starting point, two key research questions emerge. In particular, the question of the choice of scripts emerges as a key aspect in the understanding and categorisation of brand names by

respondents in Aqaba. As such, this Thesis also positions itself in relation to research on scripts used in the LL by Seargeant (2012). The first research question, therefore, asks:

1. To what extent does the choice of script in brand names affect individuals' associations with language(s)?

To this end, I devise a typology of signs in relation to the potential combination of scripts, which I present in Chapter Four.

The second research question is implicitly connected to the first, and tests the model proposed by Tufi and Blackwood (2010). I wish to understand better the connections held in the minds of residents of Aqaba, as representatives of Jordanians more widely, between the brand names that they see around them and the language(s) present on these specific signs. In particular, I seek to discern whether there are trends in the composition of individuals, such as their age, gender, social class, educational background, faith, or knowledge of foreign languages, that guide their responses to the transnational trademarks which populate the city centre of Aqaba:

2. To what extent do aspects of inter-speaker variation govern the association between language(s) and brand names?

In answering this second question, I intend to establish a hierarchy of demographic features which play a part in the understanding of multilingualism within commercial brand names. The original aspects of the research presented in this Thesis are clear, where it aims to evaluate the significance of the choice of script and the composition of individuals in the understanding of signs as they appear in the public space. Much LL research has disregarded the importance of the audience; many of the first wave of LL publications privilege the viewpoint of the researcher and overlook the fundamental fact that the public space is open to analysis by everyone who passes through it. As such, there are many more perspectives on the

(socio)linguistic nature of the public space than merely that identified by the researcher. This Thesis goes some way to addressing this shortcoming. Although brand names appear to echo certain concepts related to globalisation and capitalism, a semiotic and linguistic analysis of the elements of these brand names introduces a different approach when considering Jordanian cultural and social customs. The significance of this Thesis is grounded on the fact that it aims to explore Jordanians' understanding of brand names as a particular set of signs in the public space. I seek to test the extent to which Jordanians' cultural and social values affect their ways of understanding the language of brand names in Aqaba.

1.4 Thesis Outline

Chapter One provides a brief background for the Thesis, in terms of the general scope of the LL studies, shedding light on brand names as a particular commercial category of signs, and one that has received little attention in the LL recently. The objectives of the study are then stated in the form of two questions, relating to the effect of choice of script in brand names on Jordanians' associations with language(s), and the ways in which individuals' composition develops associations between language(s) and brand names.

In Chapter Two, a critical review of the LL's pertinent premises is presented, including its emergence as a sub-field of sociolinguistics, its basic concept, and the field's symbolic and informative functions. In this Chapter, brand names manifest themselves within the symbolic function of the LL, in which they will be discussed as semiotic and mobilising signs in the public space in general, and in Aqaba in particular.

The socio-historical setting of Jordan, particularly Aqaba, is described in Chapter Three, focussing on its history of Arab nationalism, religion and economy, different varieties of Arabic, and English and other languages. These factors are thoroughly discussed, with the aim of explaining the presence or absence – as well as the distribution – of brand names' languages

in the LL, facilitating the identification of different languages appearing on the signs, particularly English and Arabic as the two most common languages in Jordan.

Chapter Four focuses on coding all the signs in six shopping streets, from which a sub-corpus of brand names is identified. The chapter discusses the semiotic and linguistic properties of brand signs within two proposed coding typologies. One relates to examining the signs that consist of scripts as independent semiotic resources, and the other involves analysing the linguistic and semiotic interrelationships between the scripts and the languages of slogans and business names appearing in the same sign. The Chapter mainly utilises the compositional and multimodality semiotic principles, as introduced in Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) grammar of visual design, to uncover the symbolic meanings of brand's languages in association with Jordanian sociolinguistic values and norms. Further still, the chapter considers the reasons for selecting 20 recurrent signs in the LL as a material corpus for Chapter Six, where 42 Jordanians from Aqaba, chosen to be representative within the sampling, are interviewed to detect their understanding of the branding languages.

Chapter Five highlights the methodology of this Thesis, where the approaches for interviewing – including the semi-structured interviews – sampling, and data-collection are discussed, with the aim of applying these to the Jordanian context.

Chapter six encompass the main contribution of this study. The Chapter classifies the symbolic associations regarding the brand names arising from the inhabitants' interviews into five broad themes: the prestige of English; the prestige of the US; Islamic associations; Arab nationalism; and sound associations. The first two themes, which are mostly expressed by young respondents, are studied in relation to the mobility trends of the brands, as identified in Chapter Two, whereas the following two themes are linked more to Jordanians' specific cultural perspectives, as religion and Arab nationalism have a large impact on the responses

and views of older participants. The final trend is mentioned by some educated respondents within which the principles of folk linguistics are discussed.

The Thesis concludes in Chapter Seven, by summarising the findings of the study and highlighting the study's contribution to the LL field.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to find a position from which to study brand names within the field of LL research in terms of a variety of linguistic aspects. The initial section provides a general theoretical background of the LL field in connection with sociolinguistics, and the functions of the LL. The chapter also explores those studies that investigate the language of brand names; in particular, it highlights the essential role of semiotic aspects in devising the implicit cultural meanings in these signs. The final section discusses mobility, in which the language of commerce and products is linked to the economic and global forces in the LL. This chapter provides solid theoretical foundations for understanding and analysing the display of brand names in the Jordanian LL, as well as investigating the inhabitants' viewpoints regarding the language of these signs. Given the fact that these central premises, in particular the symbolic and informative functions, are often common among a variety of studies in the field of LL, they can also help in the identification of the symbolic trends of brand names as particular signs.

Through the critical review of relevant studies, the Thesis attempts to fill the gap in research addressing brand names as a particular area of study, aiming to provide more practical parameters in coding such signs. These general principles of the field lay down the major bases of inventing a typology for coding the LL signs, facilitating the analysis and investigation of visual features of brand names in Aqaba, as will be discussed below.

2.2 The Linguistic Landscape

The term LL has been used in several different ways. Much acknowledgement has been given to Landry and Bouhris (1997), whose definition of the LL has been applied in a variety of

succeeding studies. Focusing on Canada, Landry and Bourhis emphasise the role of the LL in language maintenance, using the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality research in bilingual settings. In essence, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define the concept of 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 LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.’ Similarly, Gorter (2006: 2) states that the main concern of the LL is ‘the use of language in its written form in public sphere’. It also includes ‘language that is visible in a specified area’ (Gorter, 2006: 2). Shohamy (2006: 123) extends this definition to label the LL as a ‘language policy mechanism’, identifying not only the ideological message of signs but also the choice of languages, as in the case of the absence of Arabic in streets within Arab areas in East Jerusalem.

Reh (2004: 38) emphasises the fact that the study of LL enables ‘conclusions to be drawn regarding, among other factors, the social layering of the community, the relative status of the various societal segments, and the dominant cultural ideals’. For Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, and Trumper-Hecht (2006: 14), the LL includes ‘any sign announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location’. The term ‘LL’ put forward by Landry and Bourhis has been reshaped by Backhaus (2007), who applies it in his study of multilingualism in the LL of Tokyo. In particular, the survey item is identified as, ‘a sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. The underlying definition [...] is rather broad, including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards’ (Backhaus, 2007: 66). Backhaus (2007) here has highlighted a comprehensive definition of the LL items, whereby he states that all LL signs should be surveyed, no matter whether they are big or small. The signs studied in this Thesis sticks to Backhaus’s concept of the LL, in which all the

signs are to be photocopied in the LL of Aqaba with the aim to take pictures of as many signs of brand names as possible.

2.3 The Linguistic Landscape as a Sub-Field of Sociolinguistics

The LL, as a particular field of study, has been investigated from different perspectives, including sociolinguistics, language planning, language policy, and discourse analysis (Landry and Bouhris, 1997). It has been categorised as being ‘somewhere at the junction of sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, geography, and media studies’ (Sebba, 2010: 39). The LL is further used in sociolinguistics for purposes relating to different investigations of the visual aspects of languages in multilingual societies, as demonstrated through examinations of the linguistic presence of Hebrew, English, and Arabic in the streets of Jerusalem (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991; Ben-Rafael, et al., 2006). For Blackwood and Tufi (2015), LL studies have enjoyed a mutual relationship with their sociolinguistic context, in particular in urban cities with regard to the advantages of drawing materials from politics and sociology. The LL as a newly established area ‘has evolved rapidly and while it has a number of key names associated with it, it currently has no clear orthodoxy or theoretical core’ (Sebba, 2010: 73). Specifically, since LL is a new field of sociolinguistics, there are various approaches for conducting the studies in question. For example, Dailey, Giles and Jansma (2005) study the LL not only to refer to signs outside and inside business names, but also to include movable signs such as the advertisements sent to homes, people’s talk in the streets, and the language of teachers in the classroom. Here, the inclusion of moving signs is commonly realised as a methodological challenge within LL studies, as noted by Pavlenko (2010: 133), where LL research investigates ‘public uses of written languages’. This provides a more inclusive sense of the signs in the LL, in which there is usually a great tendency to restrict the analysis to purely linguistic units, allowing for the inclusion of any word or linguistic piece that can be accessible and visible to individuals in the public space. Ben-Rafael

(2009) calls these linguistic signs ‘social facts’: the components of the LL in relation to other tokens around. Unlike the internal signage, the inclusion of the displayed signs demonstrates the potential for public signs to present some political information and ideology, reflecting the relative status of certain languages in the territories, and hence revealing much about implicit language policy. These factors lead many scholars in the LL field to exclude internal signage from the study of signs in the public space (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy, 2006; Backhaus, 2007; Ben-Rafael, 2009). Nevertheless, other scholars combine the LL with individuals’ sounds in a particular public space, a term described as a soundscape. Truax (2001) has studied this phenomenon within sounds created by humans in a particular social context, through sound design and other everyday activities of individuals, such as ordinary conversation and daily work. This has also been reinforced by De Houwer (2009: 43), who posits that the soundscape includes the uses of all the spoken languages that individuals come across in a particular area, including the language used by individuals of the same social group, the media, and the languages used by people who do not belong to that group. More importantly, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) introduce a new trend in viewing the LL’s signs. They argue:

Linguistic Landscape refers to texts situated and displayed in changing public space, which is being refined and reshaped. This public space is a fertile ground for the emergence of a broad and infinite repertoire of text types. Such definitions of linguistic landscape 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 (Shohamy and Waksman, 2009: 314).

This suggests the importance of factors other than language for demonstrating the meanings of the signs. Shohamy and Waksman (2009: 314) maintain that the language can be conveyed via other possible ‘discourses’ elements in the LL, such as texts, images, objects, placement in

time and place, and people. Jaworski (2015) considers the role of such factors in the presence of languages on objects in the urban landscape, that do not serve any informational, or utilitarian purposes. Rather, consumer culture has turned symbolic resources, such as language, into commodities, by which goods and services have acquired symbolic and significant associations (Jaworski, 2015: 75). Likewise, brand names include different symbolic elements and designs; therefore the identification of the brand names' semiotic properties in the LL is likely to highlight a new role of language in the public space, particularly with respect to their appearance in urban areas. The investigation of brand names' elements in connection with the sociolinguistic structure of a particular society signifies a variety of social perspectives regarding the national and global values of the products. For example, the signs' font size and the multimodal associations among the signs' visual elements could establish significant dimensions in relation to the cultural symbolic power (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996; Scollon and Scollon, 2003). As such, this Thesis is limited to the study of brand names in their written texts and visual images in Aqaba, which in turn diverts our scope to the idea of a 'semiotic' rather than 'linguistic' landscape, to which I return below.

2.4 Functions of the Linguistic Landscape

Signs in the LL often reflect a specific language background and, particularly in multilingual cities, they serve as a necessary means to explore the functions of different languages used within specific social settings. The significance of these languages might surpass the mere informative, which opens up another dimension, namely a symbolic one. This perspective is identified by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25, 29), who distinguish between the informative and symbolic functions within their study of the impact of the LL on ethnolinguistic vitality in Canada. Nonetheless, the relationship between the functions of language in the LL is not separable. The informative and symbolic functions of language are not to be realised as clearly

definable categories that can be strictly separated from each other. Rather, they are closely intertwined.

2.4.1 Informative Function

This basic function of the LL not only relates to the information on particular signs, but also marks the linguistic boundaries of a given territory. This has been reinforced by Landry and Bouhris (1997), who maintain that the informative function refers to the dominance of a specific language on signs and its actual use in the public space. They also claim that the variation of language use on public signs provides information about the sociolinguistic composition of a territory. Landry and Bouhris (1997) highlight the idea that the LL is a significant social tool, and differs from other types of language contacts where the multilingual ethnolinguistic groups can compete. By the same token, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) emphasise that the LL can provide information about language practices in a certain society, in terms of the management of top-down signs and how such policy influences the bottom-up signs. Languages that have been significantly displayed on the LL could possibly reveal the second language practised in the community. This function is further reinforced by Kotze and du Plessis (2010: 72-73), who argue that LL functions as a reflection of the sociolinguistic structure of a community, particularly with respect to the use of certain specific languages and the social dynamics that draw the languages and the users together.

2.4.2 Symbolic Function

The choice of one language over another may be of great significance in the LL, and can further mark different symbolic meanings. Despite its lesser relevance to the LL, more emphasis can be put on this with Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) study, which identifies three symbolic principles regarding the conditions behind language choice on signs: (1) the sign-writer's skill condition, which refers to the literacy of either the sign-maker or the reader; (2) the presumed reader condition, which refers to writing in a language that is comprehensible

and understandable to the reader; and (3) the symbolic value condition, which refers to writing in a language with which someone wishes to be identified. These principles have only recently received more attention in LL studies. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997), the symbolic function of the LL reflects the presence of a language that enhances or contributes towards feelings, values, and status in the context of a sociolinguistic setting.

Throughout LL studies, the symbolic functions of signs have been investigated with respect to their socio-cultural meanings and connotations. In the LL of Taipei, Curtin (2009) relates the social identity of inhabitants to the symbolic connotations of the language of scripts. Whilst the authentic national identity is indexed through the traditional Chinese scripts displayed through nationalistic rhetoric, the Roman scripts used in proper names, such as *Pizza Hut*, *Costa* and *Carrefour*, are visible in the city to index globalisation whether they are presented in Roman (or English) or local writings. Having identified different categories of signs alongside inhabitants' viewpoints, Curtin (2009) makes significant correlations between English, as the language of Europe and the US, and various symbolic meanings, including but not limited to modernity, youth, high fashion, and cosmopolitan lifestyles. Curtin (2009: 229) further identifies numerous Roman scripts in connection to the prestigious symbolic implications of European countries (for example, 'Café de Jean', a French restaurant name, 'Casamia', an Italian name of a bakery, and 'HOLA', a Spanish name of a store) and the US. The value of the present study lies in realising that the actors within the Jordanian LL could echo the local identity and national feelings practised in the everyday norms and customs of individuals through their commercial signs – in particular, the brand names.

With the purpose of investigating the role of context in shaping the symbolic meanings of the language on signs, Leeman and Modan (2010) examine the Chinese and English signage on two 'Starbucks' coffee shops, one in Washington, D.C. and the other in Shanghai. Despite the fact that both signs display *Starbucks* written in Chinese as well as English, the symbolic

meanings of the Chinese and English writing in the former location relate to the fact that it is considered a shopping and entertainment district, where the authorities have encouraged the use of Chinese writing, making a reference to Chinatown and reinforcing the area as a ‘themed ethnoscape’ (Leeman and Modan, 2010: 184). In contrast, English letters on this sign are written to identify the store with the well-known brand, in addition to English being the dominant language of the US. The symbolic global dimension of English visual signs is further utilised by Seargeant (2011) in the course of his investigation of the Japanese LL in conjunction with citizens’ viewpoints with respect to the symbolic value of the language. Through the use of both folk linguistics and approaches of language ideologies, Seargeant (2011: 188) discusses the use of English as not being established for communicating ‘ideational meaning to a non-Japanese speaking sector of the public [...] but that it also has a localized symbolic value which draws upon the conceptual status and implications of English as a global language’. For example, residents’ beliefs regarding brand names such as *Dior* and *Chanel* not only show the relevance of Roman scripts to English, but also confirm their existence for local rather than international audiences. Drawing on these arguments, the commercial language of brand names echoes different cultural symbolic functions, in association with both the context in which they are displayed and the global forces. Hence, it is necessary at this stage to identify the different linguistic positions regarding brand names in the LL.

2.5 Brand Names in the Linguistic Landscape

Brand names that have been demonstrated in advertising since the nineteenth century (Crystal, 2004: 33) have received increasing attention in the LL. They are displayed in foreign languages in multilingual advertising for associating such products with certain social groups (Piller, 2003) but since these signs do not necessarily convey factual information to the viewers in the LL, they can be written in a language that is not entirely understood by the

community. As discussed by Haarmann (1989: 54), this phenomenon can be referred to as ‘impersonal multilingualism’, a point discussed by Edelman (2009: 144), who argues:

Proper names are particularly suitable for impersonal multilingualism. They do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information, but are rather used to appeal to emotions. In other words, the connotation is more important than the denotation.

LL scholars realise how difficult it is to analyse such signs in terms of the language in which they are written. Crystal (2003), in particular, elaborates on the special usage of proper names across different languages. In his opinion, such names do not constitute a factual lexicon; nevertheless, he implicitly clarifies the need for learning them as part of a language. As an example, he notes the fact that French speakers learning English need to replace *Londres* with *London*. In addition to replacing, the process also includes learning the grammar and pronunciation of proper names. For Crystal (2003: 122), there are two types of language relating to proper names. The first belongs to a specific language, as in the English ‘*Christmas*’, ‘*January*’, and the ‘*moon*’. The other is not related to any specific language, as in *Alpha Centauri*, *Diplodocus*, and *Helen Keller*. Here, linguistic problematic issues caused by brand names are not only to do with the theories of languages, but also with their symbolic meanings. This issue is identified in Bade’s (2006) multilingual book entitled *Zheng He*, which contains four essays in German, three in French, and one in English. The title of the book is originally written in Chinese, but it also appears in German, French, and English in these essays. The author argues:

When we write *Zheng He* in what language and script are we writing? [...] The answer can only be that it is not in ‘a language’ at all, but is in Chinese, English, French and German to be read and understood in whichever language(s) the reader understands. Yet,

the question, for most readers, is completely irrelevant. Zheng He is Zheng He in whatever language (Bade, 2006: 198).

In his argument, Bade demonstrates the idea that, where they are used, proper names can be part of any language. Although the title of the book sounds Chinese, it still caters for different foreign tastes within the languages of French, German, and English. This suggests that the title of the book can be understood either as English ('Images and Perceptions') or as French ('Images et Perceptions'). The interpretation will also depend on which language(s) are known by the indexer (Bade, 2006: 197). Interestingly, Bade's viewpoint relates significantly to the language of brand names, particularly when they are designed in a language that could be understandable and readable to speakers of more than one language in the Jordanian LL. Of pertinent importance is the use of Roman alphabets in demonstrating Arabic brand names, as a means of allowing both Arabic and non-Arabic speakers to understand the message behind such products. This also applies to the existence of certain images or logos in the visual display of brands, leading to a mutual communication on the part of foreigners with regards to the cultural values and practices in Jordan, whilst inhabitants are already part of the community.

To this end, several attempts have been made at classifying the language of brand names in LL studies (for example, Al-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996; Huebner, 2006; Schlick, 2003; Backhaus, 2007). Schlick (2003) investigates different texts on signs, and classifies the language of proper names in accordance with the language of origin. For Schlick (2003), the proper name '*Marks and Spencer*' belongs to English, '*Adolfo Dominguez*' belongs to Spanish, and '*Parfümerie Douglas*' belongs to German and English. Here, the suggested categorisation of the language with a particular state is confusing, since it does not provide a full clarification of the type of language used within the brand names. The identification of '*Marks and Spencer*' with the term 'English' may not only refer to England as the green land between Scotland and

Wales; rather, it may convey other international appeals and connotations associated with the language itself (see Tufi and Blackwood, 2010: 200). Given that similar brand names are apparent in the Jordanian LL, this highlights the importance of developing a different way of coding such signs, where the perplexing identification of such types of language can be avoided, as discussed in Chapter Four.

In Berlin, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (forthcoming) discuss brand names as *Big Commercial Names*, where names of shops, stores, boutiques, and agencies, despite their significance in standing alone at the entrance of many establishments, do not respond to grammar and pertinent semantic considerations. Such names give the idea that they are drawn from a particular language, and appear to resonate accordingly, but their linguistic structures do not help in identifying them accordingly. Backhaus (2007) excludes the names of companies or proper names (including *Gucci*, *NTT* and *Docomo*) from the counts of multilingual signs in his LL study in Tokyo. In his view, the use of the Roman alphabet is seen as useful for categorising signs as multilingual in two cases. The first is when single words are not embedded into Japanese text. The second case is those names of companies or brands that do actually contain information about the nature of business (such as *Reasona bank* or *Starbucks's coffee*). Whilst Backhaus (2007) eliminates brand names from his study due to the potentially challenging aspects of their classification, in this Thesis brand names are studied, whether they appear alone or with other Arabic, or English marks. Here, I will exploit the occurrence of different linguistic elements in the same brand name to initiate a comprehensive typology that comprises all such signs seen in the Jordanian LL.

Edelman (2009: 76), who investigates proper names in the LL of Amsterdam, suggests two different patterns, referred to as Analysis A and Analysis B. In Analysis A, she excludes brand names from the study of LL, based on the idea that they cannot be ascribed to a specific language. In Analysis B, brand names are considered as similar to the other words in the LL.

In her view, the shop sign '*Yves Rocher*' is excluded from the LL for containing a proper name according to Analysis A, but is coded as a monolingual French sign according to Analysis B (Edelman, 2009: 76). In this example, identifying *Yves Rocher* as French may be more controversial than labelling other English proper names with meaningful words, such as *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station*. Given this manner of identification, Edelman (2009: 76) makes a reference to the French entrepreneur *Yves Rocher*, who founded the product itself. However, the occurrence of such names in job advertisements that are mostly Dutch would not be coded as French but as Dutch, since the name is given a meaning in such a context (Korzilius, Frank, and José, 2006). By the same token, Tufi and Blackwood (2010), who record every brand name within a 50-metre distance on a double-sided road in French and Italian coastal cities, posit that the trademarks can be coded according to three criteria: the international appeal; the individuals' nationalities; and the associations of the country of representation (COR). Tufi and Blackwood (2010) go on to highlight significant issues within the categorisation procedure. First, they note the 'connotation of the sign', in which some social variables such as 'age, gender, ethnicity [and] social class [...] modify the ways in which an individual perceives the signs in the linguistic landscape' (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010: 199). Another issue is concerned with the influence of identifying a given language with a particular state when studying brand names. The categorisation of brand names is also associated with the process of globalisation, in which a new language of international commerce is displayed in the LL. Furthermore, the authors posit that the languages of *McDonald's*, *Coca-Cola*, and *Levi Strauss* do not point to a particular language; instead, they are often realised as part of every language.

The linguistic trends introduced above are significant for this Thesis from two perspectives. First, the previous studies have provided several propositions for classifying brand names but, despite this, they have not looked at the semiotic principles of the signs. Second, the studies

demand more exploration of the global aspects of the brand names within the notions of language mobility. These two theoretical perspectives are explained in more detail below.

2.5.1 Brand Names as Semiotic Signs

Brand names have instilled social and cultural meanings in the minds of audiences (Wijaya, 2013: 55). Through the investigation of language and visuals, semiotics accounts for the meanings and connotations of brand signs (Barton and Hudson, 1997; Forrester, 1996).

The concept of semiotics was mainly founded by Saussure and Peirce. In work originally dating back to the first decade of the twentieth century, Saussure (1966: 45) views the sign as having a two-component model of the signifier – or ‘sound image’ – and the signified – or ‘concept’ – in which the relationship between signifier and signified is arbitrary. Hodge and Kress (1988) have criticised Saussure for neglecting the real world of signs; the social dimensions of semiotics are essential to the functions of signs in that the systems in which they are entrenched cannot be studied without reference to their social-cultural context. In other words, the brand names viewed in the LL are not only signs, but they also represent other hidden social and cultural manifestations in accordance with the community in which they are used. This has been accentuated by Peirce (1935-66: 98), who identifies signs as anything that stands for something else, and therefore he calls for the role of the interpreter’s culture in correlating signs to their objects in reality. In his typology of signs, Peirce (1935-66: 101, 107) distinguishes three basic types of signs: icon, index and symbol. Whilst iconic signs relate to their objects through some kind of visual resemblance (such as a painting of a leaf or a plane), indexical signs have a direct existential connection with their objects – smoke is an index of fire. By contrast, symbolic signs create meanings through learned conventions (for example, letters, numbers, and words themselves are usually highly conventional).

Unlike Peircean and Saussurean semiotics, Hodge and Kress (1988), who introduce social semiotics, tend to focus on the interpretation of signs in accordance with the social practices and ideologies in the community. They further maintain that the relationships between signifieds and signifiers on the one hand, and signs on the other hand, are not built upon abstractions, but that they display multiple social and cultural meanings. Socio-semioticians accordingly turn their attention to the study of signifieds, the material conditions, and the socio-political consequences of interpreting the polysemic property of signs (Hodge and Kress, 1988; Gottdiener, 1994; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Semiotics in connection with brand names has gained a significant position from two perspectives. It is, on the one hand, a dominant linguistic area for meaning-making practices. As Sless notes (1986: 1), ‘we consult linguists to find out about language, art historians or critics to find out about paintings, and anthropologists to find out how people in different societies signal to each other through gesture, dress or decoration. But if we want to know what all these different things have in common then we need to find someone with a semiotic point of view, a vantage point from which to survey our world.’ This suggests that semiotics elucidates representations more closely than any other science. On the other hand, semiotics can help in realising the hidden meanings of the signs, as well as the ways in which sign systems reflect community cultures and ideology. In this context, Moxey (1994: 61) argues:

Semiotics makes us aware that the cultural values with which we make sense of the world are a tissue of conventions that have been handed down from generation to generation by the members of the culture of which we are a part. It reminds us that there is nothing ‘natural’ about our values; they are social constructs that not only vary enormously in the course of time but differ radically from culture to culture.

Social semiotics is thus the study of the social aspects of meaning and interpretation in shaping individuals and societies. It also centres on the social meaning-making practices of all types of signs, whether visual, verbal, or aural in nature (Thibault, 1997). For Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001: 21), these different types of meaning-making are called 'semiotic modes', including visual, verbal, and written resources for communication. For Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001: 21), these different types of meaning-making are called 'semiotic modes', including visual, verbal, and written resources for communication. Consequently, signs have multiple meanings and often communicate ideological messages that represent individuals' social events within the community. These messages and meanings can only be detected through a semiotic analysis, which can go beyond the focus of linguistics to analyse a wide range of advertising signs, including not only written languages but also images and photographs in the LL. Here, social semiotics is employed to go deeper and link the internal elements of the signs, such as the logos and the images with the community, generating different social and cultural meanings in association with the community in which the signs are situated (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996).

The semiotic perspectives of signs have a mutual relation with Halliday's (1994) theory of the functions of language, in which three general metafunctions of grammar are investigated: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Each of these metafunctions expresses different modes of meaning of clauses in different aspects of the world. The ideational metafunction concerns one's awareness of the real world in the broadest sense, and uses the representation meaning of clauses, and is concerned with clauses as representations. The interpersonal metafunction relates to the social aspect of the world, in particular the relationship between speaker and hearer, and is concerned with clauses as exchanges. The textual metafunction concerns the verbal context, particularly the flow of information in a text, and is concerned with clauses as messages. These three functions have had a great influence on Kress and Van Leeuwen's

(1996) social semiotic principles of visual communication grammar. In their views, the visual signs that convey a variety of semiotic modes, such as the image, colour and typography, can act similarly to language, and so they apply these three broad communicative metafunctions to visual signs in the public space. Accordingly, the ‘ideational metafunction’ focuses on the representation of ideas and experiences in the text, in which images have been perceived as a means for the illustration of ideological principles in the community; the ‘interpersonal metafunction’ embodies the representation of visual semiotic relations among the products, the viewers, and the objects represented; and ‘textual metafunction’ explores the structural organisation and positioning of ideas within a text (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996: 40, 42). Besides, the authors consider several examples from many domains, such as websites, advertisements, and textbooks, to examine how meaning-making is expressed in social contexts. More importantly, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) provide a variety of signifier forms, such as narrative vectors, gaze, modality, composition, perspective, line and colour, social distance, and multimodality, as ways to realise prospective meanings (signifieds) in the making of signs. For the purpose of analysing the semiotic features of brand names, I have not used the entire system of the grammar of visual design proposed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), as I realise that the intended principles are not applicable to all signs, in addition to noting the demand for a deeper analysis of the connections between people in the real world and the constructive work of sign-makers. For these reasons, I limit my focus to two main semiotic principles for analysing and conceiving the different social meanings of brand names in the Jordanian context: composition and multimodality. Each of these is explained below.

2.5.1.1 Composition

Composition contributes to the salience of the sign elements and thus affects viewers’ interpretations of the community’s social practices. This has been highlighted in the concept of salience, in which ‘the elements (representational participants and objects) are made to attract

the viewer's attention to different degrees, as realised by such factors as placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour) [and] differences in sharpness' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996:183). Here, the joint role of colour and composition displays the salience of an image element or the whole image. The choice and position of the sign elements also have a considerable role in manifesting the main visual messages to the viewers. In addition to salience, much significance has been placed on the position of sign elements in the visual compositions. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 183) use the term 'centre' to refer to elements in the middle of the sign, representing the locus of information, whilst they use 'margins' to refer to elements round the middle ones. In his comparison of the modes of written language and visual image, Kress (2010) concentrates on the position of the sign elements in displaying the meaning. Whilst the logic and temporal sequences manifest the meanings in written language, the spatial relations or grammar of visual images display the meanings in visual language. As such, the writer emphasises the fact that the position, size, and composition of sign elements play a significant role in the meaning-making process.

Scollon and Scollon (2003: 116) elaborate on the compositional aspects of visual signs within the framework of semiotics in terms of two perspectives. First, they highlight the significance of displaying the signs in a certain social context, where the interpretation of the sign's semiotic elements relates to its placement in the LL (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 98). Second, they note that various languages utilised in multilingual signs strongly signify the system of code preference. Scollon and Scollon (2003) also examine the construction of languages that are conventionally written to convey three different possibilities. If the signs are constructed and aligned in a horizontal manner, the code preference of the system is situated in the left position, whereas the secondary code of the system is placed in the right position. The second possibility in the case of language is that if the language is aligned in a vertical manner then, in

such a scenario, the preference code is located above the secondary code. The third possibility is that the preferred code is located in the centre position and the secondary code is placed on the margins of the sign. Despite the significance of the position of the codes, the authors focus on the value of code sizes when the language in the lower position is shown in larger letters than the language in the higher position.

Therefore, the compositional associations of signs can be used in analysing the images of brands, where the code size used conveys differing cultural messages to the viewers in the LL of Jordan. Despite the fact that the outcomes discussed above stem from the analysis of Western signs, they lay the groundwork for extending and adapting semiotic analysis in investigating the degree of composition in the brand names, shedding more light on the social and cultural meanings devised in the Jordanian LL.

2.5.1.2 Multimodality

The concept of multimodality has been studied by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2001), who extend the semiotic modes in relation to language, such as turn-taking, coherence, and composition. They investigate visual signs to detect a variety of semiotic resources, potential meanings, and the regular rules assisting their understanding in visually communicating ideologies and practices. Jewitt and Oyama (2001: 134) similarly argue that ‘social semiotic analysis of visual communication involves the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with images (and other visual means of communication) and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted’. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) base their approach in the LL upon ideas put forward by Kress and Van Leeuwen, where language is viewed as a multimodal phenomenon. By using the term ‘semiotic landscape’, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 2) emphasise ‘the way written discourse interacts with other discursive modalities: visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment’. Consequently, the major role of multimodality is to provide insightful frameworks for the

analysis of the visual interaction among the existing modes, such as the language, the logo, and composition, as unified features in meaning-making.

According to Kress (2010), multimodality can be studied within three major premises. First, it posits that the demonstration and communication of meanings emerge from the diversity of modes illustrated in the signs. Here, multimodality is intended to investigate a variety of resources of meaning-making that people use in different contexts (pictorial, gestural, and written), and to propose tools that explain how these modes are arranged to make meaning. In this respect, Norris (2004: 2) argues that multimodality ‘steps away from the notion that language always plays the central role in interaction, without denying that it often does’. By the same token, Jewitt (2009: 14) refers to multimodality as ‘approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend to the full range of communicational forms people use – image, gesture, gaze, posture and so on – and the relationships between them’. Multimodality then diverts attention from the language to consider the significance of other visual modes of communication as essential elements in conveying social meanings.

Multimodality further posits that resources such as habits and customs, which are displayed in society over time, are seen as meaning-making resources, reflecting the required social meanings of different communities (Kress, 2010). These structured groups of semiotic resources for making meaning are realised as modes that implicate a mutual communication between individuals, society, and the signs. Accordingly, any mode in the sign needs to be shaped with the common cultural senses of a particular community, and so the meanings will be made clearly to the individuals. Kress (2010) also maintains that individuals make sense of signs via their understanding and selection of modes, drawing more attention to the importance of collaboration between the modes. Therefore, the communicational processes are both

mediated by the given rules at the time of making the signs and shaped by the impetuses and interests of people in a certain social community.

However, the above mentioned semiotic theory incorporates different forms of signifiers to generate meanings from signs, such as narrative vectors, gaze, modality, composition, perspective, line and colour, social distance, and multimodality (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Composition and multimodality as semiotic means are adopted from such potential terms to apply to brand names for two reasons. First, the semiotic function of many of the afore-mentioned terms (narrative vectors, line and colour) applies to one single element in the visual display of signs in order to explore the meanings, whereas composition and multimodality are used considerably in the context of brands for more understanding of the salience of signs' elements, as well as serving as a tool to find a more comprehensive relation between the elements of the signs. The second reason is that most semiotic functions are used to analyse the articulation and understanding of social meanings in signs, relying on people (or participants') different movements and actions in images (Kress and Leewen, 1996). For example, the illustration on a sign of a man gazing up at a woman, reacting to her very being with a look of duty, may be used to identify certain facts about the gender role in the community in question. In addition, the geographic distance that is kept between the participants in images leads to studying different social backgrounds within the community (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 86). These semiotic scenarios cannot be applied to the images of brand names, which mostly consist of the products' names along with other commercial information, such as slogans or business names. Consequently, the semiotic roles of composition and multimodality lend themselves to analysing the prominent features in signs, and to considering the linguistic communication occurring among the existing elements in the signs, whether textual or visual. Interestingly, the common idea between the two principles is that the meanings of the visible modes in signs require the consideration of the habits, rules, or

customs in the community in which the signs are situated. For this reason, the compositional and multimodality features are implemented to devise the different cultural meanings hidden in the linguistic and pictorial elements of the brand names, where the main target is to study the interplay between the language, visual elements, and dimensions of the culture within the images of brand names.

More specifically, these two semiotic principles are necessary for breaking down and conceiving the visual linguistic elements of the brand names in the LL of Aqaba in Jordan. The analysis of the images and languages of brand names results in revealing not only significant semiotic modes, but also their regular social use in the community. The existence of such signs in the LL of Aqaba manifests social and cultural domains in association with Jordan, as well as with the global perspectives of the brand names. Multimodality along with composition allows for an extension of its semiotic principles to account for the hidden cultural aspects of brands in the Jordanian public space. Even though these semiotic modes have been discussed separately, their applicable dimensions are chosen in accordance with the visual features of the brand names. One particular brand name, which may display the font size as a salient semiotic feature, helps us to build upon that social significance in Jordan, whilst other brand names displaying the significance of the composition and other visual elements (for example a logo) together require us to refer to the multimodality as a comprehensive element in devising different social practices in connection with Jordan. In essence, the different visual components of brand names, including the signs' script, the logo, and the other linguistic remarks (like business name or any other information), are all explored within the framework of the semiotic principles.

2.5.1.3 Relevant Studies

The theoretical aspects of social semiotics have been applied to different studies to reveal the social and cultural dimensions of signs. In this respect, Danesi (2004) notes that signs that

display colour, gestures, objects, and mathematical equations suggest something other than themselves. The graphic counterparts of brand names or logos represented in signs, he notes, are designed to signify the brand product by the means of a visual channel. The results of Danesi's (2004) research show that the apple logo that has been significantly utilised by Apple Corporation depicts hidden religious symbolism. Whilst the creator of the sign denies any intent to connect the logo to the story of Adam and Eve, and aims to put the bite there in order to ensure that the figure is not interpreted as any other kind of fruit, such as a tomato, Danesi's semiotic analysis of the logo investigates the religious symbolic associations by which the company's iconic bitten-apple logo is interpreted as the original sin of Adam and Eve mentioned in the Bible (Danesi, 2004: 264). This study is useful for exploring the meanings and connotations that brand names in the LL of Jordan can display in connection with cultural and religious aspects of society. Specifically, the illustration of national brand names cannot be presented without reference to the Islamic and cultural habits and practices of the Jordanian context. In the same vein, the brand names are shaped by the cultural backgrounds of the inhabitants. This has been identified by Hynes and Janson (2007), who investigate the differences in the perceptions of individuals from Finland, Sweden, the United States, and China with regards to advertisements from Nokia and Ericsson. Whilst the semiotic analysis of the advertisements focuses on the image of two hands in the Nokia logo and the 'welcome home' as a starting stage in Ericsson, the reactions of the individuals demonstrate the fact that culture plays a determinate role in defining particular meanings towards the symbolic elements they see in the advertisements. In addition, the individuals' reactions are significantly built upon the international appeal of English, along with their cultural values, in terms of determining the efficiency and effectiveness of the symbols used in the advertisements.

Najafian and Ketabi (2011) reveal the utility of the social semiotics approach in analysing advertising's linguistic elements for the purpose of uncovering the ideology behind choosing

different resources (verbal and non-verbal). The examples chosen for illustration from *Time* magazine show that both textual and visual signs are among the social semiotic resources that help advertisers to communicate persuasive messages under ideological assumptions. The results of the study demonstrate that social semiotic reference occupies an essential area in connection with both the language of advertising and ideology. Furthermore, the different semiotic modes, such as the image, word, and colour, are recognised as significant elements of the signs in which the social meanings of advertising language are implicitly expressed. Taylor-Leech (2012) investigates the language choice of visual signs in Timor-Leste through the application of the premises of semiotics. In this context, a socio-cultural correlation occurs between the languages seen and the political conditions of the country. For example, the use of Portuguese or Indonesian together with Tetum (the language spoken on the island of Timor) promotes a bilingual identity, and serves as a motive for language standardisation and literacy development. The question of what bilingual identity stands for appears simple on the surface, but examining the term more closely leads to a complex level of answers, depending on who or what language is used in such contexts (Liebkind, 1995). Nevertheless, Tetum has gained a significant position in the LL, given its functions as an icon of national identity, whereas English is unavoidable, primarily for the utilisation of audiences who understand it, including foreign investors or educated, affluent, and upwardly-mobile East Timorese. The present study is helpful in promoting a cultural correlation on the part of viewers between Arabic as a mark of the national identity, and any other foreign languages displayed in Aqaba's LL.

In the light of Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) framework, Seargeant (2012) discusses the encoding of cultural concepts in the scripts of signs, including examples of Chinese calligraphy, the Leeds Asian Festival, and an advertisement for a beauty product by *Lancôme*. In the example of calligraphy, the sign appears to resemble Chinese but, in fact, is actually an English-language text where the script is made to look like Chinese. Seargeant (2012) argues

that the shape of the script articulates the relationship between the English-language culture and the Chinese culture, whilst teasing the seams of Standard English orthography. The flyer for the Leeds Asian Festival exploits the connotations of Hindi script to convey symbolically and semiotically the Festival's identity. In the *Lancôme* advertisement, the words '*Diagnô*s' and '*Biô*metric' are neither French nor English, but hint to the viewer of a meaning that is accessible to speakers of both languages. The inclusion of a circumflex in both words suggests French, despite the fact that standard spelling conventions do not require a diacritic in this position. Seargeant's main point is that, whilst these signs appear both like and unlike English, the choice of script is used to connote some other identity, be that Chinese, generic 'Asian', or French. The signs semiotically perform meaning-making via certain elements of the text where the script refers to a specific cultural meaning not directly related to the text.

2.5.2 Brand Names as Mobilising Signs

A further consequence of the signification of the language of brand names is the creation of mobilising environments in which the economic and cultural domains of a particular community are shaped within the global practices. For the purposes of examining language mobility in the LL, a discussion of the dynamics of commodification is required. Globalisation has called upon intensive movements of people, commodities, and ideologies as striking features of the current time (Appadurai, 1996: 27). As a result, sociolinguists have recently begun to engage in globalisation, calling for the separation between language practices and variations with place (Heller, 2010; Blommaert, 2010). Heller (2010) argues that the evolution of a new globalised economy has provided new conditions in the development of language practices and new ways of thinking about a particular language. Heller (2010) notes that the most fundamental role that language plays in the new economy is its evolution as an integral part of the product itself. These perspectives have been reinforced by Blommaert (2010), who highlights the essential role that globalisation plays in the emergence of an economy due to the

expansion of various international corporations in differing geographical arenas. Similarly, Coupland (2010) notes that globalisation has a wider influence over the economic, political, and cultural institutions in which language plays a fundamental role. With the advent of globalisation, people have begun to mobilise themselves from one place to another, which has led to the creation of more dynamic interplays and the diversification of language and culture in the global scenario. For Blommaert (2010: 5), this cultural approach of language relates to two concepts of globalisation: ‘sociolinguistics of mobility’, where the focus is placed on ‘language-in-motion’ along with the various space-time frames among others; and ‘sociolinguistics of distribution’, which refers to the ‘vertical stratification of language-in-place’. The choice of language is therefore a sociolinguistic phenomenon, which relies on the selection of different language(s) by the inhabitants within their linguistic repertoire, leading them to use two or more languages in conducting their cultural and economic activities. Here, language mobility is a major principle, in which the global or cosmopolitan perspectives are typically attached to the environmental and emotional effects existing in the society (Elliott and Urry, 2010). For these reasons, theories of globalisation emphasise reshaping the individuals’ transactions and strategies, as well as the groups’ acts in global arenas. For instance, Giddens (1994) discusses the idea that social relations in any society have become more intangible, removed from the existing social rules at the individual levels, whereas at a larger level the social institutions have become more detached from the local national society and gradually replaced by global ones. Beck (1999) also notes that society no longer identifies the social habits and practices of a particular geographic territory, proposing a prototypical shift from a nation-state, unified perspective to a global approach due to the establishment of a different personal life within a modern globalised community.

To this end, I argue that languages, like any other objects, travel between places and across environments, along with their speakers. This provokes the existing languages in specific

communities to establish new language contexts, realms and users, where the values and functions of languages are re-evaluated and reallocated (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck, 2005: 205). With this in mind, the studies of language mobility focus on the polycentric demonstration of multilingualism in different communities. For example, Pietikäinen (2010) studies multilingual signs in Inari, a village in Finnish Sámiland, with a particular emphasis on the temporal and spatial dimensions of signs. More specifically, Pietikäinen (2010) uses the term ‘chronotope’ to refer to the ‘inseparability of time and space’ when language use is intended to convey social meanings (Bakhtin, 1981: 84). Having adopted Bakhtin’s concept, Pietikäinen (2010) identifies two dominant chronotopes in which language mobility and multilingualism are investigated: the regulatory chronotope, which refers to the stability and normativity that typically exists in institutional signs made by authorities, and the transitory chronotope, which centres on hybridity and multiplicity and is used in relation to the tourism and cultural activities manifested in the practices of advertisements. As discussed by Pietikäinen, (2010), it is the transitory chronotope, where the mobility of signs is intensified by the current flows of globalisation – and especially by tourism in the Inari LL – that influences local language practices and results in the need for multilingualism in public signage.

The mobility concept of language has also been identified in Kasanga’s (2010: 181) linguistic analysis of brand names in French advertising, according to four categories: ‘brand advertisements’, ‘hybrid advertisements’, ‘clone advertisements’ and ‘imitation advertisements’, to which I return in Chapter Four. Whilst the first two are displayed for preserving the company’s global identity, regardless of the local languages, clone and imitation advertisements are used on the part of local people to shape their businesses with international meanings, or to add a sense of sophistication and modernity to their companies via the display of foreign names.

Following on from Kasanga (2010), Lanza and Woldemariam (2014) identify the connection between language and globalisation through the use of international brand names and English in the LL of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Whilst they identify the common evolution of international brand names in Ethiopia, they focus specifically on the identity of locals through using such signs in their daily life. For these reasons, the authors use the cloning pattern of international brands, which touches on the discourse of national identity and development. The results from Lanza and Woldemariam's study show that the use of English and international brand names in the LL index modernity, prestige, and particularly mobility, covering not only geographical movement but also movement on a social scale. More importantly, the present study refers to the lack of understanding the relationship between brand names and languages, where the Thesis demands us to conduct interviews with individuals in Aqaba to explore new perspectives under this issue.

According to Pennycook (2010), language mobility has turned local environments into global arenas. The act of globalisation has produced a new form of thinking, turning localisation through the use of global English into a new form of global identity. Consequently, English makes up some kind of localised forms in a variety of different cultural environments, including East Asia, West Africa, the Pacific Islands and Australia. Raheem (2013) advocates the notion of language mobility on the basis that all the activities in local or regional scenarios are conducted in line with the global manner. He further signifies the role of English as an essential language of mobility based on two aspects: its strong cultural position in comparison with other languages; and the employment of English in the network as a substantial means of communication. By the same token, the language of brand names in Aqaba leads to two cultural consequences. The mobility concept of English, on the one hand, stimulates LL actors to display their local products in a global fashion so as to coincide with other products known around the world. For the purpose of enticing both foreigners and locals to the city's products,

these actors keep the fixed linguistic shape of the global brands in the same manner as recognised around the world. The existence of these linguistic patterns, on the other hand, creates cosmopolitan feelings and views on the part of viewers, in particular the young, who are always open to new trends and changes in terms of innovative culture and language (Jackson, 2004).

As such, I argue that language mobility has made the world's economy closely interconnected and interlinked, and the old traditional barriers have been significantly removed due to the development of communication. The linguistic forms of the product have been introduced not only on the grounds of their acceptance in the local scenario, but also for their global acceptability. Given the fact that English is investigated as the language of mobility in connection with both the economic and political aspects of the products and in terms of its global effect on the local linguistic environments, the following two sub-sections consider different studies in which significant social stereotypes and theoretical frameworks are culturally linked to English as the language of brand names. These studies have been divided into two thematic trends: modernity and attraction, and cosmopolitanism.

2.5.2.1 Modernity and Attraction

English as the language of advertising, particularly in non-English speaking countries, has developed several social stereotypes, making it a popular language of brand names as part of advertising discourse (Piller, 2001, 2003). It is worth mentioning that the 'discourse' discussed here and throughout the Thesis refers to the system of thoughts, consisting of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices, that systematically constructs the individuals and the worlds of which they speak (Lessa, 2006: 3).² This sense of discourse applies to the uses of brand names within the fields of linguistics and advertising as will be discussed later.

² This definition has been adopted from Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault (1972), but summarised in Lessa's article.

Nonetheless, the linguistic analysis of the multilingual brand names, as well as the individuals' viewpoints, focuses on the meanings of modernity and attraction throughout different studies. For example, Thonus (1991) finds that English is mainly used for its symbolic value: 'it sounds modern, scientific and fashionable', which bestows upon advertisers an advantage for 'selling goods and services which are different and worthwhile' (Thonus, 1991: 73). English is widely used by businesses to communicate with their customers in order to attract their attention, and to sell goods and services with certain brand names, suggesting that the language attached to the products conveys significant messages in the eyes of customers.

In Jordan, Saleh and Al-Yasin (1994) examine the extensive presence of foreign shops from a sociolinguistic viewpoint. The results of the study show that business owners' discursive use of English is mostly attributed to its effectiveness in promoting their trade, and thus adding glamour to their commodities and conveying traits of quality, durability, and modernity. Saleh and Al-Yasin (1994) also signify the presence of a new trend of sociolinguistic attitude, in which English adds more value to the products. Furthermore, the study engages in the individuals' viewpoints and attitudes towards the use of foreign languages, where 73% of the 30 interviewees prefer shops with English names in comparison to the three per cent who prefer shops with an Arabic name. In a similar context, Ross (1997) investigates the extensive use of English shop signs in the city centre of Milan in Italy. English here is associated with attraction, fashion, and prestige meanings as part of the international scene, but the author links the language to US lifestyles, values, and culture, despite there being no real evidence in the signs themselves, and not asking individuals about their beliefs and viewpoints regarding the city's LL.

Piller (2001) signifies the presence of English in German bilingual advertising, where she divides the social aspects of the language into five areas of orientation: international, future, success, sophistication and fun. Similarly to Saleh and Al-Yasin's (1994) study, a direct

relation is established between the use of English and young professional individuals, who are seen to be ‘not a national citizen but a transnational consumer’ (Piller, 2001: 180). Further still, the study shows that less attention is given to the literal meaning of English when it portrays appealing social serotypes in the minds of language receivers. Piller (2003) links these results with the idea that English used in the advertisements of non-English-speaking countries is usually associated with symbolic cultural attributes such as modernity, progress, and globalisation. In a study conducted in Brazil, Friedrich (2002) finds that English is often used in advertising for reasons of modernity, attraction, and innovation. Friedrich here confirms the essential role of demonstrating Brazilian products in English for conveying a persuasive marketing image in the minds of residents, leading to increasing the level of sales in the markets. This finding is reinforced by Gao (2005), who conducts research on bilingual advertising in China and finds that English is employed as a means of persuasion, in which modern and appealing meanings are revealed through the analysis of language products.

Ustinova (2006) investigates the role of English in Russian advertising, in which the presence of the two languages, noted in TV advertisements through code-switching and code-mixing, has been prevalent. This also applies to the mutual affiliation between the type of product and the language choice for the brand name; the names of Western products are presented entirely in English, while Russian goods employ both languages in naming and labelling. Results indicate that there is a preference for using English names and the Roman script for a variety of products, such as electronic appliances, cars, and household products. Ustinova (2006) notes that the high usage of English in the commercials can be explained through utilitarian and social reasons. Utilitarian reasons, on the one hand, imply that Western firms index their brand names and logo in English all over the world. For example, non-Russian products, such as *Panasonic*, *Land Rover*, or *Kodak*, use ‘English-looking brand names’, usually written in the Roman script. The social reasons, on the other hand, are associated with using English to

index 'prestige and novelty' (Ustinova, 2006: 273). These power dynamics and political drives are suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2009), who note that the use of English in advertising has economic benefits, as businesses use it to increase their sales. In a Hungarian context, Petery (2011) links the occurrence of English in television commercials along with the local language, with modernity as a fundamental linguistic symbol, whereas the absence of English is linguistically associated with tradition.

The social stereotypes of attraction and the appeal of English as the language of brand names are also examined by Khosravizadeh and Sanjareh (2011) in Tehran, Iran. They design a questionnaire and distribute to 100 participants with differing educational levels and age groups. The findings show that the strong appeal of English use in brand naming and shop signs are seen in the responses of adolescents and the young. The concept of attraction towards English brand names also diminishes gradually among the middle-aged and the elderly. This observed pattern in association with age is attributed to factors such as 'stronger national identity and patriotism', which frames the way the middle-aged and the elderly reply (Khosravizadeh and Sanjareh, 2011: 38). As regards education, results show that, as the level of education increases, people prefer products to be written in Persian rather than English. The overall results show that older and middle-aged Iranians with higher levels of education prefer brand names to be displayed in their own language, whereas younger respondents prefer to view English in such products. Such a study is useful for this Thesis, where the education and age of the passers-by in the LL, amongst other demographic characteristics, will be thoroughly investigated to uncover whether such effects are demonstrated in Jordanians' viewpoints regarding the languages of brand names. The middle-aged and elderly individuals may advocate the value of the Arabic language of brands in more realistic trends than the young people, whose thoughts and beliefs may be influenced by the global forces of the products' language.

In conclusion, English as the language of modernity, has been investigated from different social perspectives, whether in the LL setting, advertising discourse, or through people's viewpoints and attitudes. These studies, which identify English as a modern and prestigious language, make the common point that English carries meanings of progress and success in the Jordanian settings, particularly when it is compared to the local language. This results in those products advertised in English acquiring connotations of quality, appeal, or persuasion in the eyes of viewers. More fundamental is the fact that all the trends of modernity are part of the cosmopolitan scenario, where English plays a key role in illustrating the language of products in different contexts, as discussed in the following section.

2.5.2.2 Cosmopolitanism

The concept of cosmopolitanism dates back to the ancient Greek thoughts, in particular the Cynics (Diogenes is said to have stated 'I am a citizen of the world [kosmou polites]') and the Greco-Roman Stoics (such as Seneca) (Nussbaum, 2002: 5). Accordingly, it refers to individuals' refusal to be identified by their local origins and group memberships; rather, they tend to be primarily identified through more universal aspirations and perspectives.

Reading some of the major studies on cosmopolitanism, the adjacent similarity of its expressive and significant insights into the literature on a variety of other topics is clear, including openness to foreign cultures, internationalism, world mindedness, and global openness. Cultural openness has been identified as peoples' experiences with and openness towards the people, values, and practices of other cultures (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin, 1995). Internationalism is recognised as the social feelings of being a part of other nations and their people, where individuals often appreciate a nation's success and progress, and show sympathy for the residents of other nations (Balabanis, Diamantopoulos, Mueller, and Melewar, 2001). While cultural openness involves individuals' opportunities for interacting with cultures other than their own, world mindedness refers to a 'world-view of the problems

of humanity' (Shankarmahesh, 2006: 149). Having realised the common topics among the terms, the idea of cosmopolitanism centres on Kantian philosophy, in which the universalistic concept lies in individuals' loyalty and devotion to other human beings. According to Vertovec and Cohen (2002: 9), cosmopolitanism relates to six perspectives, namely: a socio-cultural condition; a kind of philosophy or world-view; a political project towards building transnational institutions; a political project for recognising multiple identities; an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and a mode of practice or competence. Hannerz (2006) summarises these conditions within two frequent approaches: political and cultural. The political approach comprises different forms of relations and engagements across society, whilst the cultural dimensions involve fashion, lifestyle, food, travel, and other everyday practices (Hannerz, 2006). This view is reinforced by Beck (2003: 37), who sees acts of eating, shopping, or listening to music, as expressive means of feelings and motives towards otherness within the context of cosmopolitan identities.

The cultural approach has further laid down the basis for incorporating consumption within cosmopolitanism, where many practices exhibited in the LL – such as shop signs and brand names – are targeted at cosmopolitan consumers and thus willingly realised as faces of capitalist cosmopolitanism (Elliott and Urry, 2010). According to Pieterse (2006), capitalist cosmopolitanism is a central element, which offers socio-cultural meanings of liberty and freedom across different societies. In this context, Holt et al (2004: 70) point out that the cosmopolitan concept helps to initiate a new social trend, typically built on the global culture of brands, permitting the consumers to 'see themselves in relation to other cultures as well as their own'. This is not to say that consumers would have the same attitudinal approaches worldwide; rather, they engage in different conversations regarding the presence or participation in different global brands events. In a similar manner to 'entertainment stars, sports celebrities, and politicians', global brands have more recently become a lingua franca

for individuals around the world (Holt et al., 2004: 70). Therefore, individuals' acts of consumption are linked to the concept of cosmopolitanism, embodied through the symbolic, emotional, and cultural aspects of visual brands, leading to making changes in consumers' identity in the light of the recurrent global designs of such products (Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden, 2003). The cultural concept of cosmopolitanism can successfully apply to my analysis of brand names, in which the signs themselves or the informant's views can reveal facts and ideas in relation to cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism through various references has been revealed through research into the LL. These references include: a language connoting cosmopolitanism (for example, English in Thailand [Huebner, 2006]; English in Tokyo [Backhaus, 2007]); a cosmopolitan social practice (such as having dinner in a restaurant in Washington, D.C. [Leeman and Modan, 2009]); the coexistence of modernity and cosmopolitan identity (for example, the symbolic connotations of English in French advertising in DR Congo [Kasanga, 2010]); and glamorous orthography suggesting a local cosmopolitan identity (for example, English, French, Japanese, and 'vogue' European in Taipei [Curtin, 2014]).

With regards to the linguistic analysis of the cosmopolitan identities and attributes of brand names, Kelly-Holmes (2005) investigates the stereotypes of English in German multilingual advertising. Through the careful examination of English displayed in German brands, Kelly-Holmes (2005: 63, 64) distinguishes between three symbolic approaches: 'upper-class' (for example, Jaguar is written in German and the slogan is in English); 'technical display' (for example, the whole advertisement is written in English, but one English word displays a technical term); and a cosmopolitan meaning (for example, German brands are written in English). Kelly-Holmes (2005: 75) further emphasises the significance of English in maintaining the global sense of German brands; specifically, she calls English a 'lingua franca' language, highlighting the fact that a local brand can acquire an international message

or strategy via English to give that brand an international meaning. In Russia, the English language is also regarded to be global and appealing as the language of brand names, particularly when companies start to promote a new product or brand in non-English speaking countries. This is identified in Ustinova's (2009) follow-up research:

The product may originate in various non-English speaking countries, but still use English-looking names: *Samsung*, *LG Electronics* (Korea), *Toyota*, *Sony*, *Phillips* [sic] (Japan) [...] The Russian national companies might also use English, or Anglophone-sounding and looking words and Roman script for the names of their products, companies or labels (Ustinova, 2009: 82).

Hence, the use of Roman script does not index a certain country; rather, it communicates the cosmopolitan appeal of the products. Even though the products have not been made in English-speaking countries, the use of English in other countries, such as Russia, invokes the concept of cosmopolitanism, leading individuals to construct feelings and meanings of being part of the world. Not surprisingly, the Jordanian LL includes signs for commercial products, whether in Arabic or English (or Roman scripts). The motive for using English is to create an international appeal among residents. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, advertisements in the English language may be more appealing to Jordanians because they represent values and parameters beyond the borders of their culture, calling up different meanings in relation to the concept of cosmopolitanism on the part of the passers-by, who often consume or deal with these products.

2.6 Concluding Remarks

Different theoretical aspects of LLs have been highlighted in an attempt to focus on those features that are significantly associated with brand names. The common principles of the field, including the different concepts and the symbolic and informative functions of the LL,

provide a great insight into understanding brand names as a particular commercial category of signs. With the investigation of the nucleus of symbolic function, brand names are more closely connected to the semiotic trends in which different cultural meanings are devised by considering the sign's visual elements. There is also a significant correlation between the languages of brand names, and the connotations and meanings of modernity and cosmopolitanism in the minds of individuals today.

I am largely content that the two semiotic approaches proposed in the framework of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) lend themselves to the analysis of brand signs in the LL. On the one hand, the compositional dimensions promote the salience of the signs' writing, thus affecting the viewer's perspective in understanding the local culture. Even though the code preference is highlighted as a significant part of the compositional aspect, I will mainly use the font size, as a key element in the visual features, for taking on a role in reflecting the different cultural norms and customs practised in the society. This essential approach will assist in reading and interpreting the local identities via examining the signs of Jordanian brand names in the LL. On the other hand, the multimodality approach supports semiotic meaning in the visual signs, where the collaboration between the textual and pictorial semiotic modes in the same sign communicate certain ideological thoughts and social practices, which are persistently related to the society in which the sign is used. Equally important, the interactions between the language used, the logo, and the font size in the local signs of brand names will certainly generate certain meanings in connection with Jordanian culture. Nevertheless, language mobility, which accounts for English as the common language of products, is highlighted in connection with the global and economic forces. This approach not only contributes to the multilingualism of brand names in a local context, but also leads to changes in individuals' viewpoints and beliefs about the presence of English as the language of prestige, modernity,

and cosmopolitanism. These social and cultural perspectives help in deciphering the occurrence of English on brand names in the local LL.

With this in mind, the outcomes of the study conducted by Tufi and Blackwood (2010), investigating the perceived language of representation (LOR) and country of representation (COR) of the brand names when such signs are viewed by Jordanians, reflect different symbolic cultural practices regarding the occurrence of these signs in Aqaba's LL. These practices and approaches will be closely studied in the light of the impact of the participants' socio-economic backgrounds, such as age and gender, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Three: Socio-Historical Overview of Jordan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed outline of historical and socio-political aspects of Jordan, as well as its sociolinguistic background in order to lay down the grounds regarding the sociolinguistic context of Jordan, where the common spoken languages are discussed in more detail. The first section concentrates on the various historical phases undergone by the region, as well as the political structure and the economic reforms experienced in several areas of Jordan. The impact of Islam as the country's main religion, along with the emergence of other religions, is also highlighted. Added to this is the mutual relationship between Islam and the culture on one hand, and Islam and the Arabic language on the other hand. This chapter also explains the sociolinguistic characteristics of the different forms of Arabic in Jordan, the place of minority languages, and the use of English within the domain of globalisation.

The significance of identifying the socio-historical context of Jordan – in particular Aqaba, where the study is conducted – lies in the purpose of providing a comprehensive overview in connection with the analytical themes and perspectives in the chapters to come, allowing more opportunities to understand the findings of the Thesis. The political and economic backgrounds lay down the bases for exploring several businesses and commercial shops in Aqaba. For anyone working within the sociolinguistic field, a discussion of the socio-historical context is essential in drawing attention to the ways in which the findings of the study are influenced by various social, political, and cultural variables.

3.2 Historical and Socio-Political Overview

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is part of the Arab world and is situated on the east bank of the Jordan River. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, below, Jordan is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the

south and east, Iraq to the north-east, Syria to the north, and Israel and Palestine to the west. Jordan is home to approximately 6.5 million residents; the majority of their ancestors came from the Arabian Peninsula arenas and villages (Jordanian Department of Statistics, 2013). As a result of the Arab-Israeli War in 1948, many Palestinians fled Palestine to seek refuge in Jordan, with Palestinians now representing approximately 50% of Jordan's total population (Teller, 2002). There are also different minorities residing in Jordan, such as Circassians, Chechens, and Armenians, as well as Iraqi and Syrian refugees (Rannut, 2009). As many as 500, 000 Egyptian seasonal workers have found employment in Jordan's construction and domestic sectors. The growing number of foreign residents has reached 2.5% of the whole population (about 51,000), for purely economic reasons, as discussed below (International Center for Migration Policy Development, 2013).



Figure: 3.1 – Map of Jordan

3.2.1 Historical Background

The historical background relating to Jordan is essential, not only in terms of being aware of the significance of gaining independence from the British territory, but also because it reflects the value of Arabic to the Arab states during the Turkification policy. The historical

perspectives also convey interesting events occurring in Aqaba, as a city. Jordan's independent history spans almost 70 years, from when it first became an independent country. The region that was named the Emirate of Transjordan in 1920 incorporated Edom, Israel, Ammon, Moab, the Amalekites, and various other ancient kingdoms speaking the Semitic Canaanite language. In the year 2000 BC, Transjordan was comprised of classical kingdoms like the Nabatean kingdom, which dated back to Roman times, and had its capital city in Petra. The Muslim empires during the seventh century represent the next phase in the region's history, followed by crusader control in what was known Oultrejourdain. The thirteenth century saw the Mamluk Sultanate established in (Cairo), and the sixteenth century witnessed the Ottoman Empire, which lasted until the First World War (Glen, 1994; Shoup, 2007).

For reasons relating to the imposition of the Ottoman language on Arabs, and the various diminishing and undermining actions taken against the Arabic language (Hourani, 1997), the interest in and impetus for releasing Arabs from the power of the Turks and getting back the value of Arabic language found a place among the Arabic-speaking elite, whose nationalistic ideologies were shared through journals, newspapers, and other forms of print and publication (Hinnebusch, 2009; Dawisha, 2009; El-Shanti and Dasouki, 2010).

The elite group was composed of two factions: nationalists and Islamists. The Islamists were led by Muhammad Rashid, Jamal al-Afghani, and Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, who all maintained that Muslims are part of a single nation, where the Arab states are brought together not only by the Arabic language, but also by the close associations with Islam, where Arabic is the language of the Qur'an. For these reasons, Islamist scholars believe that Arabic is the primary means for learning the Turkish language and most Ottoman subjects (Haim, 1962; Al-Marrakishi, 1985; Hourani, 1993; Keddie, 1983). The second faction, which comprises pan-Arab nationalists, including Ibrahim al-Yaziji, Butris al-Bustani, and Sati al-Husri, acknowledges the equivalence between language and nation as two sides of the same coin

(Kuri, 1993: 62). In particular, Al-Husri (1882–1968) played a major role in the ideology of Arab nationalism, where he called for the Arabisation of the school curriculum in Arab nations, following the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, and believed that textbooks should only be written in Standard Arabic. He was also recognised as the most dominant theorist of the ideology of Arab nationalism, proposing that if a country loses its language, it loses its nationality (Maher, 2000).

Following the end of Arab nationalism, Britain and France negotiated the Sykes-Picot agreement, in which most of the Arab world was divided between Britain and France; the former controlled Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt and Sudan; and the latter occupied Syria and Lebanon (Mansfield, 2003). In 1946, the Jordanian territories were declared a fully independent state, with a representative monarchic government; the region's name was changed from Transjordan to Jordan two years later (Marqus, 2010). The Constitution of Jordan, which was adopted in 1952, stipulates that the country is a hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary political structure. The constitution outlines the functions and powers of the state, and the rights and duties of Jordanians (The Jordanian Constitution, 2012).

The historical background of Jordan brings more importance to Jerash, Kerak, Ma'an, Aqaba, Petra, and other cities. Aqaba, amongst other cities, has been inhabited since 4000 BC, as a result of its strategic location at the intersection of trading routes between Asia and Africa. The Edomites were thought to be the first settlers in Aqaba, followed by the Arab Nabataeans in the first century BC. Aqaba was named 'Berenice' by the Ptolemaic Greeks and both 'Aelana' and 'Aila' by the Romans. The Islamic Caliphate governed Aela following the Islamic wars. Later, Aela was ruled by the Mamluks, Fatimids, Abbasids, and Umayyads (Walmsley, 2001). Salaadin returned Aqaba and Pharaoh Island (four miles west of Aqaba) to Islamic authority in 1187 following the Crusaders' construction of forts on the island (Graf, 2003). The region fell under the rule of the Ottoman Empire during the early 1500s, as a result of the Mamluk's loss

of power. As a result, the Ottoman Empire lost authority over Aqaba during World War One, as a result of the Battle of Aqaba in 1917. The city was therefore incorporated into the Kingdom of Hejaz under the authority of Prince Faisal (Mayhew, 2006). Aqaba became part of Transjordan in 1925, and thus was granted military and diplomatic protection by Britain. Aqaba's development was also assisted by King Hussein in 1965, who granted permission for land trade between Aqaba and Saudi Arabia (Leatherdale, 2005).

To this end, Aqaba has enjoyed significant status throughout the various historical phases, since it is the only Jordanian coastal city situated at the northern end of the Red Sea. In present-day Jordan, Aqaba sits at the southernmost tip of the country, where it is among the top Jordanian tourist destinations, due largely to its spectacular marine life and climate. Industry and commerce play a significant role in Aqaba's status because of its strategic position as Jordan's only seaport. These days, Aqaba is widely-renowned for its national projects, diving, and coastal landscape (Kardoosh, 2005). Furthermore, the total population of Aqaba, according to the census of 2013, is 142,300 and it has one of the highest growth rates in Jordan, with only 44% of the buildings having been built before 1990 (Jordanian Department of Statistics, 2013).

The historical background relating to Jordan is essential, not only in terms of being aware of the significance of gaining independence from the British territory, but also because it reflects the value of Arabic to the Arab states during the Turkification policy. The historical perspectives also convey interesting events occurring in Aqaba, as a city with special economic properties in Jordan. Aqaba, in which the current study is conducted, is characterised by a well-developed economy and a moderate climate all year round. This helps citizens to establish different businesses and commerce, wherein advertising for brands is common in Aqaba's streets. This study thus concentrates on the existence of brand names and brand images in the streets of Aqaba.

3.2.2 Overview of Religion

In addition to the historical background of Jordan, religion is a key factor in establishing various social and cultural foundations in the country. Jordan's population comprises 97% Sunni Muslims and 2% Christians. This large diversity is partly due to Muslims' higher birth rates in comparison to Christians, as well as to the continuous immigration of Muslims from neighbouring countries (South, 2008). Christians in Jordan are essentially distributed among the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Greek Orthodox churches.

Shi'a Muslims, Baha'i, and Druze constitute less than 1% of the population. Followers of the Baha'i faith make up fewer than 800 Jordanians. Shi'a Muslims are low in number, and there are also at least 20,000 Druze. The religious communities are not particularly centred in certain areas of Jordan, aside from a few specific regions. For instance, the majority of residents in Husn (in the north), Fuheis (close to Amman), Karak and Madaba (south of Amman) are Christians. Many Druze reside in Umm Al-Jamal (Mafraq) and north Azraq. Some non-native Shi'a also lives in the south and the Jordan Valley (Jordan International Religious Freedom Report, 2012).

All religious minorities are permitted in Jordan, despite the constitution's declaration that the country's official religion is Islam. The Jordanian government adheres primarily to Islamic law (Sharia), and the king must be a Muslim. The majority of Jordanians are religiously affiliated with the Islamic beliefs held by the majority of the area's Arabic population. Essentially, Jordanians' interpersonal relationships and interactions, eating and drinking customs, and cultural dress codes are attributed to Islamic ideologies. For instance, the majority of women in Jordan wear the *Hijab*, which is a headscarf attributed to Islam. Female dress codes in Jordan are highly influenced by the Hadiths linked to the Prophet Muhammad and Qur'anic verses. In this regard, the Qur'an (Chapter 33: v.59) makes it clear that Islamic daughters,

wives, and all female followers of the Islamic faith are advised to cover their bodies with their *Hijab* when they are outside so that they can present themselves in a respectful manner.

Jordanians are further guided by the Islamic rules and regulations regarding the consumption of food and drink. Muslims can consume any *Halal* food as long as the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an do not prohibit it.³ Unless a Muslim is facing starvation, the types of banned foods include dead animals, blood, pork, and animals that have not been slaughtered in the name of God, none of which are allowed under the Islam religion. Islam also prohibits the consumption of intoxicating substances, including alcohol. A central religious norm in Jordan is the prohibition of mixed-gender interactions. Even though Jordan's community is socially characterised by the collective unity, where visiting family and friends is an important means of binding social links, such relationships are religiously shaped by deterrent teachings and rules (Shoup, 2007). For example, Jordanian females commonly believe that it is forbidden to touch a member of the opposite gender outside their family, and so they resist shaking hands.

As such, the cultural and social norms in Jordan are founded upon Islamic rules. The same norms and customs could be determined by several social perspectives inherent in Jordanians' cultural and social attributes. For example, the way in which women dress could be imposed by common social norms and traditions, where covering the whole body demonstrates a particular manner of traditional custom. Even though not all Jordanian females perform the obligatory religious pillars, the traditional customs command that women cover their hair, body, arms, and legs. The teachings of Islam here have impact on Jordanians' behaviour in life. On a broader scale, the cultural aspects of Jordan consist of several values including, but not limited to, respect and hospitality. Respect is usually shown to older family members by

³ Halal is a Qur'anic term that means permitted, allowed, lawful or legal. Its opposite is Haram (Rosly, 2010: 133).

the young. Hospitality refers to the cultural manifestation of generosity via, for example, the frequent Arabic greeting '*ahlan wa sahlan*' or '*welcome*', suggesting it is a particular oral form of Arabic language that distinguishes Jordanians in showing hospitality to other Arabs (Shoup, 2007: 99). Therefore, I come to the point that the teachings of Islam influence Jordanians' social life in various areas, including the customs of drink, food, and social deeds. This can also apply to individuals' religious viewpoints and their attitudes towards the language of brand names when seen in the public space, especially where the signs may suggest associations or connotations that go against Islam.

The impact of religion not only involves the cultural norms and customs of Jordan, but also has a significant relationship with the Arabic language. This relationship is universally acknowledged and predetermined due to the fact that Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, revealed to the Prophet (Akinnaso and Ogunbiyi, 1990). The Qur'an itself celebrates the relationship in numerous texts: 'a book whereof the verses are explained in detail – a Qur'an in Arabic for a people who understand' (Chapter 43: 3) and 'we have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an' (Chapter 12: 2). The classical Arabic used here, which is analogous to Standard Arabic, implies the language functioning as a tool for preserving Islamic religious identity.

Furthermore, the advent of Islam, alongside the revelation of the Qur'an, has had far-reaching effects on the status and importance of the Arabic language. Al-Sayed (1988), for instance, advocates the significant reciprocal relationship between the Qur'an and Arabic. On the one hand, Arabic is a medium for communicating the message of religion. On the other hand, Islam highlights the importance of Arabic in the Qur'an compared to other religious texts. According to Al-Sayed (1988), however, Islam has played an important role in the cultural preservation of the Arabic-speaking peoples. Without the aid of Islam, it is likely that Arabic would not have experienced the internal revolution that took place, nor is it likely to have expanded beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula as quickly as it did. The relationship

between Islam (the Qur'an) and Arabic does not only include the use of the language to communicate the religious message, but also emphasises the significance of Arabic in comparison with other holy books. Arabic has therefore come to be closely associated with Islam, and so anyone professing Islam cannot ignore the role that Arabic plays in their faith (Abd Al-Haq and Al-Masaeid, 2009). Thus, the viewpoints and attitudes of Jordanians' with respect to the value of Arabic are often linked to the significance of the Qur'an, in which the language is also Arabic. This scenario also applies to individuals' perspectives regarding the foreign languages used in existing brand names in a local context.

This intimate connection between the Qur'an and Arabic has given the language its special status and contributed to the Arabicisation of diverse populations, especially during an era in which English and other languages are globally prevalent (Pennycook, 2007). For this reason, different scholars note some conflict between the English language and the Islamic religion (Harris, 1991; Obediat, 1997; Haggan, 1998; 2005; Elyas and Picard, 2010). Harris (1991), in particular, highlights this conflict in the context of English and Islam as polarised actors manipulating authority over the Middle East. He proposes that this conflict has an impact on numerous cultural discourses, including but not limited to Arabic. Harris believes that Arabic – and not English – is the political language of the Middle East, due to the dissemination of the Islamic faith.

Although English has been introduced as a separate subject in Jordanian schools and universities, there is the fear that 'more English' would mean 'less Islam' in Arab countries (Elyas and Picard, 2010:140). For example, the negative cultural consequences of teaching English is echoed in the continuous debate in English departments of the universities in Arab world regarding the amount of time that should be spent on such classes. Those people who wish to reduce the time spent on literature classes, argue that teaching literature into English departments would, in effect, be equal to teaching a subject 'that represents a world more

powerful, more dominating, and more compelling than our own [...] a culture which has, in reality, colonized or dominated ours for substantially prolonged periods of time' (Obediat, 1997: 30). This has been reinforced by Haggan (1998) who explores the concerns her students have when studying English literature, demanding them to appreciate customs and values that are conflicting to those advocated in their religion and practised in their society.

The conflict between Islam and English can be refuted by a well-known religious Hadith, which teaches that when someone learns to speak another language, they can gain knowledge and power over other nations and cultures (Elyas and Picard, 2010). Essentially, therefore, the English language is utilised for understanding the new trends and thoughts worldwide, suggesting that it is the language whose mastery would open wide opportunities in education, businesses, and trade (Hamdan and Abu-Hatab, 2009; Bani-Khaled, 2014).

The concepts of 'Islam' and 'English' have also been realised by Pennycook (2007) as massive and complex mobilisations of cultures, worldviews, politics, and economics. This also suggests that a community's local language becomes vulnerable when English infiltrates the area (Phillipson, 1992). This risk becomes higher the smaller the community is. According to Pennycook (2007) and Phillipson (1992), English acts as an oppressive force over local languages, generating disparity between those who speak English and those who do not. Given the association between the Arabic language and the Islamic faith, the infiltration of the English language not only impacts on the language, it also has the potential to influence Jordan's religious and cultural structures. As such, it can be understood that Islam, in connection with both Jordanians' social customs and Arabic, has a great impact on the locals' language viewpoints and perspectives. Consequently, the display of brand names in languages other than Arabic could create a critical issue for those Jordanians with purely religious backgrounds.

3.2.3 The Political and Economic Profile of Jordan

As far as the political structure is concerned, Jordan is a constitutional monarchy, now ruled by King Abdullah II. The federal government consists of the Prime Minister, who is appointed by the King, along with the Cabinet, which is appointed by the Prime Minister after consultation with the King. The legislative authority consists of a Senate, known as the House of Notables, which is made up of 60 members, and the House of Representatives, comprising of 130 members (The Constitution of Jordan, 2011). Under the rule of King Abdullah II, Jordan has been guided towards the governmental objective of essential economic change. As a consequence, the country signed the Jordan–United States Free Trade Agreement in 2000 and also became a WTO member (Al-Nasa'a, Chin, Leonard, Munoz, Reilly, 2008).

The reforms in Jordan's economy have had a beneficial impact on different sectors, including but not limited to tourism, education, and urban development. For example, the tourist industry represents Jordan's biggest export activity, its second-largest private employment sector and a key generator of foreign exchange (The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities [MOTA], 2003). It also contributes 12.7% to the national GDP (Central Bank of Jordan [CBJ], 2009). This fact has also been evidenced in the tourist generation of 2,423 million Jordan Dinar in 2010 as revenue (1 JD = £1.70), and the availability of 42,034 jobs as direct employment within this sector.

Since 2000, the Jordanian education system has undergone considerable expansion, increasing growth in technological facilities and equipment such as video-conference facilities and computer laboratories for improving the skills of students in the modern tech-centric era. The Jordanian government has paid more attention to the requirements of e-learning, and the Ministry of Education has invested in this by providing schools with the resources needed to achieve the task in question (Al-Shboul and Rababah, 2013). The higher education sector has followed the same trend, with an increasing number of universities now planning to offer e-

learning opportunities to students. This is a positive move, since it brings greater knowledge to students in terms of both learning and technology (Al-Adwan and Smedley, 2012).

Jordan's transportation infrastructure has also improved recently, and the cities of Aqaba and Amman are now home to many examples of modern architecture. Amman, as Jordan's capital city, has been thrust into the limelight since the 2006 completion of the Abdali development project. The project's purpose was to highlight Amman as a centre of population growth and contemporary tourism. The United Arab Emirates injected one billion US dollars into the Abdali project, illustrating that Jordan has a great potential for economic growth and regional investment activity. This growth of economy leads to increasing the markets and increasing sales, particularly different products carrying brand names within Amman.

The port and tourism industry are the pillars of Aqaba's economy, due to the city's position in Jordan and its unique role as an economic zone. Therefore, Aqaba's economic growth has surpassed that of Jordan overall. Taxes do not need to be paid on certain activities in Aqaba, which has brought new retail, housing, and resorts to the area. Both tourists and residents are attracted to the destination due to its luxurious homes and flats, following the implementation of Marsa Zayed, Tala Bay, the Ayla oasis, Saraya Aqaba, and other construction projects. Over the past 14 years, more than 14 billion Jordanian Dinars have been injected into Aqaba's development, following the construction of the Special Economic Zone (Cavanagh, 2013). Figures show that the zone has experienced an annual five per cent rise in tourism in 2006, representing 432,000 visitors. Of these, 293,000 (65%) were Jordanian residents. Of the remaining 35%, the highest proportion of visitors was represented by European tourists, at a figure of approximately 98,000 (Risk Reduction Project for Aqaba, 2010).

Aqaba's diverse marine life is among the major contributors to its economic growth. Several companies have striven to improve revenue and expand their markets. This represents a shift from conventional economic strategies towards urban development. Aqaba's hotel industry and investment activity development has led to the emergence of Shweek and Ahmad Al-Masri shopping centres, new stores and supermarkets, and companies that advertise several products. Local businesses now have to promote their items in both English and Arabic due to the significant influx of international tourists and urban economic development (Cavanagh, 2013). The prevalence of English also occurs due to the area's swift economic reform, bringing non-Arabic-speaking visitors from China, India, the US, and Europe. Consequently, English, as the only language of communication between Arabs and non-Arabs, is, on the one hand, the window to the non-Arab world. On the other, however, it is considered to be essential to sustain the national economic sector. In the case of this Thesis, I am already fully convinced that economic advances, the residence of foreigners, and the importance of English have all dramatically increased the occurrence of signs for brand names in Aqaba's streets.

3.3 Sociolinguistic Background

Two main languages are spoken in the Jordanian community: Arabic, as the local language, and English, as the first foreign language. Other minority languages are also used, including Circassian, Chechen, and Armenian. The Jordanian Constitution (2012) stipulates that the country's formal language is Arabic, implying that it is the primary language used across the nation's educational domains and formal situations. For reasons related to globalisation, education, business, and trade, English has gained a considerable expansion in several sectors in the Jordanian government (Hamdan and Abu-Hatab, 2009).

3.3.1 Varieties of Arabic

From a sociolinguistic perspective, most societies in the region manifest the use of two distinct varieties, High and Low Varieties (Ferguson, 1959; Al-Batal, 1992; Haeri, 2000), where one has high prestige and the other has low prestige, although both are mutually related. In terms of the Arabic language, diglossia is demonstrated through the existence of al-lugha al-Fusha as High Variety, and al-lugha al-Ammiya – or colloquial Arabic – as Low Variety (Al-Batal, 1992). The former variety comprises two standard varieties of Arabic: the classical Arabic of the Qur'an and early Islamic literature, and Modern Standard Arabic, which is in use today. Whilst Classical Arabic has been under investigation in order to follow the earlier scholars' syntactic and grammatical norms, and to employ the vocabulary defined in Classical dictionaries, Modern Standard Arabic is distinguished by the adoption of several contemporary terms, which can be obscure to a classical writer (Alan, 1991). The ongoing manifestation of Modern Standard Arabic terms is attributed to the influence of other foreign languages, as in the use of words such as 'film' and 'saloon', or the terms could be devised from Arabic lexical rules, as in the words *hatif* ('telephone') and *dimuqraṭiyyah* ('democracy') (Cowan and Milton, 1994: 352, 583).

The use of two or more varieties in Jordan therefore constitutes the phenomenon of diglossia, where individuals can use either the Standard or colloquial Arabic in different social occasions within the community. Yet, multilingualism may have more complex realisations for people who know several languages and use them proficiently in appropriate contexts. In this sense, it would be hard to identify whether people who live in multilingual countries, or who are children who grow up with different languages, can be regarded as fluent in both their languages – for example, children who are considered multilingual because they are brought up in a monolingual family and in a multilingual community. In other cases, people know only one language throughout their early lives, but become competent users of several languages at

a later stage in their life, whilst other people may abandon their childhood multilingualism and end up using only one of their languages in their daily lives (Edwards, 1994; Singleton and Larissa, 2012; Extra and Kutlay, 2004; Stavans and Hoffmann, 2015). In parallel, the multilingualism within the use of the different varieties in the Jordanian context can generate different controversial cases, where the use of colloquial or Standard Arabic depends on the social and academic conditions of individuals. Here, Jordanians are brought up in the colloquial language spoken by their parents but, at a later stage, the use of Standard Arabic depends on the parents' efforts to make their children learn the language of the Qur'an, for example, or to encourage them to read short stories or any other form of written Standard Arabic. In the schooling stage, children's multilingualism develops more with the use of Standard Arabic, through listening to teachers' language in class or learning from the language used in writing the different subjects. This also applies to the university stage, where academics are encouraged to use Standard Arabic during their lectures. Despite all these stages in Jordanians' use of the Arabic varieties, they would tend to use their own colloquial language in a wide variety of situations, or even to be closer to speaking that distinct colloquial Arabic used within their own region, in order to be different from the other geographic areas in the country.

Accordingly, the Arabic varieties in Jordan are identified to be used in specific contexts. *Al-lugha al-Fusha*, or Standard Arabic, functions as High Variety and is used in the news, religious sermons, literary works and, most importantly, as a medium of instruction. *Al-Ammiya* functions as Low Variety and is only used in everyday household activities, conversations with family and friends, drama, and social public contexts such as interviews and discussions (Bassiouney, 2010). Although Standard Arabic is associated with significance, seriousness, fluency, and complexity, the Colloquial variety is related to reduced significance and seriousness, and to everyday issues (Abdulkafi, 2011). This form of prejudice is often

ascribed to the coalescence between local varieties and earlier colonial rulers' languages, such as Turkish, German, English, and French (Haeri, 2000).

The Standard variety is further realised as the written form of Arabic that brings Arabs together by the virtue of being the language of formal discourse in the Arab world, and it is only learned through formal education. The colloquial variety, in contrast, is mainly a spoken variety and represents daily communication and folk literature. There are large variations from one Arab country to another along geographical, socio-economic and religious lines, as well as within the same country from one community to another (Holes, 1995). In Jordan, the colloquial Arabic can be classified according to three varieties: Rural Jordanian, Bedouin Jordanian, and Urban Jordanian (Herin, 2013: 107). Rural Jordanian is used by Jordanian villagers and the small-city or village-born city people. There are two sub-groups of rural Jordanian. First, Hauran Arabic refers to the spoken Arabic in the southern part of Syria, and is also spoken in the areas to the north and west of Amman between Salt and Irbid. Second, Moab Arabic is spoken in the southern part of Jordan, particularly in cities such as Karak, Ma'an, and Karak, and their surrounding countryside. Bedouin Jordanian Arabic is spoken by Jordanians who live in the desert, particularly in the eastern and southern parts of the country, such as the countryside of Ma'an and Mafraq. Urban Jordanian arose after naming Amman as the capital of Jordan in the beginning of the twentieth century. This variety is the result of merging the different dialects of different peoples coming from Hauren (northern Jordan) and Moab (southern Jordan). The migrations of Palestinians to Jordan in 1948 and 1967 have also largely affected the urban Jordanian Arabic. As a result, the urban variety has developed as a mix of the linguistic features of the Arabic used by these distinct groups (Hussein, 1980; Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Al-Khatib, 1995). As in all Arabic-speaking countries, Jordanian Arabic is spoken as a mutual intelligible variety in the kingdom. The three varieties which belong to the Arabic language are mutually intelligible or close to the extent that the mastery of a single

variety would not impede or isolate one speaker in another larger speech community using a different variety (Suleiman, 1985: 7). Yet, each variety has its own unique qualities, although all fall under the overall umbrella of the Syro-Palestinian variety. There appears to be much conflict over the status of the local varieties. For instance, the urban variety is preferred by female citizens, whereas the rural-Bedouin variety is favourably perceived by Jordanian men (Saidat, 2010).

The Standard form of Arabic, within the Standard versus colloquial dichotomy, is not only utilised as a particular variety of contact with other Arabic speakers, but is also recognised as a (linguistic) lingua franca across the Arab world. Whilst the colloquial spoken varieties are strongly related to the Standard Arabic, it would be difficult for all Arabic speakers of a certain country to understand the colloquial variety of another country, and therefore Standard Arabic lends itself to working as a significant linguistic means in such situations. For example, people from Jordan cannot communicate with people from Morocco effectively in their local varieties, but both can switch to Standard Arabic.

Despite the fact that Standard Arabic is recognised in all Arab states as a medium of instruction, there is an increasing challenge for both the learning and teaching of the language (Al-Batal, 1992). The challenge is typically demonstrated by the presence of intermediate forms of language during the teaching process, whereby teachers of Arabic mix elements from the Standard and colloquial forms of Arabic in certain situations. In Arabic, this intermediate level is sometimes referred to as *al-lughah al wusta* (the middle language), and in English it has been termed Educated Spoken Arabic (Al-Maatouq, 2005). The linguistic distance between the Standard and colloquial varieties in such pedagogical contexts marks the change in the Arabic speech community, as it complicates the teachers' duties of developing students' linguistic skills and widens the gap between Standard Arabic and the vernacular, which is supposed to be bridged by the frequent use of Standard Arabic in all subjects (Al-Batal and

Belnap, 2006). The students' low proficiency in Standard Arabic is further attributed to several other factors, including the spread of various spoken varieties in the Arab societies, the curricula's irrelevance and teachers' incompetence, and the low quality results of education in Arab schools (Al-Huri, 2012).

With this in mind, the Jordanian government has taken different procedures and actions to retain the use of Standard Arabic in the country. First, the constitution donates the Arabic language more power, where it is considered the official language in Jordan and the primary medium of education. Bourdieu (1999: 20) states that 'the conditions for the creation of a unified linguistic market are created, dominated by the official language: obligatory on official occasions, and in official places'. This explains the importance of identifying Standard Arabic as an official language in Jordan, thus it is imposed on different institutions such as schools, universities, and all other public places.

The proclamation of Arabic as the main language further demonstrates the standardised criterion, where the language functions as a self-protective tool for the norms and customs practised in Jordan. Such procedures and actions have been supported by Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006), who argue that authorities often use propaganda about language loyalty, patriotism, and collective identity, where there is a need to use the correct and pure forms of languages as strategies for demonstrating their control. These procedures often maintain national and homogenous ideologies in association with local, national, regional, and global languages. The Jordanian procedures for protecting the use of the Arabic language are supported by the Jordan Academy of Arabic as a government language-planning tool, founded in 1976. The Academy aims to bridge the existing gap in Arabic teaching processes, to safeguard the purity of Arabic as a bulwark of the Arab identity, and to reduce the effort required to Arabicise the daily increasing number of scientific, technical, and professional terms (Abd Al-Haq, 1985: 78, 79). To this point, the significance of Standard Arabic partially

lends itself to the objective of this Thesis, where the occurrence of Arabic and foreign brand names could construct cultural and social dimensions with respect to the associations of these languages displayed in Aqaba's LL.

To conclude, the conditions of multilingualism within the Jordanian Arabic shows that the colloquial Arabic as a common variety among the different varieties is used in daily communication activities and usually has its distinct social features within the same country, whereas Standard Arabic is used in formal situations and is also considered as a common linguistic tool among speakers from different Arab states. Multilingualism has a close relationship to the Thesis, in particular in the context of analysing and examining the brand signs in the LL. Under the umbrella of an analysis of Arabic brands, the linguistic trends discussed above uncover several meanings and connotations associated with Standard and colloquial forms of Arabic. Even though colloquial Jordanian Arabic has no agreed written form, it is often promoted by Jordanian business owners in the public space. These trends are not only helpful in setting up the theoretical basis of the Arabic varieties spoken in Jordan, but they also enable the realisation of what forms of Arabic the respondents are likely to articulate in the course of this study, all of which are echoed in the analysis of findings.

3.3.2 English and Globalisation

Globalisation has made English the common medium of communication in most countries today (Chang, 2006; Nicos, 2011). Following the end of both the linguistic imperialism and colonialism evident in the English of the UK and USA, respectively, a variety of forms of Englishes exist in today's world (Crystal, 2000). The model of World Englishes is developed by Kachru (1985), who classifies the varieties of English using three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The traditional bases of English make up the Inner Circle; these are dominated by the mother-tongue varieties of the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where English is spoken as the first language. Earlier

phases of the spread of English can be found in the Outer Circle, where the English language has become part of the main institutions in non-native settings, such as Malaysia, Singapore, India, Ghana, and Kenya, all former colonies of the UK. In these cases, English plays a vital role as a second language in a multilingual setting. The Expanding Circle refers to those territories where English is learnt as a foreign language. These territories neither have a history of colonisation by members of the Inner Circle nor does English have an institutional or social role. As such, English as a foreign language is taught as the most useful vehicle of international communication, as in China, Japan, Greece, and Poland. Under this model, the world language is categorised as an Expanding Circle variety within the context of English as an international language. English is now recognised as an international language, which belongs to no culture but rather provides the basis for promoting cross-cultural understanding in an increasingly global village (McKay, 2000).

Even though the British colonisation of several regions in the Middle East and the political-economic dominance of the US during the 1900s and early 2000s have both promoted the global use of the English language (Schiller, 2000), the increasing use of English as the lingua franca of the globalised era has placed new and pressing linguistic needs on the educational systems of non-English speaking countries such as Jordan (Bani-Khaled, 2014). For example, the Ministry of Education in Jordan has long dealt with the rising demand for high-standard English language teaching, which has emerged with the existence of a domestic political and economic situation that requires thorough English as a Foreign Language Teaching. Musa and Smadi (2013: 94) state that Jordanian students are required to be educated in English 'in order to be able to compete not only at regional and global levels, but also locally, considering the ongoing liberalization of the economy and the growing presence of international and transnational organizations'. Consequently, the increasing developments in Jordan's economy

require residents to have knowledge of English in order to secure jobs in the new projects as well as for being able to communicate with foreign customers and workers.

English is used in Jordan within the Expanding Circle as a shared global language, and it is often spoken along with Standard and colloquial Arabic. On the one hand, English is taught as a foreign language in instruction as a necessary part of the schools and university syllabus (Bader, 1995; Musa and Smadi, 2013). On the other hand, it is considered an international language, a language of wider communication, although not at the expense of Arabic, the national language. In this context, English is the most popular foreign language spoken by Jordanians, as workers in the service industry use it to converse with tourists and foreigners, particularly in the larger Jordanian cities and places that are popular with visitors. As such, the cultural implications of English result in many Jordanians choosing to learn it for instrumental reasons, such as studying or finding a job abroad. Further, the use of English within the Expanding Circle contributes to increasingly multilingual societies, particularly in the public space (McArthur, 2000; Schlick, 2003), as it takes predominance to the detriment of the use of other languages.

The Ministry of Education of Jordan has further promoted the acceptance of English among individuals through the official acknowledgment of the language's status. English is given a very high status in the Ministry's official documents when it is proclaimed that such a language can be used to assist the Jordanian culture as a means of acquiring knowledge in the areas of science, art, and new inventions, as well as a method of transferring knowledge and the sciences to other communities. For example, English, as one of the most widely used languages in the world, is an 'international language of communication', accredited in the Ministry of Education's address to English language teachers, printed on the second page of the elementary, intermediate and secondary school English textbooks.

English has gained a special status in obtaining prestigious jobs, particularly for the elite. This usually requires them to continue their post-secondary education in English, either joining overseas universities or studying in the fields of dentistry, medical engineering or the scientific fields in the Jordanian universities, or other disciplines in which English is used on a day-to-day basis. People in such high-status careers also continue speaking English as a second language when engaging in work-related events and dealing with people from other countries. In addition, the most competitive and high-status sectors, such as law and business, use English as the primary teaching language. These students tend to start careers in computer science or international business, in which English is used regularly.

However, the distinction between the Outer and Expanding Circles has become more and more fluid, and global dynamics have to be taken into account. Particular attention should be paid to glocalisation, whereby global forces are regularly understood locally, leading to a permeation of global and local drives that establishes interdependent-social context (Robertson, 1992; Swyngedouw, 2010). This suggests that glocalisation operates at the cultural level in the same way as globalisation. Glocalisation lends itself to a situation where components of global culture, such as brand names, are reinterpreted by local cultures, particularly when linguistic labels of local context are attached to such signs. In this respect, Gorter (2006) conceives the process of glocalisation in the international area not only as a place of mixing cultural elements, such as clothing, food, and music, but also as something that leads to the contact of numerous languages in connection with various aspects of bilingualism. Curtin (2009) pays less attention to the classification of the signs of international corporations within the context of globalisation. Rather, she questions local meanings for these firms in terms of the glocalisation. Examples of this include the exact translation of *Burger King* into *HanBao Wang* or the phonetic transcription of *McDonald's* into Chinese letters. In the Jordanian

context, different global brands can be seen in glocal forms, using the Arabic language to make inhabitants believe that the product originated in their own country. Helpful

The use and engagement of this by brands originally known through their international signs but shaped with local annotations pose questions with respect to Jordanians' openness to global culture. Examples include the transliteration of *Coca-Cola*, *Pepsi*, *Konica*, and *McDonald's* into Arabic words. These linguistic forms are essential for evoking different social and cultural perspectives on the part of passers-by when seen in the LL of Aqaba. Further, these forms provide a proper environment to recontextualise both global and local practices, and play an important role in refiguring and reconstructing the patterns of identities among Jordanians in Aqaba (Heller, 2007; Higgins, 2009). In this respect, Appadurai (1996: 42) points out that globalisation comprises the use of a variety of instruments of homogenisation armaments, advertising techniques, language hegemonies, and clothing styles, all of which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies. Indeed, this suggests that different sections of people in the LL are more susceptible to trying and experimenting with products from other cultures as a means to learning and experiencing them. Here, the area of interest is not in the layout of presenting the global brands, whether in a foreign language or in Arabic; rather, it is in the cultural meanings that the foreign languages of brands convey in a local context, such as Aqaba in Jordan.

3.3.3 Other Languages

Whilst Arabs constitute 98% of all citizens in Jordan, Circassians, Chechens, and Armenians represent the other two per cent (Rannut, 2009: 299). Arabs who originally reside in North Africa, Western Asia, parts of the Horn of Africa, and other areas of the Arab world are the major ethnic group within Jordan (South, 2008). As regards the second largest indigenous group, there are 44,280 Adyghey-language-speaking Circassians, comprising 75% of the total non-Arab population in Jordan (Gordon, 2005). In Amman, Circassians are distributed among

the general Arabic-speaking regions rather than settling in specific regions. Circassians live in Al-Azraq, Sweileh, Al-Sukhna and Zarka, with a population size of approximately 8,776 (Al-Bashayer, 1997: 169). Chechens, in contrast, mainly use two languages – Arabic and Chechen – each of which is associated with different domains. The use of Chechen remains strong due to very few Chechens marrying outside of their ethnic group, and many lack broad social ties with other communities (Dweik, 2010). Whilst the Armenian population in Jordan is Christian, they have maintained their own language, cultural traditions and norms, more so than the Chechens and Circassians. In modern Jordan, Armenian is typically spoken by elderly citizens or in extremely specific circumstances. The majority of Armenians reside close to social amenities, including schools, churches, and leisure venues within the capital city (Al-Khatib, 2001). The investigation of Armenian, Chechen, and Circassian languages could not be overlooked in the current study, as they comprise a significant part of the Jordanian sociolinguistic structure.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

The socio-historical background underlying the use of English and Arabic languages in Jordan is highlighted to position their theoretical bases within the discourse of brand names seen in Aqaba's LL. The early historical stages of the country, which include opposing voices to the Ottomans' linguistic policy in the Arab states, have established the significance of the Arabic language and the country's independence from British colonisation. The Arabs' ideologies, whether led by pan-nationalists or Islamists, further promote Standard Arabic as a symbolic sign of nationalism of religion. In today's Jordan, these ideological trends not only have a profound effect on people's potential awareness of Arabic as the language of the Qur'an, representing their religious identity, but they may also create feelings of pride and esteem due to the achievements of Arabs in the past. These different associations and connotations of

Arabic could also be a point of significance, particularly in context when inhabitants begin to compare the preference for Arabic with that for a foreign language in advertising brand names in Aqaba's public space. Taking nationalist ideology in connection with both Arabic and Islam in Aqaba, the display of brand names in foreign languages could be perceived from diverse viewpoints in accordance with the individuals' linguistic and religious backgrounds. Arabic, as the official language of Jordan, has a major role in displaying different linguistic standpoints relating to the existence of foreign signs in Aqaba. Islam, in connection with both the social values and customs of Jordanians and the Arabic language, also has a great impact on the city's local perspectives. Even though it is mainly Arabic that is used in Jordan, English still lends itself to the linguistic context of the country due to global forces. These globalisation aspects are closely connected to the framework of the Expanding Circle, where English is used in the domains of education, tourism, and business. More importantly, the economic growth of Aqaba has required Jordanians to advertise their items in English to foreign visitors and tourists from the USA and European countries. Also of significance are the increasing economic advances, realised via the abundant existence of international brand names in the city's streets, where they are able to draw the attention of different passers-by.

Chapter Four: Brand Names in the Linguistic Landscape of Aqaba

4.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as a bridge between the critical overview of the brand names in the pertinent literature and the sociolinguistic context of Jordan on the one hand, and the linguistic and semiotic analysis of the data, as well as the reactions and responses of the individuals of Aqaba to these signs, on the other hand. The semiotic premises of signs, such as composition and multimodality, as well as the concept of language mobility are all considered when examining the internal structure of brand names. The sociolinguistic clues of Jordan, particularly the manipulation of the Arabic language, the religion, and the customs and practices of the country, are also useful in understanding the social backgrounds of designing the brand names in Aqaba's LL. Given the research questions which focus on the scripts used in brand names, and the associations between brand names, languages, and countries, I outlined the process by which I achieved a statistical overview of the proportion of brand names in the LL of Aqaba, and how from that I identified a sub-corpus of brand names which I then presented to the respondents. In this chapter, I propose a new typology of signs, based on the data from the survey areas, which I then exploited in order to answer the primary research questions that underpin this Thesis. In particular, I suggest a coding system for brand names as they appear in the LL of Aqaba which privileges the scripts used by the businesses.

4.2 Creating a Corpus

Given the focus of the research questions on brand names, the first methodological stage of this project was to create a corpus of brand names in order to assess the extent to which they penetrated the public space, and to define a sub-corpus to be presented to the respondents to examine their associations between brand names, languages, and countries of representation. Many pioneering LL studies have grappled with this challenge, and I referred in particular to

Ben-Rafael, et al (2006), Backhaus (2007), and Tufi and Blackwood (2010). I followed their lead inasmuch as, as a first stage, I recorded (by digital camera) every sign in what I discerned as the commercial centre of Aqaba, along six streets. Shopping streets constitute the most common type of survey area in most LL studies (Huebner, 2006; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Lanza and Woldemariam, 2009; Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh, 2012). The streets selected for this study are: (1) Al-Yarmouk, (2) Al-Petra, (3) Zahran, (4) Tunisia Hammamat, (5) King Hussein, and (6) Al-Razi Streets (see Figure 4.1 below).

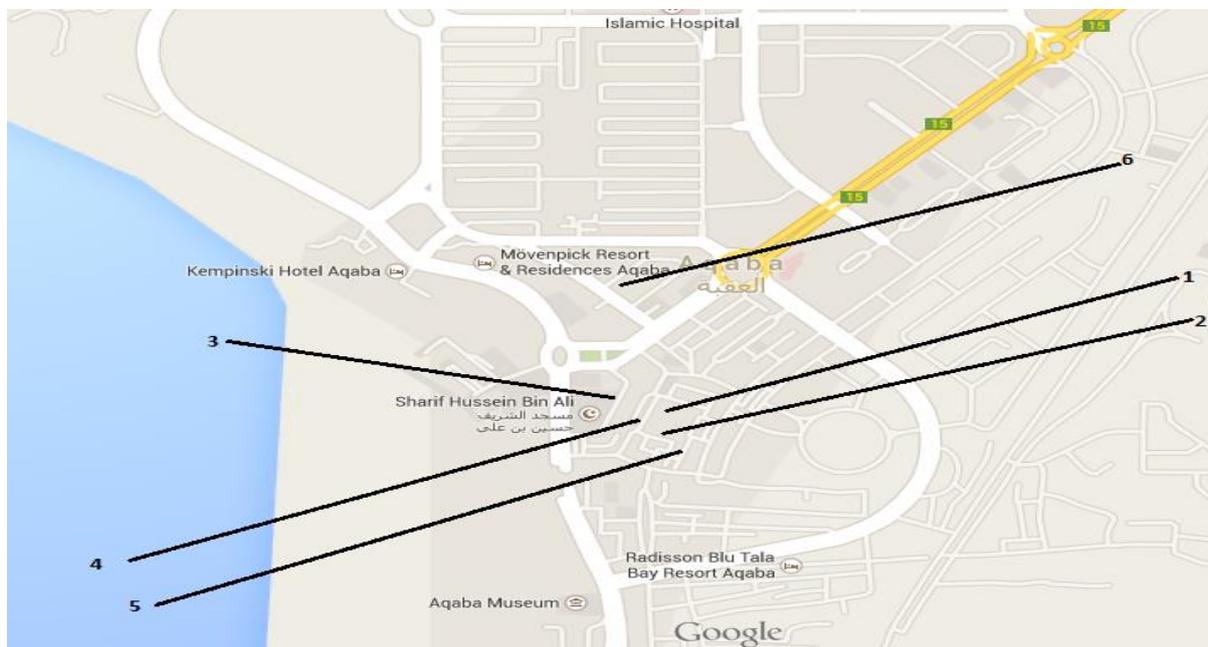


Figure: 4.1 – Locations of Selected Shopping Streets in Aqaba

This is not a random sample of all possible streets but a purposeful representation based on their location characteristics, in order to reflect a certain degree of variation and diversity. The establishment of many private businesses and projects in the commercial streets of the city centre also contributes to a greater linguistic diversity in all the streets chosen. Hence, there are more chances of viewing numerous signs displayed not only in Arabic but also in other languages, such as English. The effects of these simultaneous processes can be seen in the streets of the city centre, where there is a struggle taking place for the survival of the official language; at the same time, English, as a global language, is clearly displayed. The businesses

in such areas expect the presence of foreigners, who also demand the use of signs displayed in non-Arabic languages. Further, the choice for commercial areas in cities is also made by other LL scholars (Ben-Rafael et al., 2004; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2007), because the density of the signs there allows for more investigation of the contribution of different languages from a quantitative perspective and within semiotically rich environments.

Different approaches have been used to identify the distances of survey areas when coding the signs in a specific LL. Whilst Blackwood and Tufi (2010) code all the signs seen in a 50-metre stretch in urban centres on the Mediterranean coasts of France and Italy, Long and Comajoan (2012) determine the survey areas within a 400-metre section in three streets in Barcelona: Calvet, Julia, and Costa. Also included in their study is the use of squares in the towns to regulate the beginning and end of the streets, as applied in the Ethiopian study by Lanza and Woldemariam (2009). In Backhaus' (2007) Japanese study, the part of a street between two traffic lights constitutes the survey area, where the distances vary from about 65 metres to 400 metres. For this Thesis, each survey area is founded on a 150-metre distance of the streets selected. The length of this stretch is approximate and is measured by pacing out 150 metres along the street, thereby defining the survey areas. More specifically, the streets chosen for the study are more than 350 metres long, and thus 150-metre stretches within six commercial streets are not only established as a systematic sample of the approximate length of the streets, but they are also considered representative of wider regions in Aqaba city. The streets themselves are chosen on the basis of their relationship to the city in which they are found.

With regards to the defining commercial characteristics of the streets, Al-Yarmouk and Al-Petra are urban, commercial streets in the city, where many residents and visitors come to buy their items and objects. Businesses in the streets include car rentals, minimarkets, boutiques, restaurants, banks, Internet cafés, grocery shops, pharmacies, bakeries, souvenir and gift

shops, and stores for furniture and electronic appliances. By the same token, Zahran Street has acquired commercial concentrations, where I can see signs of clothing shops, cafés, barbershops, and restaurants; it also contains old business shops, such as those selling traditional clothes and items. Al-Hammamat Tunisia Street is a tourist area, to which a lot of Jordanians come to enjoy the view of the sea; it has become a significant part of the Jordanian tourism industry, particularly after Aqaba's declaration as a special economic zone. Al-Razi Street also includes luxurious hotels for Arab and foreign visitors (such as the Intercontinental, the Aquamarine, and the Kempinski Hotels), many shops, restaurants, supermarkets, and services. Like Al-Yarmouk and Al-Petra, King Hussein Street displays many commercial signs of supermarkets, libraries, banks, restaurants, accessories, clothing stores, and cafés.

The second issue for the survey work deals with counting the signs, which is usually termed as the unit of analysis in LL studies (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Backhaus, 2007; Blackwood, 2010). I have decided to adapt the practices of Backhaus (2007: 66), in which a sign is considered as 'any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...], including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards'. Consequently, all the signs visible in a 150-metre stretch in the survey areas were recorded. This was done between 5 November and 12 December 2012. To ensure that most of the shops were open and exhibiting all of their signs, the pictures are taken on working days in the morning or afternoon. In the survey areas, only signs that are visible outside the businesses and establishments constitute the unit of analysis, so items that are inside the shops are not included, because they simply do not make up the public texts of the definable LL. Also excluded are the small items on higher floors, as they are unreadable from the designated streets. The documentation of LL items was collected via digital cameras, and the data, in the form of pictures, was uploaded on the public sharing website Flickr (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/98720145@N07/>).

4.3 Coding the Signs

Having surveyed the six streets, I collected a total of 1,810 signs. The next phase was to code these signs in order to identify the sub-corpus of brand names. The coding system adopted is based on Ben-Rafael et al's (2006) analysis of the LL according to 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' parameters. Top-down signs include items issued by 'national and public bureaucracies such as public institutions, signs on public sites, public announcements and street names', whilst bottom-up items include those that are provided by 'individual social actors – shop owners and companies – like names of shops, signs on businesses and personal announcements' (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 14).

In the same way, the two approaches introduced by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) were applied to the present study corpus, where the signs fell into two categories: private signs, such as personal, companies, business names, brand names, business signs, advertisements, instruction, information, and graffiti, and public signs, such as signs of governmental ministries and departments which are categorised as institutional and municipal signs in the corpus. Ben-Rafael et al's approach was modified and used to meet the purpose of the current study, where the signs were assessed as having been established by official institutions, such as government departments, or by local individuals. Despite their conformity to other scholars' approaches (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Blackwood, 2011), these newly-categorised labels helped in obtaining the cases of brand names from the entire corpus of signs collected. The corpus is presented in Table 4.1 below.

| Type of Item | Occurrences | Percentages |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Business names | 721 | 40% |
| Brand names | 453 | 25% |

| | | |
|----------------|------|------|
| Business signs | 241 | 13% |
| Advertisements | 100 | 6% |
| Institutional | 85 | 5% |
| Information | 75 | 4% |
| Instructions | 60 | 3% |
| Municipal | 45 | 2% |
| Graffiti | 30 | 2% |
| Total | 1810 | 100% |

Table: 4.1 – Sub-categories of Linguistic Landscape Items

For the purposes of this Thesis, I am particularly interested in the 453 brand names, which constitute 25% of the entire corpus. Whilst some brand names identified in the survey occurred as single signs, others appeared with either English or Arabic commercial slogans.

4.4 The Brand Names Sub-Corpus

I coded 453 signs as brand names in the six streets of Aqaba, although this does not mean that there are 453 different brand names, given the duplication of trademarks. In total, 115 brand names appeared in the survey areas, and I consequently sought to reduce this corpus to a manageable sub-corpus that I could present to the respondents. All twenty brand names appear as images in Appendix I, and I present the frequency of these names in Table 4.2

| Brand name | Occurrences |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Coca-Cola</i> | 16 |

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| <i>Samsung</i> | 15 |
| <i>Pepsi</i> | 15 |
| <i>Panasonic</i> | 15 |
| <i>Nokia</i> | 14 |
| <i>Zain</i> | 13 |
| <i>LG</i> | 12 |
| <i>BMW</i> | 12 |
| <i>Canon</i> | 12 |
| <i>Toshiba</i> | 12 |
| <i>Levi's</i> | 11 |
| <i>Nescafé</i> | 11 |
| <i>GAP</i> | 10 |
| <i>Canon</i> | 10 |
| <i>Western Union</i> | 10 |
| <i>Sajeda</i> | 7 |
| <i>Adidas</i> | 7 |
| <i>DHL</i> | 6 |
| <i>L'Oréal</i> | 6 |
| <i>Starbucks</i> | 5 |
| Total | 219 |

Table: 4.2 – Frequency of the Top Twenty Brand Names

This sub-corpus of brand names is the one presented to the respondents (discussed in Chapter Six), and is based on their frequency within the survey areas. In other words, these signs are the ones that an individual who passes through Aqaba is more likely to see. As a consequence,

I test the associations held in the minds of the average residents of Aqaba in relation to the brand names, the COR, and the LOR.

Nonetheless, I have closely analysed this sub-corpus of brand names, and the choice of script used by the various businesses emerges as an important factor in the composition of the LL of Aqaba and, I contend, beyond. As such, the typology proposed in this chapter is potentially significant for LL studies which seek to explore variation within and between languages in the public space. The approach to the choice of script, I argue, plays an important role in the identification of cultural and social trends within Aqaba specifically and in Jordan more widely. The script(s) deployed in brand names refer to specific aspects of Jordan's socio-cultural context.

As noted in Chapter Two of this Thesis, the coding of brand names has been discussed in LL scholarship from different perspectives. Edelman (2009) introduces two patterns for categorising signs, whereby one approach excludes brand names from the study of the LL, and the second considers the brands as if they are part of a named language that appears in the LL. Tufi and Blackwood (2010) further reinforce the role of individuals' nationalities and the country of representation (COR) versus the language of representation (LOR) in coding brand names in Italy and France. Of the 453 signs recorded in this case, 317, or 70%, contain only one script, and of these, the majority (238 or 75%) is written in what I term 'Roman script' (see Table 4.3). Roman script refers to the writing system used in the Western world; in particular, it is regularly linked to English as being both its standard script and alphabet (Sampson, 1990). In this Thesis, Roman scripts are used to advertise items in different domains, including electrical and technical equipment (such as *Samsung* and *LG*), foods and drinks (for example, *McDonald's* and *Coca-Cola*), general services (*Western Union* and *DHL*), perfumes and beauty items (*Pierre Cardin* and *L'Oréal*), clothing and shoes (*Next* and *Zara*), and cleaning and medical products (*Raid* and *Panadol*). The frequent occurrence of

Roman-script brands requires further analysis using approaches proposed by other scholars (Hankinson and Cowking, 1996; Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra, 1999; Holt et al., 2004; Duchêne and Heller, 2012), to which I return below.

| Brand script | Occurrences | Percentages |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Roman | 238 | 75% |
| Romanised Arabic | 48 | 15% |
| Arabic | 31 | 10% |
| Total | 317 | 100% |

Table: 4.3 – Distribution of Mono-script Brand Names

The ‘Romanised Arabic’ script is the second most frequent approach identified, and makes up 15% (48 signs) of the sub-corpus. The defining characteristic of this category is that the brand name is originally known in Arabic but a Roman script is used in the sign. Brand names within this category include *Zain* (Figure 4.2) and *Umniah*, (Figure 4.3) both of which are Jordanian telecommunication companies. A third category sees the Arabic script used for the Arabic language; this set represents the smallest proportion of signs, a total of 10% (31), largely used for foods and drinks in the LL of Aqaba.



Figure: 4.2 – Zain Sign

The final set of signs constitutes almost a third of the sub-corpus (136 signs or 30%), and these contain multiple scripts. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of signs by multi-script brands, and includes a new category of signs, namely ‘Arabicised Roman’ script. This script does not appear on its own in our survey areas in Aqaba, unlike the three categories discussed above. In terms of multi-scripts signs, two combinations are observed: Roman and Arabicised Roman and, in contrast with Arabic and Romanised Arabic.

| Brand script | Occurrences | Percentages |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Roman and Arabicised Roman | 82 | 60% |
| Arabic and Romanised Arabic | 54 | 40% |
| Total | 136 | 100% |

Table: 4.4 – Distribution of Multi-script Brand Names

Proportionally, Roman and Arabicised Roman scripts appear more frequently than Arabic and Romanised Arabic signs. The first category is where Roman is the original script of the brand name, but this is also written in Arabic script, as in *Konica* (Figure 4.3), *Pepsi*, *Burger King*, and *Coca-Cola*. Their commercial contents are similar to those of the Roman-script brands, but the Arabic script is used here to enable residents to pronounce the product name. Arabic and Romanised Arabic brands (which make up 40%) involve two scripts: Arabic, as the original script used to name the product, and its transliterated Roman-script version. These signs often display products and services in connection with the Jordanian context, where a variety of local cultural customs are illustrated.



Figure: 4.3 – Konica Sign

The typology proposed here builds on published research in LL studies, semiotics, and marketing. Backhaus (2006) studies official and non-official multilingual signs in Tokyo, where he finds that the use of official signs highlights power relations, and the non-official signs demonstrate foreign languages ‘to communicate solidarity with things non-Japanese’ (Backhaus, 2006: 52). In this Thesis, however, it is noted that relationships of power are involved in the Romanisation of brand scripts, thus the semiotic meaning of their orthography reveals how the language of scripts suggests power and solidarity. The dominance of Roman scripts in both tables above is due to the influence of globalisation on the language of brand names in the LL, where the sign-makers in Aqaba operate as if the world were one giant market, ignoring the local linguistic context. As discussed by Gatignon and Abeele (1995), the global strategy of advertising adapts its linguistic plans and programmes to unify the shape of brand signs in every context. Even though the global aspects are the primary noticeable aspects of brand names, a variety of other cultural, political, and national trends are still perceptible, particularly when more attention is drawn to the semiotic implications of the orthographies used to write the language of scripts, whether Roman or Arabic.

The theoretical nucleus of the semiotic framework crucial to the analysis of brand names is essentially derived from Kress’s scholarly contributions (see Hodge and Kress, 1988; Kress

and Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001; Kress, 2010), where the main issue is that the meaning-making represented in the semiotic features of signs has material and social aspects within a certain community. More specifically, the analysis of the scripts used in brand names is established by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996: 40, 41), who propose a model for reading images along three dimensions of meaning-making: 'ideational metafunction', 'interpersonal metafunction', and 'textual metafunction'. As discussed in Chapter Two, 'ideational metafunction' focuses on the representation of ideas and meanings; 'textual metafunction' explores the structural order and arrangement of ideas within a text; and 'interpersonal metafunction' represents the social relations within the image. Of the three metafunctions, the main focus of this study is on 'ideational metafunction', in which the interpretation of signs implies the ability not only to read the various brand names but also to conceive the potential meanings and knowledge that come from reading, according to different cultural practices. In addition to the 'ideational metafunction', semiotic investigation is also built upon Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2001) definition of multimodality, where communication practices, such as textual, linguistic, and visual resources, are used to compose the messages of a sign. The analysis also uses the code preference and the relative prominence of font size in identifying the potential meanings of signs' semiotic properties (Scollon and Scollon, 2003).

These methodological approaches are essential in uncovering different socio-cultural trends, related to both the semiotic and linguistic features of the brand scripts as well as the Jordanian cultural context. More specifically, they help to reveal a direct allusion to the customs and practices of the Jordanian context, according to the semiotic characteristics of the signs' visual elements. For example, the brand's emotional associations could be referred to through the dominant language, which calls up certain connotations of stereotypes about its speakers or a country. This has been reinforced by Shohamy (2006), who argues that the LL may confirm power relations by marking who is dominant and who is not in the community according to the

semiotic premises. Of course, the context in which the signs are situated plays a key role in deciphering their visual meanings, where it can suggest that the words or images are meant to anchor particular types of meanings and not others (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). In this Thesis, the social meanings of brand names are examined in accordance with two criteria. Mono-script analysis, on the one hand, involves the visibility of a single script with a logo or image. Multi-script analysis, on the other hand, includes the investigation of the display of more than one script on the same sign.

4.5 Mono-Script Analysis

In this Thesis, a particular group of brand names where one script is used in connection with a logo (or image) is termed as mono-script brands. Having selected typical examples of each mono-script brand, more light is shed on the salient semiotic and linguistic features of the sign, thereby identifying the advertising messages of the products, and indexing potential significant meanings in the Jordanian LL. For example, the logos of scripts constitute vital semiotic aspects of promoting different cultural messages to viewers on both global and local levels (Cowin, 2008). The semiotic and linguistic analysis, in this particular context, explores the potential cultural meanings of three patterns of mono-script brands: Roman, Romanised Arabic, and Arabic scripts.

4.5.1 Roman Script

The sign *Sharp* in Figure 4.4 is a representative example of Roman script. The sign consists of differing semiotic elements, comprising the global brand name *Sharp*, the colour of the background (although the standard colour of *Sharp*'s background is white), and the images positioned to the left and the right of the brand writing. The Roman script is reflected in the sign shown below where a large red font makes the script of the brand name look more apparent to viewers. According to the semiotic framework reinforced by Kress and Van

Leeuwen (1996), it can be said that the sign-maker has made an attempt to attract viewers' attention by placing the brand name in the centre of the sign. The blue background also enhances the visibility of the font used for the brand name. Other non-linguistic devices include the image of the television, used simply to suggest that the main goal of the brand name is to advertise electrical and electronic items.



Figure: 4.4 – Sharp Sign

According to Kress and Van Leeuwen's *Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), the large red font of the script and the television image constitute significant semiotic modes in the design of the sign, each of which contributes to the potential meaning of the brand. The sign gains a salient visibility due to its particular font size, where the wide letters can be read easily, and the clear, larger image, which enables its meaning to be grasped in a split second. The semiotic modes also preserve the commercial characters of the brand script in connection with the global language of economy (Turner and Clayton, 1998). Even though the sign displays a different language from that used in the local setting, it still demonstrates the inscription processes of product languages and a feature of mobilising language across the world. In this context, Duchêne and Heller (2012) argue that the last three decades have witnessed the presence of a new discourse in relation to language and identity. Instead of eliminating nationalism discourses within the language used, Duchêne and Heller (2012: 6, 7) suggest that the new discourse, termed as late capitalism, can be described within two interwoven tropes: 'pride'

and 'profit'. Pride helps to establish national feelings within one nation, and adds more orientation to the reproduction of the national market and institutions, legitimising certain forms of discourse and expressions that support it. More than that, pride interconnects with profit when the latter centres on the political tools of gaining democratic access to power that 'veil the modes of social selection underlying the reproduction of economic inequality' (Duchêne and Heller, 2012: 5). In their discussion, Duchêne and Heller (2012) highlight the changing viewpoints of language and identity from national and political matters to economic, as a means of adding value to the language used. Duchêne and Heller (2012) argue that this process, which is connected to the globalised new economy, not only disregards the older nationalist ideologies, investing language with value as a source of pride, but also creates new liberal ideologies, investing language with value as a source of profit.

Equally important, the display of *Sharp* in Roman script is potentially designed to convey two intertwined symbolic appeals: economic marketing and socio-cultural appeal. The economic marketing aspects of brand names are associated with different dimensions such as quality, cultural value, and global myth (Holt et al., 2004: 71). With this in mind, the Roman script of *Sharp* conveys the idea of electrical products and services of high quality in the LL of Aqaba, due to its global use in the advertising discourse (O'Guinn, Allen, and Semenik, 2011). Thus, the Roman script helps *Sharp* to communicate the quality of its products and gain a better competitive edge in the Jordanian marketplace, allowing individuals to form a potentially positive image of the services advertised. This image links the Roman writing with the global stereotypes of brand names, indicating the product's commercial position and increasing the perceived quality (Erdem, Swait, and Valenzuela, 2006). In this regard, Kinra (2006) finds that individuals in developing countries perceive foreign brands to be of higher quality than domestic ones. As a consequence, I can argue that quality is more attributed to the layout of *Sharp* being displayed in Roman script rather than being advertised in Arabic script. This

suggests that the use of the Roman letters in displaying *Sharp* makes its linguistic form distinct from other local companies, such as *Al-Yasin*, *Al-Ryati*, or *Al-Jarhi*.

Given that the brand names appear in fixed linguistic forms in different LLs due to the standardised global conditions (Hankinson and Cowking, 1996; Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra, 1999), this leads the visual semiotic elements of the Roman script in *Sharp* to display a similar set of international and economic influences on the Jordanian context as to other contexts (Pennycook, 2007). This results in the generation of different cosmopolitan feelings among the consumers in the local context, particularly when they are aware that such a product is used by many other people in the world, with symbolic cultural meanings such as progress, success, fashion and a new lifestyle (Piller, 2003; Hannerz, 2006; Elliott and Urry, 2010). In other words, the global identity of *Sharp* provides many chances for viewers to practise consumption, particularly those Jordanians who aim to be different and cosmopolitan through using products with such names. These semiotic illustrations are further reinforced by the fact that the ambiguous linguistic identity of the Roman script in *Sharp* makes the viewers think about different foreign countries, to which they link the concept of cosmopolitanism. Regardless of the country to which such brands belong, it can be argued that transposing them to the Jordanian context suggests an interest in and openness to the adoption of brands, products, ideas, and stores from other cultures.

Further, these symbolic cultural meanings can be inferred from the semiotic features of the brand script, where the presence of Arabic is ignored in the sign. As Shohamy (2006: 110) states, the presence or absence of languages in public spaces communicates 'symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance, and relevance of certain languages or irrelevance of others'. The semiotic connotations of *Sharp*, which can be understood from the font size used, as well as its shape and colour, where the interpretation of the signs relies largely on the existing cultural practices in understanding the language of brand names,

leading to the emergence of new meanings on the part of individuals (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The cultural practices here relate to different intrinsic and instrumental perspectives, such as the job market, media, technology, personal development, and cultural interaction, as well as educational experience (Bani-Khaled, 2014). These perspectives could trigger positive values inside the viewers of brand names, suggested in a language different from the local; hence symbolic meanings, such as progress, fashion, prestige, or modernity, are popular amongst individuals in Aqaba's LL. These meanings and connotations are explored in a study conducted by Al-Yasin and Mahadin (1996) in Jordan, where they discuss how the frequent occurrence of Roman writing in advertising products and items relates to reasons of foreignism and modernity. Lanza and Woldemariam (2014) also argue that brand names invoke greater symbolic meanings of prestige and modernity in viewers in Ethiopia. Moreover, these meanings are suggested in a study by Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, and Fishman (1977), where English is used in Israel as a commodity for assisting businesses in selling their advertised products.

To conclude, the use of Roman scripts in displaying electrical objects, such as that used for *Sharp* as well as other related signs, performs as an influential and attractive means for convincing the viewers of the products' value and quality. The semiotic components consolidate the advertising message and also serve as a marker of prestige; thus, the scripts for electronics, perfume, drinks, foods, and home appliances are potentially targeted at a particular group of Jordanians, who are expected to be educated and proficient in English. This particular interpretation is not aimed to see whether individuals can recognise and read the sign; rather, it carries other cultural symbolic meanings, where the products suggest a certain way of life and a certain type of consumer.

4.5.2 Romanised Arabic Script

Romanised Arabic is a written sign that uses Roman characters as an alternative orthographic form of Arabic words. The process of Romanising Arabic has been referred to as ‘Romanisation’ or as ‘transliteration’, where the purpose is to convey the pronunciation of Arabic words, usually to foreigners, who are not comfortable with traditional Arabic orthography, and also to the Jordanian audience who, at least in part, prefer using the Roman alphabets in their informal writing (Beeseley cited in Izwaini, 2009: 105). One illustrative example in this category is *Umniah*, as shown in Figure 4.5. The Arabic word *Umniah*, which is the name of a national company for telephone and internet services in Jordan, is written orthographically in Roman for several potential reasons. The sign depicted in Figure 4.5 indicates the effects of globalisation and modernity on the one hand, and displays the local linguistic identity on the other hand. Whilst global forces require the company’s actors to demonstrate the Arabic word *Umniah* in Roman script to appeal to a foreign readership, the Arabic pronunciation of the brand itself represents the local practice of the community language.



Figure: 4.5 – Umniah Sign

The use of Roman scripts in presenting a local brand is linked to the global aspects of the product, leading to the exchange of its linguistic forms worldwide (Heller, 2010: 349). The services provided by the *Umniah* mobile cellular telecommunication company are also

widespread and valued outside the borders of Jordan, where people deal more often with communication across social, cultural, and linguistic differences. In other words, Romanised Arabic is used as a new lingua franca, linking the spoken language in Jordan and the world outside. The local brand, which is globalised by the use of Roman scripts, plays a social-psychological role in the LL. When Roman scripts appear in an Arabic-speaking country, the foreign culture follows it through mass media, particularly advertising that transcends the national borders. These representative signs of Western countries in Jordanian society usually affect the subculture of younger people. In this respect, Ustinova (2009: 93) argues that ‘the cultural impact of advertising is enormous; young people, who are inexperienced, even emotionally unstable, have a much greater risk of being affected by advertisements’ messages’. This linguistic perspective has been implicated in the Romanisation of the brand name *Umniah*, which seeks to appeal to young Jordanians (Alabdulqader, Alshehri, Alothman, Alhakbani, and Alhakbani, 2010). The script is then perceived by the company’s actors as a helpful means of communication with the Jordanian youth in a world dramatically dominated by electronic communication. Although the script is linked to the younger generation, due to their tendency to write informal words in Roman scripts rather than Arabic on mobile devices and computer software, it is still linked to reasons relating to higher prestige and dominance within the context of globalisation. Abdulqader et al (2010) argue that the use of Roman scripts among the younger generation is due to technical challenges, where, in the early days of the internet, Arabic letters were not used, and therefore Arab youths found a way to communicate in Arabic using Roman letters. As such, the large, black font on a light background alongside the yellow logo not only catches the youth’s attention, it also poses questions related to the technological adaptations of the Roman alphabet in an Arabic-speaking context – in this case, Jordan.

In conclusion, the internet and telephone company (*Umniah*) communicates progress and success values through the use of Roman scripts, which are targeted at the young people using their services.

4.5.3 Arabic Script

The sign of *Al-Ghazal* in Figure 4.6 is a significant example of an Arabic-script brand; *Al-Ghazal* is a cooking oil product. The visual code of the Arabic brand implies that the language is assumed to be read by all locals. Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 105), in this respect, emphasise the significance of the ‘readership condition’, which is to ‘prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read’. I contend that Arabic is largely understandable to local people, especially where it embodies the values and customs related to the Jordanian context.

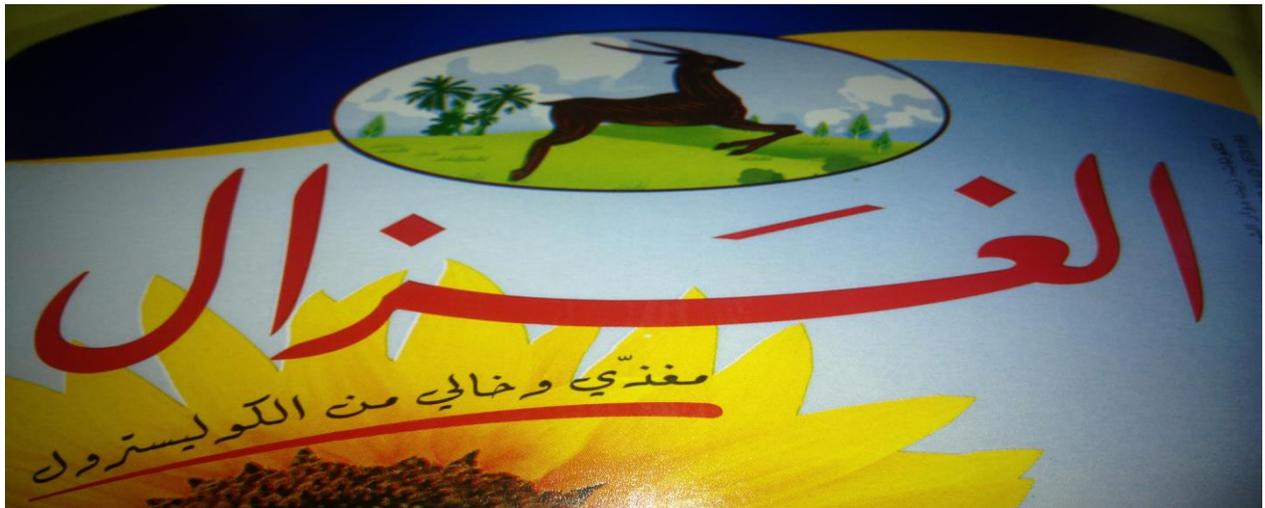


Figure: 4.6 – Al-Ghazal Sign

Figure 4.6 contains three semiotic elements: the product name, the slogan, and the logo. From the visual representation perspective, the Arabic script (*Al-Ghazal* is the Arabic word for ‘gazelle’ with big eyes) is written in a large font to draw attention to the product’s local commercial value, attesting the communication process between the viewers and the product name. More fundamental is the interpretation of the sign’s semiotic elements in relation to its

placement in the Jordanian LL (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 98). To ensure the readability of the commercial message, the logo of *Al-Ghazal* helps those people who are illiterate to still recognise the product, bearing in mind that not all Jordanians are capable of reading the brand name. The slogan, which means ‘nourishing and cholesterol-free’, is also written in Arabic to clarify the purpose of the advertised product. Consequently, I can argue that the brand elements constitute an effective commercial tool in achieving the company’s purposes via the image of *Al-Ghazal* and the font size of the Arabic writing. These elements have become semiotic resources that are used not only to communicate the commercial message, but also to manipulate certain local social meanings (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001). These social practices and modes influence the way in which signs or semiotic resources are demonstrated. According to Scollon and Scollon (2003), the display of language on the sign not only indexes something about the product that is being advertised, but also refers to the community practices within which the sign is used. The image of *Al-Ghazal* itself represents different cultural values in association with the Jordanians’ Bedouin life. Different types of *Al-Ghazal* live in the Jordanian desert, such as the dorcas gazelle – named the *Afri Ghazal* in Arabic – the Arabian gazelle, and the rhin gazelle, all of which belong to the antelope family. Having examined Figure 4.6, this displays a particular type of gazelle known as the dorcas gazelle, which also lives in the mountain deserts of Africa and Arabia. The occurrence of this animal in the sign not only refers to the Bedouin life in Jordan, but is also used in people’s social life, where Jordanians often give their daughters names with pertinent meanings relating to *Al-Ghazal*, such as *Ghazalah*, *Guzlan*, *Reem*, and *Maha*. In the sign for *Al-Ghazal*, the use of Standard Arabic has two implications in the local context. First, this particular type of Arabic refers to the context in which people use such words in demonstrating flirtation and love to their beloved, which is a specific feature of Jordanian Bedouins as part of their social tradition and customs. Second, in Jordan, Standard Arabic, such as *Al-Ghazal*, is used in contexts

similar to those of colloquial Arabic (including Bedouin varieties), demonstrating a clear overlap in using different Arabic varieties in different settings. The combination of the Standard Arabic and the image of *Al-Ghazal* further establishes semiotic modes in the design of the brand sign. Not only does this type of multimodality employ both textual and non-textual resources to help in communicating the commercial message of the product, but it also illustrates potential visual meanings of the local ideologies and practices (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001: 20, 21). The multimodality exemplified here includes a semiotic collaboration between all the contributing modalities, including the font typography and the representative image of the text. Thus, texts and images within Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2001) framework can have mutual readings; each helps the other in displaying the semiotic composition of the sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). However, the demonstration of Jordanian cultural genres, including the Arabic language and the image of *Al-Ghazal* in the local LL, uncovers a variety of emotions that reflect and stimulate a collective character where the significance of inhabitants' lives is constructed and given expression, and their uniqueness is emphasised.

To conclude, this section has identified different cultural and social trends associated with the scope of the signs' writing. The Roman-script brands exhibit prominent semiotic features, in which the symbolic meanings of capitalism, prestige, and modernity are involved. The single use of Roman scripts not only supports the economic properties of companies around the world, but also assumes the linguistic knowledge of languages other than Arabic. The Romanised Arabic scripts establish communicative bridges with the viewers, where the brand name is well-known to Jordanians. Here, the symbolic meanings of the scripts, images, and logos are linked to global and local functions, in which the former allow for a wider readership on the part of foreign and resident viewers to the Jordanian LL, and the latter refer to the youth culture. The Arabic script of *Al-Ghazal* is not only used as a way of communication in the

local context, but is also enhanced by the view that it is a product of the deeply social and cultural activities in which Jordanians engage.

4.6 Multi-script Analysis

In this section, I identify brand names where two (or more) scripts are used in conjunction, and for the purposes of this study, I refer to these as multi-script brands. I also seek to identify cultural identities where the two scripts are used within one brand name. In particular, the combination of Roman and Arabicised Roman script, or Arabic and Romanised Arabic script are particularly prevalent, and I explore here the issues related to these pairings.

4.6.1 Roman and Arabicised Roman Script

With regards to this category, *Burger King*, shown in Figure 4.7, displays two scripts: Roman and Arabicised Roman. Since the Arabicised Roman writings take up more space and larger font size, they are more visually arresting (see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). The Roman script in the sign not only performs as an informational means of portraying the restaurant as a global place, but also works as a tool for promoting the concept of exoticism to appeal to the sign's readership (Backhaus, 2007). This concept is essentially demonstrated to create a sense of persuasion in the minds of viewers, particularly when it communicates the image of foreignism so as to appear attractive and new. Even though the semiotic features of the font size make the Arabic writing more visible than the Roman script, the sign signals attributes of the international market and points to the local community (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). In other words, the sign in Figure 4.7 reflects the interplay between different local and global ideologies.



Figure: 4.7 – Burger King Sign

To many people, *Burger King* connotes the idea of the production of hamburgers and other meals in a fast and professional manner (Schortman, 2010). At the same time, the Arabic writing, through reflecting the linguistic shadow of the Roman characters, fails to convey that idea, since it does not convey the meanings of the words *Burger* or *King*. The existing Arabic script neither displays the English speakers' pronunciation of *Burger King*, nor reflects a Jordanian pronunciation of the brand name. The Arabic characters include the use of the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ] in both *Burger* and *King*, but the voiced velar [g] sound is still articulated in the Jordanian LL. From this phonetic overlap, it can be inferred that the sign-maker is quite confident of Jordanian customers' awareness of and capability of recognising the brand name, even though the Arabic script is displayed to refer to the local context or to imitate the Roman scripts. In essence, the absence of the original Arabic words in *Burger King* signifies the fact that the business owner realises local inhabitants' ability to read and understand the commercial message in Roman writing. The meaning is that the brand name in its current form has become part of residents' cultural identities, initiating the feeling that the writing of such a brand belongs to their language, rather than the language of any other groups. The issue of cultural identity often arises in individuals on the bases of nationality, language, religion, ethnicity, or any other aspect that unites a group of people together

(Ennajy, 2005: 25). The physical semiotic manifestation of *Burger King* also suggests that the unified layout of the brand name is becoming more and more accepted, particularly for the purpose of the promotion of Western products that are already popular in the Jordanian market.

In terms of the Arabic script, the semiotic functions of font and colour are illustrated here to promote *Burger King* in its original script, as a particular type of language that refers not only to the Arabic language, but is also part of a language used across the global LL (Tufi and Blakwood, 2010: 201). Therefore, the display of Arabic script necessitates bidirectional symbolic meanings between the global and the local practices. This linguistic process, which has been termed ‘glocalisation’, not only homogenises the language of scripts, but also helps to establish the different feelings and emotions inferred in the brand name on the part of local residents in Aqaba (Swyngedouw, 2010: 26). Accordingly, the extensive occurrence of the Roman-script brands alongside their Arabic scripts in the local LL implicates not only the services and the products, but suggests that the complementary beliefs and ideas can be also culturally recognised. Craig, Suzan, and Bennett (2009), in this respect, argue that eating in fast-food restaurants does not highlight consumers’ intentions to consume US food; rather, it demonstrates a sense of fondness for American fast food, which is part of the Western lifestyle. Likewise, Curtin (2009) points out that the presence of glocalised Roman scripts in Taipei’s LL refers to both the cultural cosmopolitanism in connection with the languages of Europe and the US, and a local Taiwanese prestige. As such, in its original script, *Burger King* introduces a new lexical item relating to new, modern Western cuisines, resulting in a social shift through the creation of new spaces that bring together taste, flavour, and linguistic features. This particular type of shift is realised in the occurrence of the Arabic script, where its linguistic opacity is made clear by looking at the Roman script, allowing viewers to identify

the brand name in its source script and thus generating meanings of prestige and modernity, particularly among the restaurant clients or the younger generations.

4.6.2 Arabic and Romanised Arabic Script

This category involves the orthographic representation of brand names, in which Arabic sounds are transliterated in their Roman counterparts. The cultural and social appeals of these brand names are lost at the time at which they are translated into English, and therefore they often retain their own orthographic forms, as in the transliteration of the local brand ‘*Jamdeeko*’ (the basic component of *Mansaf*, a traditional Jordanian dish) into Romanised Arabic. This also applies to other Jordanian products and services, such as the transliteration of ‘*Sayadeh*’ in ‘*Fish Sayadeh*’ (a Jordanian fish dish) and *Sajeda* (women’s Islamic clothing brand name). As Figure 4.8 shows, *Sajeda* is discussed as an illustrative instance of the Arabic and Romanised Arabic script category.



Figure: 4.8 – Sajeda Sign

Even though the initial uppercase letter of *Sajeda* in Roman script is similar in font size to that of the Arabic writing beneath, *Sajeda* in Arabic characters occupies more space than the Roman writing. This, in turn, enhances the visibility of *Sajeda* in Arabic letters, thus assisting the commercial and linguistic communication between most viewers and the business name. As can be seen in Figure 4.8, the display of Arabic pronunciation in Roman script entails

different cultural perspectives in association with both Jordanian and foreign passers-by. The Roman script describes the country's linguistic identity, in which the Arabic brand *Sajeda* has not been replaced with a new term; rather, it is transliterated in Roman letters, thus becoming more acceptable among the majority of Arabic speakers in the LL. Although, through the juxtaposition of the Arabic writing, the Roman script is likely to be readable and understandable on the part of Jordanians, its semiotic attributes also allow foreigners to acquire some clues and ideas about the local context where brand names are used. The shape of the letter 'S' in the Roman script incorporates the outline of a woman's headwear, where the particular design of the letter 'S' is used to symbolise two potential cultural practices. The first includes the semiotic interpretation of the letter to be a brand logo, which is aimed to portray a woman wearing a *Hijab*. The logo reflects a cultural image of an Arab woman, implying social practices related to modesty, control, and privacy, all required by Islam to be preserved when females wear this outfit. The second interpretation is the role of the design in capitalising the letter 'S', whereas all the other letters are written in lowercase. Although capitalisation is commonly used when writing proper names (Straus, Kaufman, and Stern, 2014), in this context, capitalising the letter 'S' suggests the brand's associations with the local cultural practices and customs, particularly habits of naming in society, where the name of *Sajeda* is popular among Jordanian families for its religious connotations and meanings.

This noticeable semiotic meaning, which has a potential readability by foreigners, is meant to convey the use of *Sajeda* as a name given to female babies in Jordan. Essentially, the image of the *Hijab* illustrated in the sign, as well as the Roman and Arabic scripts, maintain the religious message of the brand name in the Jordanian LL, in which the multimodality is fundamentally designed to urge Arab women, as well as those from other foreign cultures, to wear the *Hijab* in accordance with Islamic teachings. Therefore, the investigation of *Sajeda*, as an example of an Arabic and Romanised Arabic brand name, reveals important symbolic

implications in association with Jordan, where Islam is a considerable part of the culture. The preference for transliterating the Arabic brand into Roman characters further displays a significant cultural message to foreigners, which is less likely to travel across the world without its new linguistic form.

In conclusion, the multi-script brands reflect cultural interplay between global and local practices. Whereas Roman and Arabicised Roman scripts manifest the global forces connected with prestige, modernity, or any symbolic meanings attached to *Burger King*, for example, Arabic and Romanised Arabic scripts reflect local practices via the use of Roman writing and the Jordanian cultural logo. The semiotic investigations of these linguistic elements uncover differing social realities associated with the multicultural perspectives of the scripts (Ben-Rafael, 1996). Of course, the display of brand names in Roman scripts has made significant changes to the shape and status of Aqaba's quarters and neighbourhoods. Having recognised the similar percentages of both types of multi-scripts in Table 4.4, the signs compete to convey conflicting cultural forces through the different languages of the scripts. The Roman scripts consolidate the new social practices demonstrated in fast-food signs (such as *Burger King*), or their prestige meanings, but at the same time the Roman script of *Sajeda* indexes the inherent religio-cultural aspects of the local context. Although both types of multi-script brands seek to make financial profits, their efforts entail an increasing competition in displaying different cultural approaches in the LL.

4.7 Functions of Brand Names in the Linguistic Landscape of Aqaba

Thus far, the focus has been on the semiotic and linguistic aspects of the brand scripts and their logos. In this section, I investigate the brand scripts along with the languages of slogans and/or business names. Having studied the texts of brand names for the purpose of linking them to the languages of other semiotic elements on the same sign, the initial clues emerging

include the common preservation of Roman scripts as global brands and, in other cases, the combination of brands with Arabic information, and the local companies' adoption of Roman scripts for the display of their products and services. In his analysis of an illustrative sample of advertisements, Kasanga (2010: 181) mentions four categories of brand-advertising functions: 'brand advertisements', 'hybrid advertisements', 'clone advertisements', and 'imitation advertisements'. The first two categories are used by multinational companies to preserve their international brand identity, with or without adapting them for local purposes. The third category is adopted by local business owners who wish to identify their businesses with well-known international brands. The final category involves local business owners who wish to portray themselves as sophisticated and modern by the use of adding foreign names to their companies. For the purpose of simplifying the discussion of the signs in question, I exploit Kasanga's theory to identify the linguistic functions of brand names on the grounds of the linguistic collaborations among the languages of scripts, slogans, and business names. The functions of brand names aim to categorise the brand scripts and the language of other labels (such as slogans and business names) according to particular criteria. For example, the occurrence of Roman scripts and English slogans in the same sign involves a different function from that of Romanised Arabic and an English slogan. The functions here attempt to identify differing cultural trends within sub-groups of brand names, as in the following sections.

4.7.1 Brand Advertising

This function includes all the brand names that demonstrate a fixed shape worldwide. In this category of examples, the Roman-script brand is visible and mostly attached to English slogans. Maintaining the script of the brand is simply the result of a deliberate decision by the owner of a brand name to preserve not only its identity in the Jordanian setting, but also its global commercial identity and image worldwide (Bhatia and Lung, 2006). To provide an illustrative example, *Western Union* is an international corporation that preserves the pictorial

form of its brand name irrespective of the language conditions of the local context (Kasanga, 2010). As noted in Figure 4.9, the corporation advertises its services using the familiar yellow logo on a black background placed in the centre of the sign, with the relevant information – ‘money transfer’ – below in English using a black font on a yellow background.



Figure: 4.9 – Western Union Sign

From the relative size of the characters, the sign demonstrates the dominance of the Roman writing (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1996). Of significance in this example is the global aspect of the sign, but, more importantly, the use of English slogans in combination with Roman scripts, which lends the brand name additional symbolic meanings. This example of branding, which has a strong international presence within the domain of global products, functions as an illustration of a type of ‘decontextualised semiotics’, referring to the emergence of common semiotic features such as those of the *Coca-Cola* typeface or the well-known golden arches of *McDonald’s* in multiple contexts (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 145). *Western Union* is, therefore, an illustration of linguistic globalisation operating at its most international level, where the consistency of linguistic form is often linked to the consistency of typographical form, and the English slogans are also reproduced in almost the same manner, regardless of the Jordanian context. This suggests that brand advertising is the most direct result of patterns of

corporate globalisation, and that the linguistic aspect is, in many ways, little more than a phenomenon of broader commercial dynamics.

The linguistic and semiotic features of brand advertising indicate that Roman scripts and English slogans are not designed solely to provide the literal meanings of the commercial services; this means that they have important symbolic functions in the local LL. Jordanian viewers with little or no knowledge of English neither understand the brand script nor the English slogan, thus the graphic semiotic design of the sign is likely to help them in identifying the commercial message of the service.

Having examined the semiotic and linguistic properties shared between the current sign and that for *Sharp*, discussed before, the Roman scripts tend to constitute a dominant linguistic case in the Jordanian LL. With the extensive use of their signs of brand name, corporations tend to employ both mono-script and multi-script branding for commercial reasons, as discussed earlier.

4.7.2 Hybrid Brand

A hybrid brand, as the name suggests, consists of merging a global brand name with local attributes in the form of Arabic design, commercial identifications, or some description of the main business. The combination of languages in the hybrid brand permits linguistic communication between the brand scripts (Roman or Arabic) and the Arabic language of the business names or slogans. An illustration of this can be seen in the sign of *Bridgestone* in Figure 4.10. The linguistic structure of this brand is a result of a two-step hybrid formation. First, the Roman writing of *Bridgestone* is primarily displayed in the top left position of the sign, and the Arabicised Roman writing is then added to the sign. Second, the formation requires the sign makers to refer to the local context, where some Arabic marks, such as the Arabic business name ‘Al-Zaytounah Company for Tyres’, are inserted.



Figure: 4.10 –Hybridised Bridgestone Sign

Having a closer look at the Figure in 4.10, there are two dominant semiotic features. First, like most of the brand names discussed above, the prominence of the Roman script refers to preserving the global linguistic identity of the brand, as such incorporations aim to retain the commercial privilege of their products and items. The second feature is the inclusion of more Arabic words, suggesting the tendency for viewing the sign more on the part of the local readership. Here, the languages emerging in this sign ensure that the new hybrid business name serves as the main carrier through which the global brand name is retained, while also adding local attributes. That is, the linguistic structure aims to maintain the global identity of the brand and, at the same time, to adapt to the local context by referring to Arabic.

The display of globalised writing further serves as a linguistic tool for the segmentation of the global brands. The linguistic segmentation, which ‘involves dividing up the market into speakers of different languages and creating glocalised marketing and advertising materials for these language groups’ (Kelly-Holmes, 2010: 479), provides scope for global brands to travel and become immersed, not only in the LL of Aqaba as a particular case, but in contexts worldwide. Hence, the global brand is localised and, indeed, hybridised to give it a local Jordanian flavour. As noted earlier in Figure 4.7, the sign has gained more readability by providing the orthography of pronouncing the brand in the Arabic script, where the process of

glocalisation lends itself to the emergence of two scripts in the sign (Curtin, 2009: 227). Even though the same colour is maintained in both forms of writing in Figure 4.10, to identify the standardised global policy of the company, the process of regionalisation or glocalisation persists, where emphasis is given to local identity through using an Arabic script and business name (Lui and Stack, 2009).

4.7.3 Clone Advertising

Clone advertising involves the business owners' different attempts of identifying and decorating the outer part of their businesses, companies, or shops with global brand names. *Panasonic* in Figure 4.11 serves to add more visibility and readability to the name of business, which is for selling electrical and furniture products. The sign illustrates a semiotic communication between the brand script and the business name, where the business owner aims to display the global brand in a bigger semiotic design to appeal to the local readership and provides a sense of distinction. At the same time, it provides brand recognition for outsiders to entice them to consume their products. Therefore, as noticed, the business owner uses the global brand to identify his furniture and electrical shop with the brand *Panasonic*, for reasons related to his/her interest in the product, or as a reaction to Jordanians' estimation and appreciation of the brand name.



Figure: 4.11 – Panasonic Sign

In Figure 4.11, *Panasonic* is designed in larger Roman letters than the other words of the business name for different potential reasons. First, in similar manners to Roman script discussed above, the absence of Arabic script in the design of the brand gives the allusion of its popularity in the LL (Shohamy, 2006); even not all viewers are familiar with the Roman letters. Although the Arabic business name is written to help the viewers to understand the intended goal of the business, the semiotic features of the font size and colour in *Panasonic* are still more likely to draw attention. The use of Roman script as a commodity through language manifestation within clone advertising suggests valuable material assets. It also refers to identities associated with modernity, luxury, and fashion, which all constitute a place for many viewers in the LL to get attracted to the business (Curtin, 2009). Here, the use of international brand names can be compared to the use of English as a sign of identity connected to modernity among the local language users.

As such, the goal of the clone advertising, in which the Roman script is mainly prevalent along with local attributes, is to trigger the symbolic meanings of the commercial signs in the minds of viewers, encouraging them to be more motivated in the product, and to attain the influential and social role of drawing the attention to the shop items. At a larger scale, the use of Roman script is intended to allow the viewers to understand that the message of the shop is displayed in a different language, which could, in turn, attach different symbolic connotations and values of quality and success to the product (Piller, 2003).

4.7.4 Brand Imitation

As regards the linguistic and semiotic functions of brand imitation, these signs consist of the Romanised scripts used as names for Jordanian businesses and products, or as labels and tags other than brand names in Arabic advertisements. These signs adopted by Jordanian businesses are mostly visible in local shopping centres, clothing stores, shops, and supermarkets. An illustrative example of brand imitation is the adoption by a Jordanian café of the global design

of *Nescafé*. As shown in Figure 4.12, an Arabic business displays a global brand imitation on its café sign in an attempt to make the outer facade of the business resemble the global design as demonstrated by *Nescafé* (see Figure 4.13).



Figure: 4.12 – Nass Coffee Sign



Figure: 4.13 – Nescafé Sign

Indeed, the private café '*Nass Coffee*' demonstrates a clear example of the public imitation of a multinational corporation, *Nescafé*, where the local LL interacts with other global semiotic resources. The red background of the local sign resembles that shown in Figure 4.13, which, in turn, relates to the significance of choosing such a colour as a successful way of enticing the viewers in the public space to the business. The resemblance of the background colour to *Nescafé*'s sign reveals the fact that the business is aware of the commercial reputation of such a global brand among the locals, and leads to the shop becoming more reputed and well-known among other Arabic cafés.

A close semiotic look at the signs shows that the colour and size of both brands' scripts are consistent, which also boosts the target of the business to display a local brand with a global layout. Here, the Roman scripts of '*Coffee*' and '*Nescafé*' in both figures not only appear similar in colour but also in font size. The way in which the business replaces '*Nescafé*' with '*Coffee*' in the new brand name suggests some relation to the Jordanian context, where the sign is located (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). The top-middle part of the sign shows that the word '*Nass*' is written in a black font to distinguish it from the word '*Coffee*', but they both constitute one word '*Nass Coffee*', according to the display of the global sign '*Nescafé*'. A significant implication can be drawn here, where the fact that both brand names (*Nass Coffee* and *Nescafé*) seem to have two distinct orthographies is used interchangeably in the Jordanian context when people intend to have a hot drink made from roasted and ground coffee beans.

Interestingly, the business in Figure 4.12 seems to include a sense of a cultural mix between the global and local ideologies, where the trademark '*Nestle*' is not only demonstrated to remind the viewers of the global identity of *Nass Coffee*, but is also juxtaposed with the local ideology represented by the coffee pot and the coffee beans, as illustrated in the image on the left of the sign. Therefore, an implicit sense of competition between two different identities is demonstrated in the sign. Whereas the coffee pot and beans stand for the generosity and hospitality in the Jordanian community, the logo for *Nestle* represents the meanings of the global aspect of brand names in association with foreign patterns in the country (Shoup, 2007: 99). In this respect, Ben-Rafael (2009) highlights four principles for the composition of the LL: the presentation of self, good reasons, power relations, and collective identity. This means that the local business has tried to portray a unique aspect of Jordanians' culture by presenting images such as the coffee pot that are closely related to the local habits and customs. Even though these symbolic cultural perspectives are based on individuals' understanding of the local customs and norms, the business seems to pass on these social identities in their commercial sense to foreign viewers in the Jordanian LL. These

elements not only function as a means of the cultural transmission of local values and lifestyles to other foreign cultures, but they also play a major role in attracting Jordanian viewers to the product, containing both the local core and international form.

4.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter is aimed to code 1,810 signs in six commercial streets in the LL of Aqaba, of which brand names occupy 25% of all the signs. These brand names establish a significant part of all the signs in Aqaba's LL. The typology proposed for coding the mono-script and multi-script brands and their linguistic functions reveals common aspects among the signs. The semiotic and linguistic investigations of the brand names show that multimodality is a significant feature in communicating the symbolic meanings in the LL. The font colour and size are also understood to provide decorative and emblematic connotations. The categories that account for Arabic writing in different scripts reflect local cultural practices in connection with Jordanian brand names, including the significance of religion, social habits, and the customs exemplified in Bedouin life. Having attempted to uncover the symbolic meanings of Roman-script brands across all the categories, following the principles of semiotics, the absence of the informational value acts as a symbolic tool, pointing to meanings associated with prestige, decoration, success, and progress in the LL. The semiotic and linguistic analysis providing these meanings needs to be studied in the light of the viewers' perspectives and thoughts about the brand names' scripts as an essential part of Aqaba's LL, which I address in Chapter Six.

Chapter Five: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In order to access individuals' views and beliefs of the brand names in the LL, I explore the issues surrounding ethnographic research with a view to justifying the interviewing approach that I adopt for this Thesis. In addition, I discuss the challenges of conducting this kind of work in Jordan, given some of the social conventions, as I seek to select a representative sample of individuals who reflect the composition of Jordanian society according to official figures.

5.2 Conducting Interviews

For the purpose of seeking individuals' viewpoints and attitudes towards the brand signs, I chose to interview individuals as an accessible method of studying the LL. Conducting interviews demands making a significant reference to the ethnographic tradition, to identify some of its principles while interviewing and analysing the findings, despite the fact that I do not consider myself as carrying out ethnographic research.

The discussion of the cultural perspectives and conditions of ethnography constitutes a significant part of the interviewing. In fact, the term 'ethnography' derives from the study of cultural anthropology. Whilst 'ethno' refers to nation, folk, or people, 'graphy' means writing. Consequently, ethnography aims to describe a culture and understand social practice, lifestyle, and behaviour in a particular community from the point of view of a group of participants (Fetterman, 1989; Neuman, 1994). The description of a culture or subculture includes people's language, customs, and values, where the researchers perform as observers, socialising themselves into the culture under study (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In this respect, Fetterman (1998: 11) contents that ethnography is 'the art and science of describing a group or culture'. The process depends very much on the researcher's participation and personal

experience of the community. Hammersley (1990) emphasises the importance of five features in order for ethnographic research to be successful: the study of people's behaviour in real contexts; the priority of observations and informal talk as a source of gathering data; the employment of an unstructured approach towards data collection; the focus on a single setting or group of people; and the involvement of human actions in the data analysis. Similarly, Davies (1999: 4) considers ethnography to be a research style built upon particular fieldwork and using a variety of techniques to collect data, such as interview, observation, and the collection of objects. Whilst these techniques are useful for becoming engaged in the lives of people being studied over a period of time, their usefulness results in drawing data primarily used as theoretical results for a particular culture.

Nevertheless, other scholars identify the ethnographic method as a means of seeking people's meanings of a particular phenomenon through capturing their social and cultural activities in the community, where the researcher has a direct participation in that setting, but without imposing his/her viewpoints on the people involved in the study (Brewer, 2000; Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, and Lofland, 2001; Roberts and Sanders, 2005). This is clearly illustrated through the difficulty in the separation of researcher and research object, and the complications of researching a topic that has no relation to the researcher. For the purpose of making the data collection and analysis more factual, people carrying out ethnographic studies often tend to be 'reflexive'. Reflexivity points to the researcher's intention 'to explore the ways in which [the] researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research' (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999: 228). Issues of reflexivity are noticeable within ethnographic tradition, where the involvement of the researcher in the society and culture of those being studied is particularly close. Davies (2008), for example, emphasises the significance of reflexivity in all forms of research, and acknowledges the close connections between the researchers and the objects of their research in all phases, from the

initial selection of the topic to the final reporting of results. Hammersley (1990: 60) discusses the role of reflexivity within the validity of the ethnographic method, where he states that neither the 'plausibility' nor 'credibility' are successful approaches for judging whether the researcher's findings truly reflect the existing knowledge in the society. He further emphasises that these two trends can be only assessed in everyday life in similar ways to science.

For this Thesis, the reflexivity factor, as a pertinent aspect of ethnography, was given a serious consideration. Given that interviews were conducted by both me and my sister, we performed here as insiders within the intended group of participants, because we are both native Arabic speakers who have grown up in the same country as the relevant group. As insiders to the research, we understand the language of the participants and its implicit meanings, allowing us to mediate the interviewees' responses in such a way as to maintain the full meanings of their views and beliefs, given the fact that the means of recording the data was note-taking. There was also the possibility of being biased in favour of those views supporting the local culture; we were both aware of this and tried as far as possible to be objective. Accordingly, attention was paid to the concept of being 'outsiders' to the investigation, as we considered the responses and views from an 'outer' perspective. This also applies to the methods of coding and categorising the data collected, where I have done my best to provide an objective and honest analysis of the findings according to the respondents' views. As a researcher, I investigated the participants' responses as if I were not a member of the cultural context, aiming to achieve the maximum objectivity regarding the effects of reflexivity on the study's data.

As such, my sister and I were both insiders and outsiders to the interviewing at the time of communicating with the respondents, where the processes shifted as we supported the procedure of collecting the data; at the same time, we allocated a distance from the group interviewed for the purpose of being as objective as possible in transferring the data. This also

required me to take the roles of both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ in the course of analysing and coding the views, as is illustrated through the analysis of participants’ responses.

Drawing on the premises of the ethnographic tradition, I generate a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research techniques for the aim of tackling the pertinent data from the study. Quantitative information consists of deductive data and takes a positivist approach, considering the process in an objective way (Kent, 2007: 49). Researchers taking a deductive approach develop hypotheses based on a theory or theories, collect data that can be used to test the hypotheses, and assess whether the data collected supports the hypotheses. Qualitative research, conversely, seeks to understand and explore people’s attitudes and perceptions toward a social phenomenon. It has an inductive nature and mainly focuses on exploring the reality in natural settings (Creswell, 1998: 15). The qualitative research through conducting interviews is aimed at identifying the set of salient views among the respondents, and the quantitative method is useful for determining the number of cases of different views. In the following sections, more detail on qualitative and quantitative interviews is discussed within the concept of interview, its use in the LL field, sampling, and data collection.

5.2.1 Interviews

According to Fetterman (1989: 47), the interview is the ethnographer’s most essential data-collection practice. The interview procedure, which is a verbal interaction and exchange of discussion between a researcher and a group of participants, is employed to gather a particular type of data in the respondents’ own words, permitting a kind of insight into interpreting a particular cultural phenomenon (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998: 44). This Thesis elicits data that can be analysed qualitatively, and builds upon the meanings and concepts expressed through the respondents’ words and viewpoints, which, in turn, have major implications for the analysis.

Interviews can be divided into three main types: structured, semi-structured, and non-structured (Punch, 2005: 169). For our method, the semi-structured interview has been selected in order to meet the research purposes and questions. This type of interview supplies the most efficient results at the time that people's opinions and viewpoints benefit the study. With semi-structured interviews, the questions can be expanded in certain interviews, given the specific context of each interviewee (Foddy, 1995: 127). Scholars of semi-structured interviews use open-ended questions that build upon participants' responses, whereby the goal is to elicit thoughts and knowledge within the topic under study (Seidman, 2013: 116). This kind of interviewing is more flexible as it does not follow a rigid method of carrying out the interview, resulting in participants talking more personally about their experiences.

5.2.2 Interviewing in Linguistic Landscape Studies

As far as the LL is concerned, the literature contains several studies that focus on interviewing the individuals who are responsible for the production of the signs in the LL and/or consider how individuals interpret and read the signs (Salih and Al-Yasin, 1994; Selvi, 2007; Malinowski, 2009; Aiestaran, Cenoz, and Gorter, 2010; Garvin, 2010; Trumpter-Hecht, 2010; Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh, 2012). In Jordan, Salih and Al-Yasin (1994) conduct both questionnaires and interviews to find out the reasons among shop owners for using foreign names. They interview 30 people of different age groups and professional backgrounds. Similarly, we consider the interviewees' age and type of occupation as influential factors affecting their responses with regards to the brand names. Selvi (2007) uses a questionnaire as a research instrument to trace the roots of English in Turkish business discourse, particularly in Ankara. He selects a random sample of business owners in order to obtain different viewpoints about the topic. The approach used in Selvi's study is similar to that in Ethiopia, where Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) interview a random sample of participants about their views and attitudes towards the use of English in the LL. These two approaches go in a different direction

to the methodology applied in this Thesis, where there is a systematic choice of sampling according to certain demographic features. As discussed below, this includes age, gender, knowledge of foreign languages, and type of occupations.

In California, Malinowski (2009: 112) conducts interviews with 12 Korean-American business owners in one neighbourhood in Oakland. Malinowski's choice of six places that serve food, five being Korean and one Japanese aims to uncover their associations and interpretations in creating the signs in question. The respondents are selected from a street where Korean signs are frequently displayed. The majority explain their motivation to include English with the response that 'this is America', indicating convention rather than choice. The usefulness of this study can be seen from two perspectives. First, Malinowski (2009) chooses the informants based on their engagements with the signs. For example, Koreans working in grocery stores are the main actors of their language and of English, thereby their viewpoints are pertinent for the success of the author's project. Second, Malinowski's choice of a street with a large visibility of Korean and English signs plays a key role in eliciting helpful responses from the informants regarding the occurrence of the signs in question. However, the first strategy applied in Malinowski's study cannot be used in this study, as it would mean conducting interviews with shop owners in Aqaba as the people who have more access to sign-making. Instead, this demands interviewing inhabitants with different social backgrounds regarding the occurrence of brand names in the LL. Furthermore, the choice of the survey areas, in connection with the viewers, has taken a different route in the current study, in which the main strategy relies considerably on choosing the most frequent occurrence of the brand names among others in the major corpus, in order to explore inhabitants' viewpoints with respect to the symbolic meanings and suggestions of their LORs and CORs.

Throughout their study of the LL of Donostia/San Sebastian in Spain, where Basque is the minority language and Spanish is the dominant official language, Aiestaran, Cenoz, and Gorter

(2010) investigate the perceptions of Spanish and Basque speakers with regards to their own languages. They rely on conducting random interviews with 303 people in the city streets, in which females and males occupy approximately equal percentages with an average age of 36 years old. The questionnaire, which takes the form of a semi-structured interview, contains four questions concerning the respondents' demographic background, and five about their preference of the LL signs with regards to the linguistic structure and the languages they like to see. Interestingly, the questions include two scenarios in which the respondents are requested to allocate an amount of 100 Euros through five possible options, including the LL as well as their willingness to pay to see the signs they prefer. The scenario of interviews in this Thesis study differs from that in Aiestaran, Cenoz, and Gorter's (2010) study, where in this case the use of Arabic in the LL has a significant influence on the residents' viewpoints. The Spanish study focuses on the role of the respondents' demographic information in identifying different perspectives regarding the LL issue. Likewise, in this study, the participants' socio-economic backgrounds help in defining and determining some of the social trends in Jordanians' potential beliefs and attitudes regarding the LOR and COR of brand names.

Trumper-Hecht (2010) focuses on Jewish and Arab perceptions of the visibility of Arabic and Hebrew as the two official languages in Upper Nazareth. In her study, data is collected via telephone questionnaires with a random sample of 300 Jewish and Arab residents aged between 25 and 65. Trumper-Hecht (2010) includes more female participants, although she aims to have an equal number of both genders. Here, the methodological approach not only examines interviewees' perceptions of the LL that they share on a daily basis, it also investigates their beliefs and attitudes in connection with the real picture of the LL as documented by camera. The exploratory type of question regarding the visibility of LL items in Aqaba is similarly chosen, through the common exploitation of brand names on the part of

passers-by. The choice of specific brand names as the corpus for seeking Jordanians' viewpoints is mainly dependent on the frequent occurrence of these signs among others.

In her examination of individuals' cognitive and emotional responses to the LL in the urban neighbourhood of Memphis, Tennessee, Garvin (2010) conducts qualitative ethnographic interviews with ten participants, who are chosen through posting flyers providing information about the study to public offices. The noteworthy point about the choice of participants is their representation of the demographic diversity in the city in terms of the period of citizenship, the equal number of genders, the different age groups, and the knowledge of languages. By conducting an initial meeting with the consenting participants, Garvin (2010) specifies the date and time for an individual 'walking interview', which, in turn, reflects the study's main purpose of embracing different attitudes and perceptions about the communities in Memphis. The approaches applied here are useful for this project, which, through choosing participants with diverse linguistic and cultural orientations, aims to reveal different viewpoints regarding the existence of brand names. For the purposes of getting to know the cultural and religious ideologies of the participants in the current study before interviewing, interviews are conducted with people of different ages, genders, and educational backgrounds. This allows me to begin comparing and contrasting people's ethnographic viewpoints and beliefs within their different socio-economic backgrounds.

In a similar manner to Garvin, Seargeant (2011) interviews nine informants with diverse geographical locations, ages, and genders in order to establish common beliefs and viewpoints about the presence of English in Japan. Having categorised the collected signs into five domains – brands and advertising, fashion on T-shirts, information signs (institutional and civic signs), media and entertainment, and internet and information technology – Seargeant's approach relies on making connections between participants' geographical locations and the responses about a particular category of signs. For example, those participants who commute

to work have more engagements with the information signs than those who record instances of English on the radio and television at home, who are, in turn, linked to the media and entertainment domain. Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh (2012) also use interviews when seeking the viewpoints of eight first-year university students' viewpoints and attitudes about the presence of English, Arabic, and Hebrew on the Haifa university campus. The authors choose the students randomly from a previous study conducted by Abu Ghazaleh (2009), where the invisibility of Arabic signs in the university is viewed as a means to ignore the Arab identity, as well as a violation of their human and personal rights.

In conclusion, the interview method has been used considerably in LL studies to gain more understanding of individuals' viewpoints and feelings about signs in the public space. The studies often follow the ethnographic interview, as a type of qualitative research, in three phases. In the preliminary phase, most authors study the LL signs in the light of a particular phenomenon, as in the use of English (Selvi, 2007; Malinowski, 2009; Lanza and Woldemariam, 2009; Seargeant, 2011) or the interpretation of minority languages (Aiestaran, Cenoz, and Gorter, 2010; Trumper-Hecht, 2010; Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh, 2012). The second phase includes preparing interview questions whose goals are to investigate the viewer's perception of the different languages on the signs in the LL. As such, there has not yet been a single comprehensive method of conceiving a particular formula for the issues of the interview, which, in turn, allows other researchers to use this perspective with LL actors in accordance with the goal of the study. Third, the procedures for the ethnographic interview account for the informants of the study in terms of their demographic, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. Even though most researchers determine the characteristics of informants before the interview (Garvin, 2010; Seargeant, 2011; Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh, 2012), others interview respondents in the locations of the use of the LL signs (Malinowski, 2009; Lanza and Woldemariam (2009); Aiestaran, Cenoz, and Gorter, 2010). The sampling of informants

also varies from small to large numbers depending on the LL issue. However, for this Thesis, ethnographic semi-structured interviews are applied, in which people with different sociolinguistic backgrounds are chosen to explore various views and attitudes about brand signs. At this stage, I need to explore the sampling of the study on the basis of the theoretical notions and the socio-economic backgrounds in Jordan.

5.2.3 The Sampling

Sampling procedures in qualitative research are not so clearly set as in quantitative studies. This flexibility in choosing sampling seems confusing for some researchers and mistakes may be made. This has been reinforced by Morse (1991) who recognises the flexibility in choosing a random sampling in qualitative study, leading to the violation of both the quantitative principle of including adequate sample size and qualitative principle, that requires purposive sampling. In Patton's view (1990), the qualitative research often includes purposeful sampling, focusing in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposefully. Patton (1990) illustrates different strategies for purposefully selecting information-rich cases such as: intensity sampling; maximum variation sampling; homogeneous samples; purposeful random sampling; sampling politically important cases, and convenience sampling. With these different types of sampling, the author shows the challenging principles of designing the sampling in qualitative research, where each type results in shortcomings of including a sampling that incorporates the required participants. By the same token, Morse (1991) suggests that four types of sampling are used in qualitative research: the purposeful sample, the nominated sample, the volunteer sample, and the sampling that consists of the total population. Further, Morse (1991: 129) designates more usefulness of obtaining a purposeful sample, where 'the researcher selects a participant according to the needs of the study'. Mason (1996: 91) states that a relationship between purposive sampling and the wider population can be established in qualitative studies. In essence, sampling can be representative of the

population when it displays characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and class in a population of people in a similar proportion to the total population about which the researcher wishes to make generalisations. Accordingly, the informants involved in qualitative research are purposively chosen in line with the needs of the study, where this provides a more space choosing the people, who can serve the study. In this Thesis, purposive sampling, where the informants are selected based on their characteristics and the need of the study, is adopted as the social characteristics of the sub-groups have been decided in advance to reflect the corresponding proportions in the population, and to study diverse views and beliefs about the brand names in Aqaba's LL.

As far as the sampling size is concerned, the number of participants for qualitative studies is commonly much smaller than those used in quantitative studies (Flick, 2007:45). Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 83) claim that gaining more data in a qualitative study does not necessarily lead to more information. The occurrence of one piece of data is all that is required to ensure that the phenomenon becomes part of the analysis framework. The number of informants does not constitute a significant area in qualitative research, since one set of data is possibly as advantageous as many in conceiving the purpose of the issue. The main impetus for choosing the sampling is its usefulness in fulfilling the goal of the study. Whilst large sampling results in attaining repetitive and redundant data, excessively small sampling does not help in obtaining data saturation (Flick, 2007; Morse, 1995). This project's sampling, which consists of 42 inhabitants in the city of Aqaba, is aimed to be representative of all Jordanians' viewpoints towards brand names, where the sampling itself is established to reflect relatively equal percentages of the informants in connection with the distribution of the socio-economic backgrounds of the Jordanian population.

Having referred to official census data, the Department of Statistics in Jordan (2011) provides statistical information about the socio-economic features of the population of the country. As

regards gender distribution, males and females constitute 51% and 49% of the Jordanian population, respectively. In terms of the census of age groups, the Department of Statistics (2011) shows that Jordan is considered a young society, as 35.3% of the population are under 15 years old, people aged between 15 and 64 years constitute 59.9%, and those aged 65 and over make up just 4.8%. The occupation types and educational levels have also been divided into diverse categories by the Department of Statistics (see appendix II). Yet, the existing sampling reconsiders some aspects of the given classifications due to the fact that it cannot comprise all the Jordanian demographic information. For instance, the gender distribution involved in the sample contains 57% (or 24) of the total 42 respondents as males and 43% (or 18) as females. The classification of age groups has also been modified to meet the requirements of the study, as the majority of people are too young, and contacting them requires formal procedures through their schools and parents. Hence, the age groups have been broken up into four groups, including teenagers (below 20 years), younger people (20–39 years), middle-aged people (40–59), and older people (60 years and above). Educational levels have been condensed into four groups, including primary school, secondary school, undergraduate (Bachelor's degree holders), and graduate (MA and PhD holders).

Due to the social constraints in communicating with women in Jordan, the researcher's sister has helped with interviewing them. In addition, women in Jordan are not culturally allowed to work in all the occupations in question, particularly agricultural work, craft work, machine operating, and elementary occupations. For these reasons, the nine categories of occupation cannot all be incorporated into the study sample. The sample, which attempts to adapt to these social constraints, mainly includes senior officials and managers (21%), professionals (29%), technicians (14%), services and sales workers (14%), skilled agricultural workers (10%), and crafts and related workers (12%).

In practical terms, the sample is designed to represent the following occupations, in order to offer diverse perspectives into the research issue and to provide reliability and validity information for the study (see Appendix III). First, the managers and officials category encompasses nine informants, who are subdivided into two army officers, five managers, and two judges. The age group of this category ranges from 40 to 59 and contains five women and four men. The second category consists of 12 professionals, both male and female school teachers from all the age groups except for the teenager category. Third, the category of technicians is represented by six people who work as pharmacists. This category contains three females and three males, whose ages match all age groups except for teenagers. The fourth occupational group contains of six services and sales workers of varying ages, including people selling goods through wholesale or in shops. The category also includes four craft workers, such as dry cleaners and truck drivers. Four agricultural workers, whose ages range between young and middle aged, make up the fifth category of occupation.

Having examined the participants' demographic profiles, the sample is intended to be representative of Jordan within the current participants' features. All categories of occupations require arrangements for visiting several official institutions in Aqaba, representing the practical phase of seeking the participants' views and beliefs about the brand names. In this respect, the type of occupation is useful for conducting the research, as it informs me about the place where participants work, thus making the process of collecting data more accessible.

5.2.4 Data Collection

The interviews were conducted in different official institutions in Aqaba city, comprising the main Army Unit, the Economic Zone Authority, the Aqaba Court, schools, and the city centre. At the beginning, communicating with the chosen participants in such locations was not an easy task, particularly the main Army Unit and Aqaba Court, where certain routine formal procedures must be followed; however, the researcher's brother and friends helped in gaining

access to interview the participants in these places. While interviewing people in their places of work, the initial difficulty encountered is the small amount of contact between the informants and the public space, although they were shown the images of the common brand names. This methodological issue was resolved by asking the informants to carry out the interview in a coffee shop or a restaurant, where the LL signs are clearly displayed. The place of interview did not have any significant impact on the participants' viewpoints. In fact, the use of people's professional places was specifically intended to gain access to contacting informants with different socio-economic backgrounds in Aqaba. For instance, the visits to the main Army Unit, the Economic Zone Authority, and the Aqaba Court were a means to interviewing high-ranking officers, senior managers, and judges. In addition, informants such as pharmacists were interviewed in the city centre, particularly in their places of work. The interviews conducted in Aqaba schools were aimed to meet teachers. The majority of other people were also met in their places of work in the city centre. These interviewees included people selling goods in wholesale shops and stores, and craft workers such as dry cleaners and truck drivers.

Informants' approval for taking part in the study was arranged in advance, while people in the city centre approved their participation in the study at the time of interview. All of the data were collected during these one-to-one meetings. Locations were also chosen with the convenience of the participants in mind, and typically took place in private areas such as a study room in a library, or an office conference room. The duration of the interviews was between 20 and 30 minutes. Furthermore, data collection was mainly carried out within a planned time; the work lasted for four weeks, where two to four people were interviewed on a daily basis. Most interviews were arranged with the informants in advance via the researcher's friend, brother, or sister, while a few were conducted in the city centre, such as those with pharmacists, truck drivers, and dry cleaners.

The practical phases of the interviews included managing, recording, and closing the interview. Managing the interview involved preparation for the interview questions and arranging the date and time for the interview. In terms of the interview questions, as discussed in Chapter Four, twenty brand signs were chosen according to their recurrent visibility in the LL of Aqaba, designed as small cards, and each was shown to the respondents. The signs may include images, brand names, or both. The questions were established in English but presented in Arabic too, so that no difficulties might arise during data collection. Most of the interviews were carried out by me, while six were conducted in the girls' school, where my sister undertook the interviews with the female teachers. The interviews started with me introducing myself to the respondents, and providing a brief idea about the fieldwork of the study conducted in the LL of Aqaba in Jordan, and how the respondents' views were important for supporting the research issue. I told my sister to follow the same procedures when conducting the interviews with the female teachers. Hence, she started the interviews by introducing herself to the respondents, and telling them briefly about the project, and how their views are supportive to the study. After obtaining the respondents' oral approval for participation, they were required to read and sign the consent form in Arabic, as shown in Appendix V. In addition, the participants were required to confirm their permission for the researcher(s) to write down their responses while interviewing. Within this phase, the participants were asked to examine each brand sign and to express their points of view concerning their social and cultural viewpoints about the COR and LOR of the brand names designated. More specifically, the interviewees were asked to examine the brand images, and a discussion begins to be built, based on two main questions – 'Which language do you think of when you see these brand names?' and 'Which country do you think of when you see these brand names?' – as stated in Appendix V. If the interviewee had difficulty answering a question or hesitates, the interviewer would explain the matter again. With this in mind, the responses was recorded

during the interview. Recording can be carried out through different methods, including tape-recording, video-recording, and/or note-taking (Punch, 2005: 175). Here, the practical constraints of the Jordanian context require me to use note-taking as a means of recording the respondents' viewpoints, since many did not accept the idea of recording their voices during the interviews. My sister also met with a refusal from the female teachers for the interviews to be recorded, so she too had to use a note-taking procedure. In terms of closing the interview, the respondents were thanked for their participation, and the answers were transcribed as they were translated into English. After this, all the answers were stored in a file on our laptop.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

Following the interview procedures in the preceding LL research, the current study has adopted a similar strategy with the consideration of the ethnographic influence during conducting the interview. The strategy includes analysing the brand names as discussed in Chapter Four, and then the interview questions are supplied in light of the linguistic issues related to brand names. For these reasons, the interviewing approach has been evaluated as a positive tool for seeking informants' views about the existence of brand names in Aqaba's LL.

Chapter Six: Findings and Discussions

6.1 Introduction

Having proposed a typology of signs based on the corpus recorded in Aqaba, and in the light of the conclusions drawn regarding the interplay between the language(s), script(s), images, and slogans on brand names as they appear in the LL, I analyse in this Chapter the reactions of the respondents and organise them accordingly. As outlined in Chapter Four, twenty brand names have been chosen on the grounds of their common occurrence in the LL to function as a material corpus. These brand names comprise *L'Oréal*, *Panasonic*, *Western Union*, *Samsung*, *Adidas*, *Levi's*, *Nokia*, *Pepsi*, *Nescafé*, *Canon*, *GAP*, *DHL*, *Toshiba*, *LG*, *Sajeda*, *Coca-Cola*, *Zain*, *McDonald's*, *Starbucks*, and *BMW*. For the purpose of obtaining more understanding of the symbolic connotations and meanings of the brand names analysed above, the chosen brands were used to complement my perspectives from the interviewing of 42 residents of Aqaba city. The purpose of the interviews is to explore Jordanians' symbolic understanding of the different associations of brand names from the perspectives of both the COR and LOR.

Following the premises of qualitative data (see Punch, 1998; Mason, 1996; Miles and Huberman, 1994), the analysis of the data in the present study went through different stages. Having made notes on the respondents' views and beliefs, I began by reading to obtain a general idea about these perspectives. Under each brand name, the process of analysing the data included labeling relevant pieces, words and phrases, with the aim of making more specific notes – a process called coding. By so doing, the brand name's data was summarised by pulling together topics and detecting closer patterns. These procedures also involved drawing some degree of 'inference' beyond the interview data at hand (Punch, 1998: 205). For example, the single view 'the preference for English for its readability and clarity' as a positive aspect of the language of the brand name, rather than any other foreign language, in

this case lead me to infer that the interviewee means the use of English as a lingua franca language within the theme ‘prestige of English’. At that stage, it was necessary to look at how the different views (codes) supported the relevant data and the overarching theoretical perspective of the project.

Meanwhile, all the responses were counted and given different cases and numbers within the coding stage, where 840 single views were articulated by the respondents. Having identified the relevant topics and patterns, I then created a category for each group of topics. The different codes and patterns were grouped together within the relevant categories. For example, the frequent occurrence of codes such as ‘modernity connotations of the language’, ‘the freedom and liberty meanings of using English in the community’, and ‘the meaning of the foreignism and difference’ all lead me to initiate the category (theme) called ‘prestige of English’ within the language of brand names. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that the cultural context of the interviews had a positive impact on the study’s findings in terms of understanding and connecting the similar ideas and views together. In essence, the application of the rules of qualitative research required an acknowledgement of the subjective influences that I tried my best to avoid in the process of data analysis (Brewer, 2000; Roberts and Sanders, 2005).

Having implemented the coding and categorisation procedures of the qualitative research, the viewpoints of the citizens of Aqaba, as represented by the participants canvassed for this Thesis, were organised into five distinct themes which I present and dissect in this chapter. As shown in Figure 6.1, a range of responses has been recorded from the respondents, of which over a quarter (28%) is disparate and excluded from the data analysed; this includes highly individualised responses to brand names based on family experiences, or personal preferences for a given brand. Nevertheless, I group the remaining responses into five categories that I outline in this introduction and explore more profoundly over the course of this chapter. The

first theme, which is attested by 25% of the responses, is what I am referring to as the prestige of the English language. A closely related but distinct theme, cited in 18% of the responses, is the correlation between positive beliefs and the US, where the US is perceived as the COR. The US is seen as a progressive, successful, and free country, whose culture is fashionable and desirable. The third theme is where brand names are associated with Islam and its traditions, and the language(s) of the signs are considered from an Islamic perspective. These responses can include what I might refer to as negative associations between the COR and Islam, where the brand is coloured by a perceived anti-Islamic stance. This theme is attested by 14% of the responses. Linguistic nationalism, both secular and sacred, reflects the value placed on Arabic in Jordan, usually in relationship to other languages, and this accounts for 14% of the responses. The fifth and final category is the association made by the respondents between the phonological dimension of the brand names and the particularities of a given language. This theme is organised around 4% of the responses.

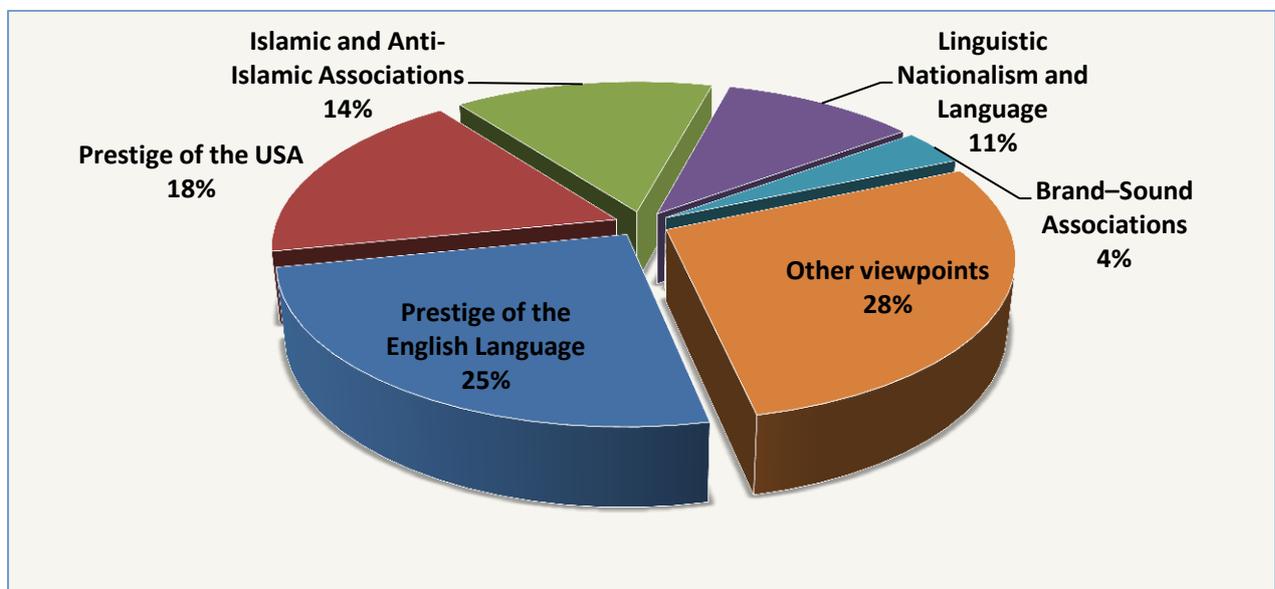


Figure: 6.1 – Distribution of Participants’ Dominant Perspectives

Further still, these five themes were studied in association with the participants’ demographic information. This required me to make an approximate estimate of the effect of the most relevant socio-economic factors among the different categories. Based on the coding and

categorisation procedures explained above, I discuss each of these themes, and highlight the significance of the respondents' socio-economic and personal backgrounds so as to be able to organise the analysis.

6.2 Prestige of the English Language

The first theme identified is where the use of English in brands is perceived as prestigious; this prestige explains, in part, the presence of such a language in Aqaba's LL, according to 25% of all the interview data investigated. The presence of English in commercial signs is often associated with cultural connotations and implications, such as supremacy and modernism (Piller, 2001; Lee, 2006). In the current context, English, as a dominant language of brands, can be discussed from a different viewpoint, where the beliefs and attitudes are reported by younger people. The purpose is not to pinpoint the language of brand names but to investigate the respondents' dominant viewpoints towards such signs within Jordan as a specific cultural case. First, various scholars have been engaged in exploring the issue of English as a global language of trade, a universal means of communication, and a modern lingua franca of the contemporary world, thus identifying these perspectives as evidence for which the language has attained its influence and importance (Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Proshina, 2008).

English has also become an international communication tool in the wake of the economic and scientific expansion of Great Britain and, later, the USA (Hopkins and Cain, 1987; Crystal, 2000, 2003). The dominance of English today is therefore the continuation of a process started in the earlier days of capitalism, deepened by the expansion of the British Empire, and given further impetus by the commanding position of American capitalism in this century (Hollborow, 1999). Despite the fact that the US is synonymous with capitalism, populous countries such as China, India, and Brazil have emerged to be the largest reserves for the capitalist world-economy (Li, 2005), which, in turn, increases their political power in the

international arena (Mandal, 2001; Parisot, 2013). As a result, Mandarin becomes another dominant language as there are 160,000 high school and university students are studying that language. Mandarin is now the most taught foreign language (after English) in Japan, where the number of Japanese secondary schools offering it is more than triple in the last decades (Kim, 2008). This suggests that the US promoting English – and perceived as the country driving capitalism – is confronted with other competing economic powers seen in countries such as China, which support the use of its language today.

As regards LL studies of the concept of prestige manifested in brand names, Seargeant's exploration (2009) of the role of English in the Japanese linguistic context is of particular significance for this Thesis. Seargeant (2009) interprets the presence of the English language in Japan not just as language; rather, it is essentially related to its ideologies, indexing beliefs about the place and significance within the lived human experience. In this sense, ideas about language mirror ideas about ourselves as social beings. Seargeant (2009: 19) further views the concept of English as a global language within the social perception, where the language is conceptualised within a given community. In his view, the writing on a wall of the word *McDonald's* in English refers to the US culture, suggesting that such a conceptual association has a great influence on the perception of English in Japan, as well as other similar communities. Consequently, the concept of English within the Japanese context manifests itself as a symbol of success, modernity, and prosperity.

The widespread use of English in presenting brand names suggests different symbolic connotations, whereby its dominance signifies what has been called 'banal globalisation' (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 152). Banal globalisation is 'the everyday textual realisation and interactional enactment of global capitalism' (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 152), suggesting different cultural meanings of the language of brand names, in particular, their globalised forms contribute to people's creation of different symbolic meanings. The

connotations and meanings are, in great measure, built upon people's own perceptions and beliefs, leading them to think about a certain culture, or nation when viewing the signs of brands in the LL. The growing popularity of these meanings and associations therefore causes the gradual accommodation of foreign languages into the local LL (Coupland, 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010). As such, positive cultural stereotypes of foreign languages amongst people elicit different interpretations where, in a multilingual situation, a linguistic item is used for – and is understood through – its symbolic associations and forms, rather than its literal meaning or content.

In Jordan, the position of English as a central language for economic and intellectual life results from the close bonds with the US, and the vestiges of the earlier British mandate to Jordan (Yoav, 2009; Al-Anis, 2010). Moreover, English has emerged as an international language, and its widespread presence in public spaces is an obvious sign of the process of globalisation (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Mufwene, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Three, the frequent use of English on signs in Aqaba is due to economic and technical advancement; as businesses aim to increase their markets and sales, international brand names have also increasingly figured in the LL as a result of the globalised new economy.

Despite the fact that English is taught as a mandatory subject at both school and university level in Jordan, individuals' levels of English can either enable them to use English proficiently in terms of speaking and writing, or they may only recognise the visuals of English letters with no practical use, where they assume any new language they are confronted with in the LL to be related to English rather than any other language. This also applies to the language of brand names, where individuals understand that they are written in English and, in a few cases, provide reasons according to their own perceptions. Therefore, the formal process of learning English does not mean that all Jordanians can speak or use English proficiently; rather, it may result in simply making them aware of the English letters. Further, as discussed

in Chapter Three, the uses of the Arabic language in different social contexts in Jordan, including everyday activities, conversations with family and friends, drama, and social public contexts, such as interviews and discussions, limit the role of English in daily life (Bassiouney, 2010). Significantly, Jordanians' awareness of the importance of English does not mean that it is used in parallel trends to Arabic as the national language of the country.

The significance of English in Jordan is also due to the language's prevalence in computers and the world-wide communication revolution, a major incentive for globalisation (Mckay, 2000). Science and technology have been popular streams for study, as 20.5% of Jordanian students chose to study science and technology in 1996 (Bashshur, 2004: 95). This number has also risen with King Abdullah II of Jordan's agenda to increase the role of computers and technology in education and with the importance of the Information Technology sector in the country's economy (United Nations Development Programme, 2014). Of more significance is the phenomenon of borrowing from English into Arabic in Jordan for reasons related to necessity, simplicity, and prestige (Bader, 1995; Hleihil, 2001). In that sense, many English words are used in Arabic discourse, where the Arabic equivalents are not readily available, thus circumventing recourse to the English versions. For example, many English expressions of foreign trade have resulted in the use of a number of English words in Jordanian Arabic, such as bank, cheque, million, cash, and secretary (Kailani, 1994).

Before proceeding in the discussion of the beliefs in connection with the prestige of English brands, I argue that the age is the common factor among all the respondents showing admiration and esteem to the brand names. As mentioned in Chapter Five, age has been divided into four categories: teenagers (below 20 years), younger people (20–39 years), middle-aged people (40–59), and old-aged people (60 years and above). Here, I use the term 'young' to refer to both teenagers and younger people, whose responses show, English as a language of brand names recognised in the Arabic context can elicit positive attitudes as a

foreign language with a high level of prestige. Among the other attributes related to English when it is described in positive words, 25% of all the responses – particularly among young respondents – consider English as a ‘fashionable’, ‘modern’, ‘global’, and ‘Western’ language. In essence, the process of coding the different views and beliefs within the prestige of English arises from four main secondary categories, along with the participants, whose individual identifying codes have been allocated in Appendix III. Before illustrating these themes and beliefs, it is worth mentioning that I took the role as both insider and outsider to the analysis of the respondents’ views regarding the prestige of English, where I recognise the participants’ culture in the context of the emergence of the different beliefs given here. Being part of the participants’ culture helps me to interpret the different themes and views better. For example, paying attention to the ways in which people employ English in their daily life, and being aware of the professional reasons for learning English, as well as the younger generation’s social awareness of the significance of English, all contribute to my interpretation of the finding that English is seen as the prestigious language of brands. This point is ratified by Hammersley (1990), who argues that the explanation and analysis of data taken from people in a society depends on understanding the type of human actions in that community. At the same time, I have examined the respondents’ beliefs as an objective researcher, whose role is only concerned with the views of the participants’ and eliciting direct meanings from the quotations as categorised below. First, the respondents feel different, modern, and fashionable in their beliefs and views in front of others, as illustrated by the opinions of clothing store GAP expressed by P/22, a 21-year-old female:

‘GAP’ is popular brand clothing, where I usually buy trousers and T-shirts. For me, I have never thought about its meanings and connotations, but the first impression about the English word ‘GAP’, is that it adds an exotic, modern, and foreign clue to the design of clothing [...]. Wearing such pieces of clothing makes me feel I am living in a

different foreign country [...] I am sure the products of this store will cause no social impact among individuals if this brand name is removed [...]. Therefore, I am really convinced that the English word ‘GAP’ is a well-recognised brand in my society, which makes me feel more modern, fashionable, and perfect, especially when I meet my friends.

This reply indicates that the rules that shape the attitudes of younger people to foreign brand names and their LOR are similar in different cultural contexts. P/22 refers to the word ‘foreign’ as a synonym for ‘excellent’ – something worth following and striving for. This sense of foreignness appears to be the result of keeping the original English name, rather than making any change to *GAP*. This further gives a hint that the establishment of businesses with global clothing brand names demonstrate young’s acceptance of exotic and foreign names in the LL, where they intend to look different and dress up in an elegant and attractive manner. Being foreign and different is also linked to the respondents’ engagement in modernity and the status appeals of products. With this in mind, younger people aspire to look different and to associate themselves with more progressive and open cultures. To this respondent, *GAP*, written in English, is a symbol of foreignness and attraction, which is not available to everyone, thus possessing clothes from such a store makes the respondent look special due to two implicit points. First, the positive image of foreign goods is illustrated here, and second, the motives of P/22 are stated as having a fashionable appearance with the aim of impressing other young people. In addition, the second trend shows that the younger generation associates a certain degree of ‘coolness’ with using numerous English words in their speech, and regard them stylish, as exemplified by P/ 8, a 26-year-old male:

English is the common language of most brands such as *GAP* and *Western Union*. [...] so, people get used to seeing it in the public on shops, windows, and billboards. I think

many people like to use the English names of brands as long as it is viewed in the public space, since they find it easy, prestigious, and different from Arabic.

The issue of prestige related to the foreign language – in this case English – is highlighted here. English is viewed as an integral part of the LL of Aqaba, which is why it is so noticeable in the context of the Arabic language. For P/8, English is a linguistic symbol of prestige, and to use English words, brand names in particular, means showing superiority over others. The excerpt above shows how important English is in moulding the LL of Aqaba, where most people use English words in their daily lives for prestige and status reasons. These symbolic meanings and associations have a greater impact on the younger respondents in comparison with older respondents' view of English words, where our data suggests that it is more likely to have an adverse effect. Third, the respondents' prestige is associated with meanings of attraction, attention, and self-esteem; this is demonstrated in the response of P/1, a 19-year-old female:

I think the *Starbucks* sign is widely seen in the cities of Jordan. It makes me think of English as the foreign language of the brand [...], though Arabic is written, too. For me, it is written in English to attract the attention of many local people to come to the café and have a new coffee, which may be made in a different way from local coffee [...]. I do believe that the English word adds a kind of beauty and decoration to the café doors, and it is also part of our daily talk [...]. I feel like these English words are for people with high class.

As in the previous response, here the symbolism of English as an attribute of prestige and wealth, including access to foreign goods, is articulated. For younger respondents, the outer signs of prestige play an important role, and they use every opportunity to look cool, prestigious, and foreign. This role is partially ascribed to the display of English in the brand name, representing a sense of attractiveness and beauty, and also to the meaning that the brand

has. *Starbucks* is a chain of cafés where younger people can experience the lifestyle of a foreign culture, which is especially important in the context of Islamic society. Furthermore, free communication between males and females is not approved of in Jordan, and *Starbucks*, as a Western establishment, offers its visitors an imitation of the Western social norms. For young respondents, having coffee in *Starbucks* endorses special connotations and meanings in contemporary Jordan. It often denotes prestige, and has additional connotations of modernity, open-mindedness, internationalism, and a Western lifestyle. Fourth, the respondents' meaning of prestige is related to the global and lingua franca concept of English. They often see it as easier and more understandable than other foreign languages, as expressed by P/14, a 24-year-old male:

Samsung is a Korean electronics company, the name of which is written in English to be readable in the cities of Jordan. Being able to read and understand the brand name makes me more attached to this prestigious phone in the society [...] I do not think the Korean language would be helpful in memorising the name of this brand. For me, English gives more chance to recognise the alphabets of this product than Korean.

The prestige of English brands in this case has a similar position to that within Seargeant's international appeal of the English language, where young respondents refer to modernity and prestige in relation to internationalism. Seargeant (2009) illustrates two approaches to English in his work. On an international level, English has become a convenient tool of communication and has split into numerous local versions of the language – so-called 'World Englishes'. For P/14, English, as the language of *Samsung*, is considered as a major means for memorising the Korean name, which is perceived as less global and understandable without English. On a local level, a simplified language is easier to learn, and the number of its speakers grows steadily. In addition, the role of English is seen as a symbol with numerous positive connotations; the language ideology existing in Aqaba considers learning English, or

at least using its words, as a sign of prestige and success. In parallel, the attitudes and beliefs about the language of *Panasonic* highlight the advantages of using English in understanding the brand's linguistic form rather than Japanese. In addition to the key role of age here, the educational factor has also influenced the respondents' viewpoints in considering the language of *Samsung* as a place for accepting the English word in the LL, rather than any other foreign languages. This implies that the respondents' higher educational levels make them well aware of whether the brand's language was originally English. From the data collected, it can be seen that most respondents consider brand names to be written in English, due to the official policy of teaching English as a foreign language in the country, leading the viewers to treat any foreign words they are confronted with in the LL to be related to English. The capability for recognising the Roman script of brands mostly exists among people with undergraduate and graduate degrees, where these academic qualifications provide them with the opportunity to be educated and be more aware of the linguistic appearance of signs. For example, the responses of participants mention that the word *Panasonic* was not originally English, but instead came from another language and has been written in English. This is articulated by P/5, a 23-year-old male:

The [*Panasonic*] sign makes me think of a Japanese electrical appliance, as this country specialises in making industrial items [...] though I think the name does not originally come from England, it is written in that country's language to be easier for viewers to pronounce and understand. I also feel such kinds of languages are used as they are more modern than the language of Japan itself.

According to this quotation, *Panasonic* is perceived as a Japanese word and its LOR is seen as English. P/5 seems to be tempted to consider this sign as English, but, at the same time, realises that this brand does not have a link with England. He suggests that English is better for this product than Japanese, implying that the use of English has a localised symbolic value that

draws upon its implications as a global language. Therefore, the dominant use of English brand names as part of other signs in Aqaba's LL can not only be realised to index multilingualism for symbolic purposes, but also perceived explicitly for local communicative ones. In the same respect, the respondent considers modernity as a trustworthy motive for presenting *Panasonic* in English rather than Japanese. He suggests that the sense of modernity does not come from the Japanese language; rather, it comes from the fact that English is a Western language, and the West is thought to embody the concept of modernity. This signifies how English is used as a more comprehensible and readable language than Japanese in the Jordanian LL, where it is not the first spoken language, and it would also be targeted towards local people who do not read Japanese. Relying on this, English enjoys a privileged position when it comes to addressing a multilingual readership, including Arabs and non-Arabs in the LL of Aqaba, thus becoming the *de facto* lingua franca. Nevertheless, building upon the concept of banal globalisation mentioned above, P/5 invokes this notion for understanding brand language as being rooted in everyday communicative actions and practices. The young respondents, it seems, attach their own cultural concepts of prestige whenever they perceive brand names to be written in English. In such cases, they do not provide an accurate answer as to whether the language of brands is English, but they confirm that the way of writing suggests meanings of prestige and modernity, as illustrated by P/11, a 27-year-old female:

I often buy many products with the *L'Oréal* brand such as perfumes and creams. This sign is widely used in the cities of Jordan, which for me suggests fashion, beauty, and prestige [...]. I really have no specific idea about the language used here, but the first guess I would make is English [...], although I am sure the presence of diacritical marks indicates to another language.

In this quotation, the general image of the visibility of English words in Aqaba's LL is established within the concept of banal globalisation. P/11 lacks the sufficient linguistic

knowledge to say whether the brand language is English, but she has a clear image in her mind that *L'Oréal* points to meanings of prestige and modernity. Having perceived the brand in this way, the demonstration of the sign in such a playful and seemingly innocuous text incorporates a typical representation of banal globalisation (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010). Interestingly, despite her uncertainty about the language of *L'Oréal*, P/11 refers to the writing of diacritical marks as referents of another language that is less likely to be English. This language has been made clear according to another female's view of the brand, where P/18 considers the presence of diacritical marks as being associated with French: '*L'Oréal* is a kind of French cosmetics [...]. What makes me think about this language is the presence of diacritical marks and the name of this brand is *L'Oréal* Paris.' This linguistic assessment offered by both respondents (P/11 and P/18), as well as many other females, is reinforced by Seargeant (2012), who argues that the existence of the diacritics on similar brands, such as '*Lancôme*', '*Diagnô*s', and '*Biômetric*', make such signs more accessible to speakers of both English and French. However, the Jordanian females' awareness of the brand's language being French is more likely related to their engagements with products of beauty and elegance. These common social norms and customs motivate females to be more aware about which country has better cosmetic or beauty products in comparison with others. For international beauty products, French brands particularly are still preferred by individuals as being high quality with a great reputation. This relationship is confirmed in another study, in which Dutch respondents are found to associate the French language with beauty and elegance (Hornikx, Meurs, and Starren, 2007). The study not only refers to the individuals' associations with France's beauty products, but it also implicates the close social connection between the concepts of beauty and elegance, and females, due to their interest in such issues in comparison to males. In this quotation, the connections that P/11 has made between France and beauty products has been termed the 'cultural competence' of another country to which the advertising of brands is

likely to appeal (Kelly-Holmes, 2000: 71), where there is a common social image of what kind of products a country such as France is permitted to advertise.

In light of the prestigious connotations of brand names, it could be said that many important facets of English, and its role in Jordan, are indeed constructed; more importantly, the issue relates to the youth of the respondents and the change in their views that has occurred in recent years. This finding includes the symbolic meanings of brands in relation to the age of the respondents – positive attitudes towards English are established in the responses of the younger category. Specifically, a growing number of younger respondents report positive attitudes towards English as a lingua franca, and explain that it triggers different symbolic meanings relating to the prestige of English, including modernity, fashion, style, and attraction. These social meanings have been partially discussed by Piller (2000) through German bilingual advertising, where the young respondents manifest different social dimensions of English in connection with internationalism, futurity, success, sophistication, and aspects of fun.

Here, the main finding is that young people tend to think of the language of brand names in ways that differ from those views expressed by older respondents. Thus, among the views of the younger generation, positive attitudes towards English as a LOR prevail, in opposition to the opinions of older respondents, to which I return below. From a psychological perspective, I argue that certain social conditions may help to explain their similar viewpoints and attitudes; the younger generation is more open to new trends and changes, whether in culture, language, or behavioural patterns, and they absorb both the imposed or existing patterns with fewer efforts and internal resistance than may be observed in older people (Jackson, 2004; Kasanga, 2012).

Further to this, when I examine the results regarding the prestige connotations of English within brand names, it is necessary to make a significant reference to Aqaba's economic situation. As discussed in Chapter Three, Aqaba has witnessed a variety of economic conditions, manifested in the construction of different projects such as Marsa Zayed, Tala Bay, the Ayla oasis, and Saraya Aqaba, which has led to the imports of the products of various international corporations. The linguistic and semiotic analyses of the language of signs in Aqaba's LL have shown that brand names make up a significant proportion (25%) among the collected signs, allowing most viewers of the LL to understand and interpret the social concepts of the languages displayed.

Despite the fact that I code the brand names as Roman scripts, based on the typology introduced in Chapter Four, the current sub-group of respondents view such writings as English. Essentially, the meanings of English mobility, with reference to brand names as having international linguistic form, have allowed the young category to generate social ideologies associated with the concept of prestige (Ustinova, 2009). The common use of *GAP*, *Coca-Cola*, and *McDonald's*, amongst others, on the part of the young respondents demonstrates how the new economic conditions that are embodied in the global language of brand names not only contribute to the regular cultural practices of English in the local society, but also develop new concepts about English as a mobilising language of commodification and products (Heller, 2010).

6.3 Prestige of the USA

The symbolic associations of the language of brand names not only include the positive meanings of the English language, but also go further to embrace the social conceptions of the COR. What brings the responses together here is the social understanding of the brand names' languages in terms of the COR. Having grouped all the responses regarding the different

concepts of brand names in hand, nearly 18% convey symbolic connotations and meanings in association with the prestige of the US. For providing a specific image of this kind of belief, the socio-economic backgrounds of respondents stating these views are examined, and I find that the majority are between 18 and 39 years old, which gives a clear indication of youth being a common factor among this sub-group of respondents.

For the purpose of discussing the responses in a more organised manner, the responses on the issue are segmented into different sub-topics, typically linked to the appreciation and prestige of US culture. First, globalisation itself is closely related to the spread of the influence of the US around the world (Mennell, 2009). According to Pieterse (2008, 2009), the US drove globalisation from approximately 1945 to 2000, when it was synonymous with Americanisation and Westernisation. The US started promoting its goods all around the globe after World War II, where its economic power and efficient business model allowed it to conquer local markets in many countries, while the advent of manufactured goods was accompanied by the flows of music, mass media, literature, and films (Brown, 2013). This influence is visible today from China to Germany, and further to the Middle East (Cox, 2001). Another reason for the US's cultural success is the efficiency of the country's mass media resources, wherein the film and music industries have made successful productions, the outcomes of which have made it possible to cater for different tastes while exporting to other countries (Jin, 2006; Crane, 2013). Hollywood, as a relevant example, is realised today as a synonym for cinematography, from which numerous smaller studios have started to demonstrate the US ideology implicated in the global film (Su, 2011: 186). As discussed by Dai (1995), 'Hollywood is the product of the "US-made" DreamWorks. It is the carrier of the "American Dream" [...], which is nothing but the American way of life and American ideology' (Cited in Sue, 2011: 192). The spread of US values through advertising campaigns has thus made people absorb the related ideas intuitively, especially younger generations, who

are more open to external influence. The part that English plays is not only functional, but also has a social–psychological role in Jordan. When English emerges in the countries of the expanding circle, such as Jordan, US culture follows it through mass media, particularly advertising that crosses the national borders. In other words, the spread of English is followed by the infusion of the US culture in Jordanian society, particularly in the subculture of younger Jordanians. This group of Jordanians are the first generation brought up in the emerging free market system, where advertising has become their commonplace environment and ‘an effective and pervasive medium of influence and persuasion;[...] advertising helps to create a climate in which certain attitudes and values flourish and others are not reflected at all’ (Kilbourne, 1999: 67). This means that the cultural impact of brand advertising is enormous, especially when young people tend to be more susceptible to the effect of the messages of advertisements.

Furthermore, some common aspects are specifically linked to Jordanians’ appreciation of the US. First, many young people aspire to travel to the US in order to obtain their higher education degrees, or to get a job (Coffman, 1996). The US is distinguished by its economic power worldwide (Cox, 2001), and so Jordanians assume that it has an abundance of job opportunities, increasing its prestige and esteem in Jordan (Metz, 1991). In addition, the US has acquired the reputation of being a progressive, developed, and democratic country – an image it supports with a great deal of corresponding activities (Kasper, 1999), which draw younger Jordanians’ attention towards living a new, social, independent life. Relying on these aspects, the prestige image of English brands is typically constructed throughout the responses, particularly when the US is perceived as a COR. This group of responses makes clear-cut boundaries between the themes of both the ‘prestige of the English language’ and the ‘prestige of the US’. In the first place, the respondents are more engaged with English and how it indexes meanings of modernity, fashion, style, and Westernisation. Therefore, they often

attach English to every foreign sign in the LL, regardless of what COR the brand belongs to. In the current case, not only the English language but the whole image of the country and its culture is also mentioned as referents for shaping the opinions in question. Interestingly, the LORs of the perceived US brands have been decoded as English, which is due to the perceived connection between the COR (the US) and the LOR (English), as illustrated through *Levi's*, *Canon*, *McDonald's*, and *Starbucks*.

However, the ethnographic approaches lend themselves to both the coding process of the different categories of the theme (the prestige of the US) and the methods of discussing the findings in question. On the one hand, the different views regarding the prestige of the US are analysed in an objective way, where my role is to be an outsider to the cultural context of the interviews, with the aim of linking and interpreting such views in association with the language of brand names. On the other hand, I perform as an insider to the research, where I consider the omnipresent occurrence of US products and ideas in the Jordanian culture, particularly within television, films, fast food, lifestyle, popular literature, and music, to better understand the reasons for the younger generation's positive image of the US as a country of different brand names.

Further, being aware of the fact that the younger generation – whether in Jordan or any other country – aspire to try new foreign patterns allows a convenient path to understanding the findings at hand. This has been reinforced by the influences of the global drives on the context in Jordan, directing younger Jordanians' attention to thinking about the US when viewing a brand in the LL. Being an insider to the research process here leads me to consider the poor economic situation in Jordan, which results in young people looking at the US not only as having a prestigious image in their minds, but also as being a powerful economic country, which, in many ways, is an aspirational place with more chances of working or studying. All

these cultural interpretations came to my mind at the time of discussing the US as a prestigious country for many brand names in the eyes of the Jordanian younger generation.

Essentially, for younger respondents, the US as a COR encompasses symbolic meanings such as superiority and modernity amongst other cultural aspects appreciated by young people all around the world. For example, in their responses to *Levi's*, younger interviewees have overall shown admiration of the US, as evidenced by the response of P/21, a 26-year-old male:

This sign reminds me of American Westerns and so I am sure the language of the brand name is English [...] it is an American product, because I used to see the stars in cowboy films wearing jeans. In addition, this type of clothing makes me feel that I dress like the people of the US, a country which I hope to travel to one day.

In this extract, the prestige of the US is taken as typical for young people around the world, and the example of Aqaba only supports this overall belief in the supremacy of this country that produces its own distinct brands such as *Levi's*, relying on the ideal image created by its media and illustrated in the cowboy films (Kasper, 1999). In addition, many cultural phenomena, which are today taken for granted in different countries, were initially developed and made popular in the US, such as films or pop music. The ideology and values promoted by the US are initially rooted in these products and, as a result, they have been easily absorbed by the viewers of Aqaba's context (Lui and Stack, 2009; Brown, 2013). In this case, it is noticeable how young people in Aqaba perceive US jeans, food, drinks, and cars as prestigious and fashionable. The above-mentioned response concerning *Levi's* relates jeans as clothing to the ideas manifested in the US films. 'Cowboys' are mainly recognised as a notion in association with Westerns, whereby these legendary people are represented as carriers of strength, skills, masculinity, and freedom – these qualities are carefully maintained through films and advertisements (Joseph, 2013). This is also identified through the fact that blue jeans

and Marlboro cigarettes are representative standpoints of US consumer culture, to be recognised worldwide (Robertson, 1997). As such, when young people see the English-language brand sign and relate it to jeans, they perceive these blue canvas trousers not as a simple piece of clothing, but as a symbol of a great power, of foreign US culture, which is perceived to be better than the local one. This point of view is clear in the response of P/37, a 30-year-old female:

The [*Levi's*] sign, in my point of view, is visible not only in Jordan, but in many world cities. For me, it is written in English to refer to the global status of the US [...] I think the US has got powerful and modern traits, giving it the ability to make such branded clothing around the world [...]. The clothing products of *Levi's* are not my type of dressing, but if they looked modern and different, I would wear them [...] since they often remind me of American Westerns.

In the opinion of this respondent, the products and language of the brand symbolise the country and its values. This metonymic link between a part and the whole leads to appreciating the goods that belong to a prestigious and globally recognised country. The extensive presence of the US in the global arena, and the power it has in political, economic, and cultural senses, make it a regular object for imitation and admiration, thus the above viewpoint reflects the global trend. In a similar manner to *Levi's*, a high interest in *GAP* clothes demonstrates the admiration for US culture present in the views and beliefs of young people, as illustrated by P/36, a 19-year-old female:

GAP is branded clothing which includes jeans, blouses, T-shirts, etc. For me, the name of the company is written in English and so I believe that it reminds me of the US as the first manufacturer of such clothing [...] I also knew this from the way of designing the dresses, which is similar to Americans' style of dressing. I like *GAP's* clothes as I like

the American ways of living, even their ways of dressing [...]. When I dress like Americans, I feel I am living their life.

This excerpt demonstrates that proponents of US culture are relatively young. They are essentially teenagers, whose cultural concepts stand for relatively positive ideas: modernity, new technologies, progress, freedom of ideas, and greater tolerance towards others. To P/36, *GAP* is undoubtedly American, and English is perceived as the LOR of the brand. The respondent here demonstrates her knowledge of US dressing, showing that she appreciates this style as fashionable and prestigious. Specifically, younger respondents, who often direct their views toward the West – as progress and technical advancements often come from that direction – perceive the brands of clothes very positively as symbols of modernity and freedom. For younger respondents, everything connected to the US culture and its outer signs (fashion, hairstyle, or footwear) is coloured with positive connotations, and English, as an integral part of that culture, is also perceived positively. Moreover, in the above case, the US as a COR is a primary concept of the brand name and English is secondary in its importance. Instead of looking at English as a global language (*lingua franca*), the current category of responses identifies English as a sign of American style and culture, hence advocating its positive image in the LL of Aqaba. Accordingly, English, through such an implied metonymy, symbolises the whole culture, and in the LL of Aqaba it is positively accepted by younger viewers if illustrated in brand names. Similarly, other young respondents refer to the economic and military power of the US as a prestigious COR, as mentioned by P/32, a 29-year-old female:

I think the *Canon* sign is associated with the US [...] I am sure this country is a technical and developed country to the extent that it can manufacture such a type of high-quality camera [...] I trust the electrical appliances which are first advertised in the US. When I use this camera, I feel like I replicate the power of the US.

In agreement with the previous response, this young female recognises the power and influence of the US; yet, in this case, she refers to the economic and technological progress visible in the US. The slow but steady penetration of US goods into the local market increases its popularity and fondness among members of the local community. In essence, this admiration is transferred to everything connected to the US – from cameras and jeans to the language of the brand. Moreover, the ownership of prestigious goods, such as *Canon*, gives the feeling of superiority and power to the owner, and this also makes P/32 look and feel impressive among friends. From a psychological point of view, the possession of the brand product may generate a greater involvement and feelings of loyalty among the owners in question, a phenomenon that has been labelled the ‘mere ownership effect’ (Beggan, 1992: 229). Psychologists also find that possessions become part of the self-concept, a form of self-expression, and, therefore, a means of maintaining a positive self-image (Belk, 1988; Schulz, Robert, and Chris, 1995). Thus, the brand products that belong to certain individuals create greater involvement, particularly when they relate to a powerful and prestigious country such as the US, according to the respondents’ beliefs.

In this respect, the data suggests that the majority of respondents here, whether females or males, attain lower levels of education (primary and secondary schools), leading them to connect any foreign brands with the US, believing that such a country is positioned at the top of manufacturing products across the world. This segment of respondents seems to rely on the global reputation of the US in the domains of industry, services, and engineering through the media. In addition, this common image of the US can be transferred to less educated people through their social interactions with other people of the same education level in the community, creating a fixed, common perception in their minds about the new products emerging in the market being associated with the US. With this in mind, the idea of prestige is linked to the meanings of development, speed, and progress, which are perceived to be

attached to the US as a COR for DHL, as illustrated by the viewpoint of P/40, a 22-year-old male:

I think it is an American company for transferring the goods and parcels fast and the language is English. For me, the US is capable of doing these tasks quickly. This developed country is characterised by technology and great economic growth, and it is more likely to do such a business. I also think the three English letters are the beginning of three names of the company owners.

The US is viewed here by P/40 as a land of industrious people, who are able to establish the *DHL* company and provide top-class services and technically superb and accurate facilities, which are highly appreciated in both Islamic and non-Islamic societies. This common symbolic connotation displays a very tolerant attitude towards both the COR and the brand's LOR. In this case, the national stereotypes of a business-obsessed and industrious land, suitable for starting such an enterprise, seem to be stored in the mind of this less educated respondent (primary-school level), allowing him to arrive at such a conclusion. Another important issue is the stereotypes of the globally-used English. Although not mentioned explicitly, English is defined as the LOR of the US. English could prove to be a carrier of the positive meanings of economic development, progress, and the high speeds of mail/parcel delivery by a potentially American company. In addition to the economic power and progress as symbolic meanings of the US-perceived brand names, the current group of responses and views include some emblematic social values related to US culture (particularly in brands such as *McDonald's* and *Starbucks*), such as this view expressed by P/8, a 26-year-old male, relating to personal freedom and independence:

McDonald's reminds me of the US rather than any other country, and the language is English. This sign is common in modern parts of the city, where more people gather, and

sometimes in motorway service stations and restaurants outside the city centre. I really like this restaurant as I always go with my friends to eat [...] I feel I live the US way of eating [...] I like that very much, particularly the fast food; it is like I am eating in a US restaurant.

This quotation reveals significant symbolic perspectives about life in the US. Eating in a fast-food restaurant not only demonstrates progress and freedom as perceived social features of US life, it also expresses the respondent's aspirations and desires to live the country's culture. This group of responses signifies a new way of thinking towards a more liberal and open society, and admiration for *McDonald's* may be a sign of this important shift. Here, the age of P/8 further supports the existence of symbolic liberty and freedom, especially among the younger individuals, who may share collective sets of values, customs, and knowledge. Thus, the more liberal culture of the US, manifested through the brand name, appeals to younger people because of its sense of freedom and independence. To the younger people, *McDonald's* is a place to feel more comfortable and relaxed, and if the sign is considered an attribute of the US, then the country as a whole is also perceived in a positive light for possessing more liberal values. Under this umbrella, the process of brand conceptualisation goes in two directions: from a brand to the country and from the country to a brand. First, the present group of responses deem some brand signs, including *Coca-Cola*, *GAP*, *Starbucks*, and *McDonald's*, as starting points for establishing positive conceptualisations about the country. *McDonald's* and *Starbucks* are illustrative examples of the cultural transfer from the positive conceptualisation of the restaurant and café to the US as the country of the brands. The respondents holding this particular group of beliefs feel more loyal to and engaged with US social norms and customs when eating or drinking coffee outside their homes. The process of conceptualisation can also move from the country of the brand to the brand itself. For instance, there is a significant number of viewpoints regarding the correlation between *Toshiba's* quality and originality on

the one hand and Japan's great industrial reputation on the other hand. The notions of electricity and industry, reputed as attached cultural labels to Japan, are moved from the country to the branded product, *Toshiba*.

The idea of the superiority/inferiority of cultures is very subjective, but the omnipresent occurrence of US products and ideas in the Jordanian market indicates the influence they have on people's viewpoints and beliefs. The same principle is related to *McDonald's* and *Coca-Cola*, where the notions of fast food and beverages are seen as exclusively US inventions. These signs carry purely American approaches to life – fast, efficient, standardised, and available everywhere (Mennell, 2009). *Coca-Cola* is one of the most widely exported concepts around the world, and its presence in almost all countries underlines the extent of the brand's popularity (Al-Taamish, 1999; Hijazy, 1999). Equally similar, *McDonald's* manages to control various markets of Jordan because it conveys the idea of the US and not necessarily because of the quality of its cuisine. To fit local markets, *McDonald's* adapts to certain cultural requirements, such as refusing to use beef in India; yet the name and the COR of this brand make it popular in every locality (Vignali, 2001; Craig, et al., 2009). In the Jordanian context, *McDonald's* restaurants adapt to the cultural and religious principles. Whilst the global menu of *McDonald's* contains meals such as hot dogs and pork, in Jordan it contains those types of food that people are used to eating in the local restaurants, as well as food that does not violate the rules of Islam, including fried chicken, salad, beef, and fish. Furthermore, *McDonald's* signs in Aqaba's LL include an English slogan stating that they serve *Halal* beef, thus the restaurants are able to receive more Jordanians, who would probably normally be less certain about the food served in such places. Elsewhere, *McDonald's* restaurants are unpopular in some other Jordanian cities, including Ma'an and Tafila, due to people having less motivation to have fast-food and to their tendencies to visit local Arab restaurants. Other reasons relate to the small proportion of the population living there.

To conclude this section, younger people in Aqaba appreciate both English as the LOR and the US as the COR of brand names. Having investigated responses towards *GAP*, *Levi's*, *Coca-Cola*, and *McDonald's*, the majority of views expressed by young people associate the brands with English as a defining attribute of the US, and therefore the language as a symbol of a country that is perceived with more approval and support. As discussed in Chapter Two, these feelings and attitudes, which are connected to the perceived social life of the US, embody the cosmopolitan notion regarding branded products. Here, the cultural trends for wearing clothes or eating in a restaurant perceived to be in a high-status country, such as the US, not only make up the young people's prestigious identities, but also represent their tendency to consider the unique acts and deeds as essential aspects of the cosmopolitan individual (Hannerz, 2006; Beck, 2003).

Younger people essentially view the COR from a positive perspective, due to their potential openness to other cultures and their beliefs that the world is becoming more interconnected and fused. This category of people possibly follows the stereotypes imposed by media – in this case, the US media – and they make choices as prompted by advertisements and not by their own decisions. American products are thus realised as modern and prestigious, and owning them or eating in American restaurants become symbols of status.

6.4 Islamic and Anti-Islamic Associations in Brands

The religious opposition between Western and Eastern cultures has been examined extensively in terms of the negative social meanings of foreign products (Postlewaite, 2001; Nakos and Hajidimitriou, 2007; Al-Agha, 2006; Knudsen, Aggarwal, and Maamoum, 2008; Al-Ganideh, 2008; Bahae and Pisani, 2009). These studies, amongst others, illustrate numerous examples of the incongruous transposition of brand names into new linguistic environments, where differing social drawbacks arise afterwards. For instance, the very idea of consuming foreign

food is strange to many local societies, which value their traditions and protect them in a rapidly changing world (Albayrak and Gunes, 2010). Jordanians have a long history of national cuisine based on Islamic prescriptions and particularities of local agriculture; the rituals of cooking and meal-serving are almost sacred (Shoup, 2007). From this arises another issue of religious sensitivity, namely *Halal* acceptance (Bonne and Verbeke, 2007; Ahmad, 2008), where Arabs make use of Muslim butchers with similar moral and religious obligations. This issue is significant not just for *Halal* meat, but for food in general. For this reason, in Western countries, food items are usually provided with labels to indicate whether the product is lawful for Muslims' consumption (Riaz and Chaudry, 2004).

For this Thesis, the cultural acceptance of foreign products and food exhibits divergent differences between the older and younger respondents. Whilst older respondents assess the LOR and COR of the brand from religious and political viewpoints, younger people take into account milestones for the cultural connotations of language, in which the factors of prestige, fashion, coolness, and preference of a foreign culture are starting points in their assessment. Older people often rely on the traditional norms of society and the prescriptions of Islam in their assessment, with the prestige of language playing a very modest role if at all (Shoup, 2007). This divergence is readily recognised in the responses related to *Levi's*, *Coca-Cola*, *Pepsi*, *Starbucks*, *Western Union*, and *McDonald's* as representing foreign concepts. For older respondents, these signs embody the opposition of the cultural norms and customs of an Islamic society in Jordan. Accordingly, attempts to impose the traditions of one culture over the social patterns of others are likely to fail, and this is observable in older respondents' reactions towards perceived US brands, as discussed below.

Having coded the different participants' views and beliefs, I find that 14% of all the responses examined, mostly provided by older people, include religious perspectives. For them, the frequent occurrence of *Levi's* in the LL is not acceptable because it exhibits a breach of the

norms of clothes style accepted for women in Jordan. Islam does not encourage women in Aqaba to wear extra slim clothes such as skirts or trousers, so as to avoid breaching public ethics, and selling clothing such as jeans suggests a rejection of the traditions and norms of politeness for the sake of a fashion imposed by foreign secular cultures. Hence, the presence of such images in the LL of Aqaba points to their influence on the young intellect, and the worries of older respondents about a change in cultural attitudes and less attention being paid to the rules of dressing in traditional clothes. This is reported by P/25, a 62-year-old female:

I feel the *GAP* sign comes from the US and the language is English. I do not like it to be visible in the cities of Jordan as it attracts new generations to follow the ideas and thoughts of the US [...] I heard it sells a lot of clothes which do not go with our religion rules of clothing. I hope the girls do not buy clothes like jeans from this store.

This implied threat to social norms and the imposition of a foreign culture that carries notions and customs unacceptable in Jordanian society leads to the rejection of the US as a COR, and of English as an LOR, since they carry unacceptable connotations and meanings. In essence, Jordanian society is greatly associated with Islamic norms and customs, and the perceived breaches of rules regarding traditional clothes may be seen by more religious and conservative members of the population as a kind of protest against Islam itself (Clark, 2008). P/25 is not happy with women who wear clothes such as skinny jeans outside their homes. Having recognised the cultural openness in the US, the respondent believes that wearing skinny jeans is a clear violation of the rules of Islamic calls upon women to cover all their body except the face and hands. In addition, in Jordan, social ethics and traditions require women's clothes to be loose enough so as not to show what they are covering.

Fundamentally, such a brand sign conveys a cultural conflict between the Islamic and Western rules of women's dress. *GAP* clothing may urge females to wear trousers in Jordan, which is

not religiously and socially encouraged in an Islamic country such as this, whilst the females in Western cultures are free to wear any kind of clothing in public. Thus, such attitudes towards English as the LOR and the US as the COR of *GAP* are very negative in the eyes of older citizens. Equally important, the Islamic and cultural views of the older people of Aqaba express other negative attitudes towards *GAP*; the reasons for this are diverse, one of which is illustrated by P/9, a 64-year-old male:

This sign reminds me of the US. It is very common in the streets of Jordanian cities. I think it is an American clothing company [...]. For me, the three letters of the sign mean ‘Gay and proud’ and so I am not really interested in such a product as its implications are not socially suitable.

This quotation demonstrates a clear negative attitude towards *GAP*, due to the misapprehension that the name is an acronym for ‘Gay and Proud’. The brand name is viewed adversely because the word is seen to indicate a meaning that cannot be explicitly used in an Islamic society, such as that in Aqaba. The assumed implications of *GAP* go against the cultural norms in Jordan, where a concept linked to sexuality is prohibited from being advertised in local brand signs. The issue of homosexuality and its related cultural implications is a very sensitive matter in Islamic societies. Islam strongly forbids homosexuality and sees it as being equal in its sinfulness to adultery. Therefore, cultural concepts of advertising products that may somehow relate to this religiously prohibited type of behaviour are mostly unacceptable in the cultural and religious framework of Aqaba. Relying on this, the use of English in the apparent abbreviation ‘*GAP*’ is perceived as a carrier of this concept that supports the unethical behaviour. In this case, respondents experience the influence of cognitive metonymy and the conceptualisation of Western countries (Kelly-Holmes, 2000: 79). The conceptualisation of the brand associations is generated because the whole culture and the inherent attributes of the US as a nation (such as the language) are seen as those that

encourage and promote open homosexuality. English is also perceived by P/9 as one of the manifestations of opposing American culture. The unacceptability of certain kinds of goods because of the COR and the negative feelings related to it is not a new phenomenon. Al-Agha (2006: 61) finds that the translation of the term ‘*hamburger*’ into Arabic in a Saudi Arabian context creates social opposition. The Arabic translation of the first syllable *ham-* indicates the preserved meat of a pig’s thigh, which is a banned meat in Islam. In Aqaba, the unacceptability of *GAP* to some respondents is explained through the potential presence of what is seen as an unwelcome homosexual subtext and its potential negative influence on the local culture.

The next trend in the responses of older people in Aqaba is the negative attitude towards *Coca-Cola*, for which the reasons again are diverse. First, there is the question of the COR of the beverage. Although *Coca-Cola* has subsidiaries in Jordan and runs bottling factories in the country, older respondents see this product as a US or Israeli drink, and so some attitudes towards it are negative. Israel, as a country in permanent conflict with Palestine, generates adverse attitudes among Islamic populations, thus the US, as a state supporting Israel, is also viewed as a non-friendly country, as demonstrated in the responses of P/16, a 50-year-old male:

When I view the *Coca-Cola* sign in the city, my thoughts and beliefs go straight to the US [...] and the language is of course English because it is mainly used in the US. I am not really interested in such a drink [...] this is because of the present American president’s actions in supporting Israel and giving it more military power in the Middle East [...] in case of any attack.

This quotation makes an obvious link between the English language, the US, and the negative attitudes towards Israel. P/16 believes that the letters of the word *Coca-Cola* are similar to English, particularly American English. The US, which is deemed to be the COR of *Coca-*

Cola, is also viewed as a political and military ally to Israel in the Middle East. For Jordanians, Israel is viewed as an enemy by many Arabs, due to its occupation of Palestine and some parts of Lebanon, as well as its negative image in the minds of Arabs. Such negative thoughts and attitudes towards Israel shift to the US as the COR for *Coca-Cola*, and the same feelings also thus move towards *Coca-Cola*. This group of responses makes it clear that the perceived Israeli brands in the Jordanian LL have been interpreted negatively. Therefore, the viewers of such a sign in the LL are more likely to refuse to buy products or clothing from such stores due to the political positions related to what the COR means to them. The viewers may further begin boycotting such stores, at least at such a time as when the perceived COR announces any political decision against Arabs in the Middle East. The call to boycott *Coca-Cola*, *Pepsi*, *Kentucky Fried Chicken*, and *Pizza Hut* in the Middle East was activated during the second Palestinian Intifada, in part due to the offence that people felt towards US foreign policy with regards to the Palestinian issue (Knudsen et al., 2008: 18). In a similar vein, Arabs rejected Proctor and Gamble's detergent brand *Ariel*, because it is perceived as being named in honour of Israel's Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon (Postlewaite, 2001:16). Furthermore, the brand name *Coca-Cola*, when written in its traditional brand font with curvy shapes, may be decoded in different ways by people who are literate in Arabic. The similarity of the written name of *Coca-Cola* to the Arabic spelling has given rise to a belief that this brand name carries a coded message – 'No Mecca, No Mohammad' – that is blasphemous to Muslims (Havewala, 2001). This idea seems to be persistent because it is generally related to Israel as a supposed COR of *Coca-Cola*, and so the combination of these two factors encourages more negative feelings towards this beverage.

Further still, the strong religious influence on the Jordanian culture leads people to think about the products displayed with regards to their violation of the Islamic rules. Taking into account the ethnographic premises and their impact on the discussion of the results, I here touch on the

fact that the religious aspects of the language of brand names shift my role from that of a researcher to that of a supporter in interpreting and understanding the different themes and views. Of course, being a Muslim plays a part in the analysis of the results, where practising religious duties helps in the identification and better understanding of those parts of the responses that go against Islam, as in the sensitivity of some of the implicit meanings of brands such as *Gap* or *Coca-Cola*, mentioned above, where a close relationship is made between beliefs about these products and the commands of Islam. The occurrence of such views is not a new concept, as they are part of the Islamic society in which I live, and I notice these ways of thinking. Despite this connection to the Islamic views, I did my best to be as objective as possible when handling the data from the interviews, where the purpose was interpreting and understanding the views within the boundaries of the brand names' associations.

Indeed, these associations and perspectives find that the views and attitudes of the majority of older people regard *McDonald's* and *Starbucks* to be unwelcome brands in the LL of Aqaba, for both linguistic and cultural reasons. These reasons are closely intertwined, where cultural, religious, and linguistic predispositions are immediately taken into account while assessing the LOR of a brand. As the numerous responses show, this cognitive phenomenon is typical for older generations of Aqaba's people. To them, *McDonald's* and *Starbucks* are related to several notions that are important for traditional Islamic society, and which are challenged through the presence of these signs. *McDonald's* is not only a fast food restaurant that serves standardised food cooked to US recipes, but it also imposes new rules of consumption and promotes the idea of common meals eaten together by teenagers of both genders (Ritzer, 2008). More specifically, *Starbucks* is perceived in Aqaba with mixed feelings. Older respondents dislike the brand name as it represents elements of US culture that are unacceptable to the traditional patterns of Jordan. For instance, close and what is seen as over-

free communication between male and female companions in a café is not socially and religiously acceptable in Jordan; P/29, a 45-year-old female, illustrates this point of view:

This sign exists in every part of the world. It really makes me think of the US. I do not like it as I do not want to imitate the American foreign culture [...]. I am sure it is a very open society [...] unlike ours, which is conservative. What I know about this American café is that both girls and boys can meet each other freely. These foreign beliefs and principles are different from the ones in the Jordanian society.

Through a chain of associations, the brand comes to stand for the unwanted elements of the representative culture, and so the attitudes towards it are disapproving. Despite these beliefs about English as the LOR of the brand, it is not the language that helps to determine the COR of the brand; rather, English is thought to be simply the LOR of this American sign. It is worth noting that, again, the negative implications about *McDonald's* are based on the overall concept of the perceived country, and perhaps partially the very idea of a café where people of different genders can mix and communicate. As stated earlier in Chapter Three, in Islamic communities, the close communication between people of opposing genders, as friends, should not happen except in certain social conditions, such as education, work, or public activities. As such, P/29 suggests that such a café is intended to spread liberal Western traditions, which contradict the existing social and religious norms, and may cause people to reject their own culture in favour of the foreign one.

McDonald's, as a symbol of globalisation and the glamorised culture of the US, attracts younger people and influences their opinions about traditional food and rituals. *McDonald's* is further seen as a meeting venue for friends, and its very spirit encourages young people to behave with a greater degree of freedom in mixed-gender interactions. This type of leisure is strongly disapproved of because it contradicts Islamic cultural patterns, and so, for older

respondents, the *McDonald's* sign stands as a symbol for the potential breaching of the traditional norms of behaviour, attaining negative connotations in Aqaba's LL.

As such, older people have shaped their opposing attitudes towards *Coca-Cola*, *McDonald's*, and *GAP* on the basis of the rules of Islam. Because of the strong role that Islam plays in the daily life of Aqaba's people, older respondents – who have strong convictions shaped through life experience– pay primary attention to the possible positive/negative relations the brand may have with Islam and its norms. Thus, if there exists a belief or a strong suspicion that the brand defies certain religious rules or prescriptions, then attitudes towards these brands will be negative, and this negative attitude will be immediately transferred onto the LOR of the brand.

Despite the fact that age is demonstrated as the identifying factor shaping the current responses here, with participants being older than those who are concerned about the prestige of English and the US, a closer look at the different social backgrounds shows that the high educational levels help the participants to think beyond the language of brand names and consider the religious and cultural associations of the names. For example, *Western Union* is not only perceived purely as the symbol of the financial power of the West, but also seen in a reserved and rather cautious manner. In this regard, the educated older respondents view the brand names negatively because it embodies the power of the West over the East. The intervention of the financial giant into the comparatively small market of Aqaba is rejected through different subtle practices. First, through the use of English in the brand name, *Western Union* is associated with both Europe and the US as the CORs. Given the associations between *Western Union* and the US, political considerations come into play, as the US has long been assessed from the point of view of its support for Israel and the invasion of Iraq, as exemplified by the standpoint of P/2, a 54-year-old male:

This company [*Western Union*] represents the US as the source country, where many financial transactions are made to and from the US to other countries [...] I do not like to see such a sign as it reminds me of the US's negative positions against Arab countries, in particular Palestine and Iraq.

Here, *Western Union* is perceived by P/2 with a certain amount of hostility because of the connotations of its supposed COR. In this context, the notion of anti-Americanism is influential and observable in attitudes towards other brands, such as *Coca-Cola*, *McDonald's*, *Starbucks*, and *GAP*. Yet, different meanings of *Western Union* come into play when it is assigned to Europe, as made clear by P/16, a 50-year-old male:

I think it is a European company for commerce and trade [...] the written language of the sign is English. This name is probably linked to Western countries like the UK, Spain, and Germany. The word 'Western' seems to establish a kind of conflict between the West and the East [...] I think it refers to some social uniqueness to people living in the West [...] I do not like that idea.

This image of the West, as articulated by P/16, is negatively perceived in the Arabic context, and so the name '*Western Union*' can be seen as offensive from the point of view of Arabs. Despite the viewpoints regarding the Westernisation of the company's name and its supposedly superior relationship with the Arabic language and world (as many Arabs see it), it is neither devised with that purpose nor is it intentionally introduced when the brand name is created in its country of origin. However, the issue of the negative perception of the word 'Western' is related not to a particular country and its contribution to the causes of war and peace in the Middle East, but to the very concept that the Western world is somehow superior in its prestige and position. Regardless of the reasons that led the founders of the company to give their business entity such a name, the label of *Western Union* results in challenging

attitudes towards it in the LL of Aqaba. Due to the implied connotations of hierarchy and the apparently subjugated position of the East in relation to the West, this sub-group of respondents thus hold negative attitudes towards the service and would prefer not to use it.

Quite a contrary effect is visible in the brand name of *Sajeda* and its connotations (see Figure 6.2). *Sajeda* is represented by Roman letters and perceived by many as English. Although English is perceived negatively in the responses to many of the aforementioned brands of clothing, such as *GAP* and *Levi's*, because it stood for negative cultural concepts, it is perceived as positive in this case. The brand name presented in English is supported by its translation (or rather, the original version in Arabic), yet in this case very few respondents state that the use of English is not acceptable for this particular brand name. The English form of the word incorporates the visual image of a woman dressed in a *Hijab*, which imitates the letter 'S', thereby the replies often involve the respondents' satisfaction with the clear understanding of the brand's meaning.



Figure: 6.2 – Sajeda Sign

Of particular significance in the observations flowing from the responses in regard to this brand is that the English language, which is otherwise generally met with animosity by the older audience, is here welcomed as an international language that helps to promote traditional clothes and the 'proper' way of thinking and behaving prescribed to women in other regions of

the world. English, in this case, is seen not as a language pertaining to the US or to Israel, but simply as a means of successful advertising and an additional benefit for the usefulness of the brand, which deserves to be promoted. In this example, Islam, as the religion of Jordan, is prevailing among the factors influencing the linguistic attitudes of the respondents, and every aspect of the brand – the goods it stands for and the meaning of the word – is assessed from the point of view of Islam and its norms. It is one of the few cases when English, which is typically perceived with restraint or carries negative connotations, is welcomed by all in the LL of Aqaba. This becomes possible because one of the prevailing factors in the social and cultural life of Aqaba – Islam – manifests itself in the English language, and the folk concepts about English as a negative language are immediately transformed into a positive view. This transition becomes possible because the present judgments rely not on objective reality but on a subjective image and, with the change in the point of referent, the views immediately change, too. There are different factors that fully support this principle of public opinion-shaping. First, among the reasons that explain why *Sajeda* is seen as a positive brand is the authentic meaning of the word, as illustrated by P/7, a 29-year-old male: ‘It is a Jordanian company [...] since the name, which is common among girls, conveys the meanings of submission and worshipping the God. I like it because it aims to make women follow the rules and instructions of Islam.’ More importantly, the respondents refer to the use of English (or Roman script) in the Arabic sign (*Sajeda*) for promoting the traditional female clothes in foreign countries; this viewpoint is articulated by P/20, a 42-year-old female:

It is a good product for manufacturing Islamic clothes. I am sure it is a Jordanian company and the language is Arabic so that Jordanians recognise the name [...] English is used to help spread the way of clothing to other foreign countries, where Arabic is not used.

Transliterating the Arabic brand into English (or Roman) allows it to become phonologically accessible to foreign viewers. The brand name *Sajeda* is transcribed letter by letter so that each Arabic letter has a letter in the corresponding Roman script. It is not a translation of content but of form. This strategy is probably used to make less well-known brands more culturally recognised. The respondents stating this particular set of beliefs think that the targeted foreign viewers will not only be able to see the logo, but also read and decode it. With this in mind, respondents seem to believe that the *Hijab* concept for women can be transmitted to other foreign cultures via the use of the nearest similar pronunciation to that of the Arabic language in Roman script or English. Accordingly, English, in this brand name, attains a very positive meaning, which is typical for this particular group of views (this sub-group of responses constitutes 14%), where common points focus on local traditions and beliefs. In these responses, the previously negative attitudes are mirrored by a positive connotation: English, which is considered a drawback in brand names that promote undesirable values, is now seen as an advantage and welcomed by some people, in particular the older respondents. For *Sajeda*, as a Jordanian brand name, it is worth mentioning that the attitudes and beliefs of respondents shown towards brands as well as languages depend heavily on their underlying religious, political, and social concepts, where negative attitudes are reported towards *Pepsi*, *Coca-Cola*, *Levi's*, *Western Union*, *McDonald's*, and *Starbucks*. These brands, which are commonly perceived to point to the US and Israel, shows political and cultural viewpoints in connection with the role of the US as a carrier of anti-Islamic ideas. Likewise, older audiences demonstrate highly negative attitudes towards brands linked to these CORs. English, as the LOR of the US, is treated with a similar level of negativity.

6.5 Arab Nationalism and Language

In addition to the Islamic values of brand names, the beliefs and views about Arab nationalism also influence a significant bulk of the responses. Arab nationalism is a nationalist belief praising the glories of Arab advancement and the language and literature of the Arabs, calling for political union in the Arab world, and creating a supreme image of everything related to Arabic culture and language (Dawisha, 2009).

In this regard, Suleiman (1994: 3) argues that language is the very ‘air’ or ‘breath’ of Arabic nationalism: ‘The treatment of language as the core ingredient and the most prominent manifestation of nationalism is typical of the Arabic discourse on this issue.’ Therefore, the Arabic language is a basic part of pride for many generations of Arabs, representing their feelings of belonging together and indicating the boundaries of a nation. These national ideologies are reinforced by Rampton (1995), who argues that language is the key symbol of identity; it represents the whole culture, and any potential threat posed to the language is viewed as a threat to the whole culture. Duchêne and Heller (2012: 5) promote national and belonging feelings within the concept of ‘pride’, in which ‘being a proud citizen of a country, or a member of a nation, and treating its symbols (flag, language, literature, map) with respect’ are the pertinent conditions for any individual to inhabit a certain nation-state. These essential dimensions also help to rebuild national markets and institutions, where different forms of expressions can support their establishment.

As highlighted in Chapter Three, the motive of Arab nationalism, which has emerged due to the Ottoman Empire’s imposition of Turkish on Arabic-speaking people, can be traced to two groups of nineteenth century thinkers: Islamists and nationalists (Hourani, 1993; Haddad, 1994). The first group defended the Arabic language against the Turkish, confirming that Arabic and Islam are synonymous with one another (Keddie, 1983; al-Marrakishi, 1985; al-Bazzaz, 1993). This form of nationalism is also identified in different scholars’ writings today (Tibi, 1997; Zubaida, 2004; Kakridis, 2008). Tibi (1997), who believes that Arabic is mutually

linked to Islam as the language of the Qur'an and of the Prophet, emphasises that a language that is not linked to some holy concept can easily be traded for some other language that is more convenient or prestigious. Similarly, other scholars, including Zubaida (2004) and Kakridis (2008), argue that the language cannot be detached from its Islamic context and treated separately. The second group of scholars, which contains secular linguistic nationalists, takes pride in the rich history and profound cultural heritage of the Arabic nations. Al-Husri (1985) not only demonstrates a strong relationship between the language and nationalism, he also realises that history is a crucial component of nationalism, wherein individuals can be proud of their past achievements. He further draws attention to the importance of Standard Arabic as both the obligatory language of textbooks at the time of linguistic purification, and as the tool of opposing the language of the Ottoman Empire (cited in Maher, 2000; Suleiman, 1994). Al-Husri's nationalist viewpoints have also been suggested in Al-Alayli's major work, *Dustur al-arab al-qawmi* (The Arabs' National Constitution), where the central idea is that Arabs need to dedicate themselves completely to their language and shun any form of allegiance to other languages. Al-Alayli (1996: 103) also emphasises the idea that the Arabs should treat any individuals who use a foreign language in preference to their own language with 'contempt and loathing', particularly those who treat French in Lebanon as a substitute national language alongside Arabic.

Accordingly, both groups of scholars fall within ethnic nationalism, wherein the language is recognised as a trigger for establishing ideas and thoughts within the Arab states. Now, with the growth of globalisation and the increased ability for travel and communication, the nationalist frameworks come to be seen from a different perspective to cosmopolitanism, which encompasses the cultural views and thoughts of individuals who are usually conscious of globality and of international links, and embrace the otherness and plurality (Delanty, 2006). Despite their different political and religious beliefs, these individuals who enter

relationships of common respect establish a cosmopolitan community (Appiah, 1997). For Pogge (1994), cosmopolitanism is a social feature of people who enjoy cultural diversity, might travel the world, and tend to enjoy a divergent status, which keeps them away from the ethnocentric perspectives of culture and identity. By the same token, Delanty (2006) points out that cosmopolitanism is a disposition associated with individuals who see themselves as citizens of the world, where the meanings of freedom and independence can be gained away from the idea of nationalism.

Contrary to cosmopolitanism perspectives, Arab nationalism seeks to establish the national identity of all speakers of Arabic within the Ottoman Empire, calling for them not to use the Turkish and French languages in different Arab states. Psychologically, the conditions of the nationalist framework for using Arabic instead of Turkish echo the feelings of ownership among its advocates. According to Pierce, Kostova, and Dirks (2002: 8), three motives facilitate the development of psychological ownership: efficiency and effect, self-identity, and having a place. Dittmar (1991) states that psychological ownership emerges between oneself and various targets of possession, such as homes, automobiles, and other people. This has also been suggested in the views of other psychologists, where the idea of owning an object generates the self-identity inside the individual (Nuttin, 1987; Mann, 1991; Beggan, 1992). While ownership is commonly experienced as comprising person-object psychological relations, it can also be felt towards non-physical entities such as ideas, words, and other people. This is demonstrated in Isaacs's experiment, in which he detects feelings among children 'towards nursery rhymes and songs – they were "theirs" if they heard them first and no one else had a right to sing or hear them without their permission' (cited in Pierce et al., 2002: 4). The different viewpoints on the sentiment of ownership lend themselves to the feelings of owning a certain language within geographical boundaries. This suggests that the existence of different Arab states as independent entities could draw the nationalists' attention

to starting to think about Arabic as the common psychological and ethnic factor, aiming to bring Arabs together.

In addition to Arab nationalism, the idea of ethnocentrism also prevails in viewpoints and attitudes towards brand names. Ethnocentrism comprises hints and messages that have a certain set of emotions or pride, leading customers to lean towards items and brands from their own nations (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin, 1995). Furthermore, a level of negativity occurs in customers' viewpoints and beliefs regarding different products, preferring not to deal with items from a nation about which they have negative sentiments, whether due to verifiable, political, social, or other variables. According to Lustig and Koester (2010: 150), ethnocentrism 'produces emotional reactions to cultural differences that reduce people's willingness to understand disparate cultural messages'. Ethnocentrism, which is intended to preserve integrity in a particular group, can thus be seen as a potential barrier to effective intercultural communication, and has pertinent implications for responses to nationalism (Klopf and McCroskey, 2007: 113).

However, the theoretical backgrounds discussed above with respect to Arab nationalism are central to understanding why Jordanian respondents express certain views and beliefs about brand signs. The opposition to the extensive use of English (or other foreign languages) in the LL of Aqaba is characteristic of older respondents. Although some state the same adherence to Arabic, these respondents, with such a particular group of beliefs, have provided different reasons for their opposition to what they perceive as an excessive presence of foreign languages in the local LL. First, an explanation for this opposition can be found in the positions and salience that English and Arabic inscriptions take in the brand name in relation to each other.

English, or in some cases what is realised as a Roman script, often takes a superior position, in as much as it is placed higher or written in bigger fonts in comparison to the Arabic demonstration. In the public place, Scollon and Scollon (2003) argue that the code written in a bigger font has more importance than other codes. In quantitative terms, five per cent of the responses involve what is seen as an unacceptable way of representing the brands in the Arabic linguistic context, as there is a feeling that Arabic is undermined. Speaking about his attitude towards *Starbucks*, P/2, a 54-year-old male, states the following:

Starbucks's sign makes me think of the US as a country which creates the idea of coffee. For me, I see from the sign design in many Jordanian cities that Arabic and English have the same pronunciation, which in turn refers to the power of the product country, US [...]. I know that the sign is written in English, because foreigners cannot read Arabic [...] but I think the presence of these English words in bigger fonts shows less significance and value to Arabic [...]. In my view, Arabic should be bigger than English in such a sign.

This respondent refers to the symbolic representations of Arabic nationalism behind the brand's LOR, suggesting that the English writing of *Starbucks* is not acceptable, and so the Arabic language needs to replace such signs in the LL. P/2 further introduces Arabic as a basic means for illustrating the national feelings towards his country, where it is officially the first spoken language in Jordan. For him, writing and designing the LL signs in bigger Arabic fonts conveys the dominance of Arabic over any other foreign language. Building upon this, he seems to suggest that Arabic has a rich vocabulary, allowing it to replace English brand names, so that residents of Aqaba can better experience pride and ownership of their language. Even though P/2 has not identified the type of Arabic that should be used here, his words still infer that he prefers Standard Arabic as a language having its own prestige connotations, promoting it to replace English in such a sign. Indeed, the implicit meanings of his response indicate the

importance of demonstrating Arabic in presenting the brand names in the LL, supporting his national feelings and identity. This nationalist ideological understanding of language considers Arabic as a crucial instrument for the creation and maintenance of the homogenous cultural community within all Arabic-speaking countries. To this group of responses, the reflections of linguistic character come to the forefront. This kind of appreciation of Arabic appears in the responses of older citizens of Aqaba, suggesting that they fully understand the potential influence that the penetration of a foreign language into the local culture may have. Another reason for this opposition is manifested in the transliteration of Arabic brand names into English, as in *Sajeda* and *Zain*, which the respondents perceive to be an unnecessary step if the brand name is promoted in the Arabic-speaking community, where the viewers can already read and understand Arabic. Accordingly, the respondents agree that English (or the Roman script) might look more attractive and different, as it draws customers' attention to the shops and displays meanings of reading and conceiving the signs on the part of foreign viewers, but for them using a foreign language is not preferred in a country where Arabic is the official language, as demonstrated in the responses from P/29, a 45-year-old female:

The [*Sajeda*] sign includes an Arabic word, which is also written in English [...]. It seems to me that the Arabic word *Sajeda* should not be replaced or presented in English as it is mainly used for Jordanian people to read [...] therefore, I think the foreigners need to memorise some brand names in our language.

Zain is a Jordanian company and its language is English [...] I think it is better to keep Arabic without this foreign look as Arabic is sufficient to send the message.

This is another manifestation of Arab language nationalism, which relates to English and the Roman script as a substitute for Arabic. Traditional Arabic words are presented in English/Roman letters in the LL of Aqaba. The motive behind this step would be obvious if

the brand were expanding into the Western world and needed a comprehensible illustration in a global language. However, in Jordan, the older respondents deem this marketing move to be excessive and an intervention of the foreign Roman script into the area of the commercial-specific goals of the Arabic language. Even though the content of the brand name has not made P/29 change her mind, the primacy of Arabic as representative ideologies of both pride and identity in the LL is still considered as the fundamental element in the assessment of language display. The standpoints and beliefs mentioned before demonstrate linguistic nationalism, where the respondents perceive this way of writing the brand names as a form of diminishing the Arab identity. Still, three per cent of responses detect a close link between Islam and the language of brand names, as P/25, a 62-year-old female, illustrates:

Zain is an Arabic brand for internet and phoning services [...] The name is mostly written in English and Arabic in the cities of Jordan. I think Arabic is sufficient for the viewers to understand the sign on the shops and businesses [...] For me, writing an English word alongside Arabic implies less estimation and respect to the language of the Qu'ran, Arabic.

Religious language nationalism is based on the assumption that Islam is the only religion recognised by Arabs, and the Arabic language, which is used to write the Qur'an, has itself become a sacred entity. Thus, to diminish Arabic means, to some extent, to diminish the Qur'an, which is strictly forbidden. Signs of inequality between English and Arabic in brand names (when English is given more prominence, thereby assigning Arabic a secondary role in the LL of Aqaba) are viewed by language nationalists as an improper way of treating the sacred language, and these beliefs certainly lead to the assumption that English has adverse connotations only because it overshadows the Arabic language (Maher, 2000; Suleiman, 1994).

In a parallel perspective to the religious aspect of brand names, the method of coding and analysing the national trends of the Arabic language has made me part of the data collected, where my role as a native speaker of Arabic, with an awareness of the cultural, symbolic meanings of bias towards one's own language, helps in interpreting Jordanians' perceptions and intuitions of brand names. As an Arabic-speaking researcher, I have full cultural knowledge of the community, which serves as a source for understanding the different meanings that the Arabic language has for its members. The fact that the native language of a country represents the identity of the individuals living there exists inside my knowledge, which, in turn, matches the viewpoints given by the old people with regards to thinking more about the prominence of Arabic in the LL's signs. Sharing the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic identities with the informants makes the process of understanding and interpreting the informants' views easier. However, this kind of ethnographic reflexivity has been mitigated, as I aimed to detach myself from the local culture at the time of interpreting the connotations of the Arabic language. One method I followed to diminish my influence over the views was to relate the different views in concern with the semiotic features of the brands, as illustrated in the figures. This means that the respondents' views and beliefs were only analysed within the visual languages of brands. This method was actually advantageous to the method of coding all the views within this theme, in terms of the linguistic or religious nationalism discussed above.

Nevertheless, the ideology of nationalism still relates to the ethnocentrism in the respondents' activities and decisions. If younger respondents are more open to foreign brands because of their modernity, stylishness, and prestige, then the process of language and brand evaluations by old respondents relies on different factors. However, what makes the older participants' views and beliefs more encouraging are their educational levels, where those with undergraduate (or graduate) degrees show more pride and loyalty to Jordan as the motherland

in their minds, influencing their purchasing decisions. If the brand is believed to originate in Jordan, then educated adult respondents say that they would prefer to purchase it – even though the product may be of worse quality than its foreign counterparts – in order to support the local manufacturers and economy. This includes *LG*, which is believed to be produced locally, and thus respondents feel inclined to purchase it despite its perceived poor quality, as stated by P/6, a 45-year-old female:

I think it is a Jordanian company, which is located in Amman [...] and the language seems to be in Roman to make the word look more global across the world. I know a lot of people do not trust the quality of local products, but it's my duty to help increase the Jordanian industries.

In this quotation, the COR of the product influences the attitudes towards the LOR; if the products had been attributed to the US, I content that the language would have been described as undesirable, yet the assumed connection with Amman as the location for manufacture makes P/6 consider the language from a different perspective, and so attitudes towards the language are adjusted accordingly. In other words, if the attention of participants in Aqaba is focused on their own local goods, then they feel positive towards their own nation's economic development and local manufacturers. Together with a preference for Arabic and preserving its dominant position in society, at the same time this category of people take practical steps to promote their own development. Another aspect of ethnocentrism is expressed in the older educated respondents' lower levels of interest in *Levi's* products. This category of responses, which constitutes three per cent of all the replies, demonstrates the preference of the local dress to foreign clothing, as exemplified by P/3, a 55-year-old female: 'I think it is an American clothing brand [...] I do not like to buy dress from outside [...] I prefer the local industries [...] even if they are not original sometimes.' This respondent engages with local Jordanian dress, regardless of quality. Arab nationalism here is established in a different

manner, whereby the way of dressing is an integral part of the local culture. For P/3, wearing foreign clothing such as *Levi's* breaches the social customs and norms in Jordan, and therefore she maintains such a view and believes that purchasing imported products is unpatriotic. By the same token, the older generations are of the opinion that the spread of fast-food restaurants such as *McDonland's* in the urban LL is aimed at changing the traditional ways of eating in Jordan. In that sense, they report that such a restaurant means replacing the traditional collective norms of eating with the US lifestyles and customs of accepting fast-food meals, a belief shared by P/31, a 66-year-old male:

I think it is an American restaurant [...] I do not like it as I prefer the traditional food as well as this restaurant is designed to spread the American culture of eating fast-food [...] I think such an idea implies that there is no need to get together to eat the meals in Jordan [...] so the concealed plan of such restaurants is to find a place of liberty among Jordanians, which ends in deteriorating the social bonds amongst the individuals.

The quote shows that this food is regarded as a break from traditions and a threat to basic social norms. The eating habits of Jordanians also differ from those applied in *McDonald's*, whereby carefully prepared and commonly taken meals, which symbolise unity and social connections between people, are replaced by the individual eating of foreign food. The attitudes of older and adult respondents towards this way of eating are very negative. This denial may well be attributed to the ideas rooted in *McDonald's* being representative of the US as the COR, from which the idea arrived and to the LOR, which stands as a symbol of these global and radical changes. Craig et al (2009), in this context, emphasise the fact that the flows of the brands do not only involve the services and the products; the beliefs and ideas accompanying them can be also culturally recognised. For instance, eating in a fast-food restaurant like *McDonald's* may indicate

an intention to consume American food or signify a change from the traditional foods of a country and an acceptance of the fast-food lifestyle common to US culture.

Drawing an approximate comparison between responses on nationalism and the first three themes reveals that the current theme is demonstrated to be less important to the individuals, as they have expressed fewer views about the national appeals of language, than about the brand names' other aspects: the prestige of the English language, an appreciation of the US, and Islamic values. The low number of responses on nationalism may be explained by the fact that the common cosmopolitan views are promoted and welcomed by younger people, who tend to copy foreign ways of life and do not pay attention to native ones. However, older respondents are fully aware of the threat posed by the increasing dominance of foreign language and culture, especially if the language is as powerful and influential as English. This language may therefore be seen to threaten the functioning – and even the existence – of the existing language in Jordan, Arabic.

6.6 Brand–Sound Associations

Different studies have recently proposed the idea that not only trained scholars, possessing the necessary analytical tools for language analysis, have the competence and skills to interpret various linguistic phenomena; ordinary people, who speak their own languages or understand some foreign languages, may also create theories and interpretations of certain linguistic phenomena (Niedzielski and Preston, 2003; Lindemann, 2005; Llewellyn and Harrison, 2006; Paveau, 2011; Wilton and Stegu, 2011). This field of linguistics, developed by ordinary people according to their own ideas and language skills, is called 'folk linguistics', and it serves as an important issue for many scientifically equipped linguists (Nathan, 2014: 85). The processes of generating folk linguistics concepts and the ways in which they are manifested in the

judgements made by people with regards to unfamiliar languages are certainly of use of sociolinguistics. According to Lindemann (2005: 189), studies on folk linguistics, in particular, aim at ‘uncovering the folk’s own understanding of different varieties, looking not only at evaluations of language varieties, but also at how these varieties are categorized’. In his research, he asked American participants to evaluate internationally spoken varieties of English on the maps and to rate the quality of English spoken in 58 countries of the world. As Lindemann (2005: 190) shows, for most Americans, China represents the whole of Asia as well as the Far East, Mexico is the common term for Latin America, but Europe is carefully divided into several countries speaking their own varieties of English in the opinion of respondents. The study implies that participants hold specific folk linguistic beliefs about the English accents and varieties existing in the world, and group the geographical entities according to these pre-existing impressions of ‘how the things might be’ instead of operating by real geographical data and varieties of English (Lindemann, 2005: 190). Folk knowledge demonstrated in the respondents’ classifications when evaluating the English of the countries is mainly attributed to their social and political backgrounds as well as the potential familiarity, ‘with countries that may be identified as adversaries of the US and less familiar countries being rated most negatively’(Lindemann, 2005: 195).

As far as the sound properties of brand names are concerned, researchers studying phonetic symbolism have demonstrated how the sounds of individual letters can contain meanings that may be useful in creating new successful brands (Klink, 2000; Yorkston and Menon, 2004; Shrum, Lowrey, Luna, Lerman, and Liu, 2012). Other research has examined the global and cross-cultural implications of brand names (Zhang and Schmitt, 2001; Tavassoli and Han, 2002). In other words, these scholars have demonstrated how the phonological structure of the brand names influences the consumer and encourages or discourages him/her from making a purchase. In the Jordanian context, the focus of brand–sound associations on the evaluation

processes taking place within the minds of ordinary people makes it possible to use certain basic concepts of folk linguistics to explain personal attitudes towards the LORs of brands represented in the LL of Aqaba. In particular, folk linguistics may help to explain how Aqaba's respondents attempt to identify languages unknown to them by their sound, and how this identification fits with the general processes of the creation of folk ideas about linguistic phenomena. With this explicit orientation towards language in everyday life, and in particular the concerns of the language users, I need to consider the beliefs, views, and opinions of the language user as a non-linguist and take those views seriously.

At this point of the discussion, the basic concepts of folk linguistics, translated into scientific language, come to the surface in the responses of the ordinary people of Aqaba. Specifically, in the studies of folk linguistics, these concepts are referred to as folk linguistics awareness and folk linguistics artefacts (Preston, 1996: 44; Wilton and Stegu, 2011: 5). Folk linguistics awareness in this context relates to the degree to which a group of laypeople is cognizant of certain linguistic phenomena – that is, how this feature is accessible to them on a conscious level. In turn, people's awareness of folk linguistics is influenced by several factors, folk linguistics artefacts among them. These artefacts are traditionally established and commonly shared impressions that society applies to categorise various language phenomena. These artefacts can best be described through a comparison with the genre of caricatures as 'conventionalized social representations' (Niedzielski and Preston, 2003: 48). They are also created gradually, through the subjective linguistic experience of generations and through media influence; interaction with actual carriers or representations of the phenomenon under discussion is not essentially involved in the shaping of an artefact.

In practical terms, this trend is significant in gauging the LOR and the COR of brands in the LL of Aqaba, where educated respondents with undergraduate and graduate degrees examine

the brand signs according to their sounds, such as *Toshiba* and *Samsung*.⁴ Essentially, the methods for coding the different themes here find that respondents within this specific area of beliefs see the COR of the brand according to the sound of its name, and relate it to the stereotypes about the phonological peculiarities of different languages that exist in their minds, as discussed by P/39, an educated 44-year-old female:

In my point of view, *Toshiba* is a Japanese brand for PCs and Laptops [...]. The language seems to be Japanese because it sounds like ‘Hiroshima’, a Japanese city which witnessed bombing in 1945 [...] I think it is written in English to be familiar and readable.

As demonstrated in the above response, *Toshiba* has a specific sound pattern, which differs from typically Arabic sounds and syllabic word structures. This word is attributed to the Japanese language as an LOR by those respondents who know about the Hiroshima bombing and draw conclusions about the phonetic similarity between Hiroshima and *Toshiba*. Despite this viewpoint regarding the brand–sound association, the LOR of the brand is still English, as this is likely to be more widely understood in the public space of Aqaba than Japanese. Despite this, P/39 is a carrier of the folk linguistics artefact related to the sounds of the Japanese language. She might not be properly familiar with the sounds of the Japanese language, yet this impression of Japanese, potentially shared by other people of Aqaba who know about Hiroshima and its geographical position, directs her to infer that the word *Toshiba* also fits into this folk-created paradigm of Japanese.

In other words, the educated people of Aqaba have created in their imagination the concept of Japanese language phonetics on the basis of phonetic information previously

⁴ Four per cent of the responses identify the sound–brand associations.

available to them, and have applied this concept to the brand name. In this context, I positioned myself as an assistant to this linguistic relation, where the concept of Japanese phonetics in relation to *Toshiba* has made me a part of the research phenomenon according to my prior knowledge that people in society make such correlations. At the same time, I tried my best to be objective when assigning the brands to their countries' sounds.

Building upon the sound properties of the brands mentioned before, it is worth mentioning that in Arabic, which has a different phonetic system from Japanese, the *Toshiba* brand name, with its onomatopoeic elements, may sell better because it subconsciously informs the respondent that the goods sold under this brand will serve or function better than other brands. This means that the sounds of the products allow individuals to initiate more referents associated with the country that such sounds refer to. In any case, while hearing these languages, Aqaba's educated people are able to identify them, although they may not be able to understand what is being said. This ability to hear the difference between various languages is an advantage of foreign branding, because the linguistic associations may move in the right direction. This very process of associations allows the people of Aqaba to establish the COR attributes of the brand exclusively by sound. In the case of the Japanese brand name, the associations are unambiguous: only one COR is named as fitting the linguistic pattern of the brand, namely Japan. Accordingly, the concepts of folk linguistics related to Japanese and its potential sound representations are shaped on the basis of the perceived assumptions and, as a result, P/39 identifies the language to be Japanese without any concrete knowledge. Despite the respondent's identification of the brand name's LOR, she contends that the written language presented in the LL is English, which is also used to transliterate the Japanese language. This sub-group of responses does not express any

particularly negative attitudes towards English as an LOR due to the fact that respondents maintain no bad associations towards *Toshiba's* COR. This, in turn, supports the idea that people's linguistic beliefs are heavily influenced by their political and cultural biases.

The situation with *Samsung* is the same, as the name of the brand sounds typical of several Asian countries to Aqaba's respondents. Four per cent of responses relate the brand to China, Korea, and Japan through its sounds. Such opinions regarding the COR of the brand may be attributed to the fact that the phonological structure of these languages sounds more distinctive and unique to the ear of Jordanians, who are familiar with such Asian languages. Again, the LOR is described as English, used to transliterate the Asian language. As the people of Aqaba do not have any particular political position against China and do not nurture any hostile or negative feelings, English is not viewed as a language-intruder in the LL of Aqaba in this case; rather, it is seen as a means of international representation of the exotic name of the brand. The response of P/19 is an illustrative example of this view:

Samsung makes me first think of China [...] as an Asian country of making electrical products. The sound of the word, in particular '-ng' makes me think of its relevance to China, it is similar to the pronunciation of Hong Kong. This country utilises English for presenting its brand name in Jordan, as English could be more readable and understandable than Chinese.

For this quotation, it is necessary to recall the same paradox in attitudes towards English that is visible in responses to the brand of *Sajeda*. That is, the positive meaning of the brand and its supposed COR, which contains positive connotations, outweighs the concerns raised by the negative image of English that exists among the older generation of respondents. In this case, the reaction of P/19 to the brand name is based on the same principle of language evaluation:

the positively assessed content of the brand and a COR with neutral connotations both result in a positive or neutral assessment of English as the LOR perceived by the respondent. In the framework of the discussion of this group of responses, it is necessary to consider these viewpoints in terms of the folk linguistics study conducted by Lindemann (2005). Here, it is important to draw attention to the case of China as a representative concept for the whole of Asia, as P/19 relates *Samsung* to China first, and does it on the basis of folk linguistics artefacts related to the sound of Chinese. Thus, the finding from the previous passages is that the people of Aqaba with certain educational backgrounds tend to correlate their folk evaluation of languages according to their knowledge of the world, and a lack of information about this, as in the Asian region, leads to the overgeneralisation of the languages circulating there. Thus, Chinese is the most common language taken to represent the whole Asia region in the linguistic sense.

To this end, Aqaba's respondents do not only express their attitudes that rely on various non-linguistic factors, like the political, cultural, and religious aspects of the COR and LOR of the brand, but they also distinguish between the various languages used in brand naming. The educational level of these respondents is higher than an intermediate level, and so they are able to ground their chain of reasoning with relatively valid arguments. Yet, these reasons are not always related to authentic facts or states of affairs, instead relying on the subjective linguistic and non-linguistic concepts shared by respondents.

6.7 Concluding Remarks

The theoretical investigation of Jordanians' responses and attitudes towards brand names in the LL of Aqaba demonstrates the idea that English is often seen as the main language of the foreign brands for reasons associated with language mobility and their relevance to the US as an English-speaking country. For Aqaba's inhabitants, there have been no clear-cut boundaries

between the Roman scripts and English language, where they are both used interchangeably in the writings of brand names according to the respondents' beliefs. This has been essentially established due to the respondents' similar beliefs about the international symbolic perspectives of both the English language and Roman scripts. My analysis has shown that, in brand names, English itself does not have particularly negative or positive connotations and associations; it may only give rise to these attitudes because it is attached to those brand names that have positive or negative implications. Thus, the brand signs in the LL of Aqaba depend not so much on the choice of the language, but on the political and cultural implication of the brands they promote. If the content of the brand is considered improper or indecent by the respondents, the change of language will not improve the situation and vice versa. Those brands with a positive image will transfer a portion of their reputability and 'goodness' to the language in which they are presented.

The analysis of recurrent topics in response to the people of Aqaba leads me to the conclusion that the linguistic preferences of respondents play the smallest role in the process of shaping attitudes towards given or suggested LORs. That is, other social and cultural factors, such as age, education, political views, degree of religious conservatism, and opposition or openness to a new culture, determine how one and the same language is perceived by respondents in different circumstances. That is, other social and cultural factors, such as age, education, political views, degree of religious conservatism, and opposition or openness to a new culture, determine how one and the same language is perceived by respondents in different circumstances. Taking these factors into consideration, the analysis has shown that age has the most determinant role in setting up boundaries among the different themes discussed. Within this domain, analysis has shown that different brands may cause different attitudes, thus positive or negative attitudes towards a certain brand determine the attitude towards the language representing the brand. The difference in the general cultural patterns of countries

does not interfere with the common lines of reasoning shown by the people of Aqaba and other locations where research is conducted. This suggests that the general tendencies of linguistic behaviour that is determined by social and cultural factors are the same, and certain responses or patterns may be predicted in addition.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Thesis has been to contribute meaningfully to the growing body of research into the LL, and in particular to examine an aspect of multilingualism, namely the presence of brand names in the public space in the course of the dominance of the globalisation phenomenon. At the same time, this Thesis tackles an under-explored area of the world in terms of sociolinguistic research, namely the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and more precisely the city of Aqaba, on the Red Sea coast. Furthermore, I have tested the model proposed by Tufi and Blackwood (2010), and addressed the appeal by Lanza and Woldemariam (2014). This Thesis has presented data on the extent to which brand names appear in the LL, on the basis of fieldwork undertaken in Aqaba, and more importantly sought to understand better the ways in which the individuals who live, work, and pass through the city evaluate languages as they appear in brand names. In particular, I have explored the associations that individuals form in their minds when they see the trademarks that punctuate the city centre of Aqaba, with a view to extrapolating trends for Jordan and also Arab countries. In doing so, I have posed two research questions, to which I return in this concluding chapter. These research questions are:

1. To what extent does the choice of script in brand names affect individuals' associations with language(s)?
2. To what extent do aspects of inter-speaker variation govern the association between language(s) and brand names?

7.2 The Choice of Script

The first research question tackled in this Thesis calls for an examination of the scripts used in brand names. I have outlined the different approaches adopted by businesses as they seek to market their products in the Middle East, more generally, and in Aqaba, more precisely. As such, I note from the outset that this part of the project privileges businesses, including some of the world's major companies, rather than the citizens of Jordan. In other words, this first question invites analysis not by the wider public, but specifically by the researcher. As such, I have identified a typology of scripts for the brand names attested in my survey area in Aqaba, and I propose two main categories of brand names: mono-script brands, such as Roman, Romanised Arabic, and Arabic scripts; and multi-script brands, including Romanised Arabic with Arabic, and Arabicised Roman with Roman. The typologies governing the scripts themselves, or their associations with the languages appearing on the same brands lead me to the conclusion that Roman scripts of brand names are almost omnipresent in the LL of Aqaba. The existence of such fixed forms of signs refers to the global linguistic identity of commodities as a result of people's demands, with extensive scope for local specification.

Even though the brands' signs have displayed some Arabic remarks to appeal to the Arabic community, the frequent use of Roman scripts suggests several conclusions. The central idea here is that the contemporary period of global economic expansion, which permits the mobility of brand names, their languages, and their production forces, enables such signs to travel to different zones around the world, often in unchanged formats. For example, in brand advertisements at Aqaba, Roman script advertising is displayed to maintain and bolster the global symbolic identity of the product or services. Therefore, the development of these unified LLs everywhere is a motivating factor in the identification of the importance of symbolic capitalism and cosmopolitanism in adding value and quality to the products advertised in other niches. The unified language of brand names imposes equal social traits among the community members.

The global identity of brand names has been supported by other existential economic drives in Aqaba, where the port and tourism industry are the foundation of the city's economy due to its strategic location in Jordan and its influential role as an economic zone. The analysis of the different linguistic combinations of brand names reveals that there is no aversion to the mixing of scripts by manufacturers, nor an unwillingness to use the Roman script, despite the social, religious, and historical significance of the Arabic script in Jordan. In one respect, this first research question lays the foundation for the second, inasmuch as it addresses the question of the marketability of scripts other than Arabic, or mixed scripts, in Aqaba. In other words, there is clearly no commercial aversion to using a script not necessarily accessible to all Jordanians in terms of comprehension. The Roman script is used by many businesses, including those which are Jordanian and which target a Jordanian public, without fearing an adverse effect on sales or compromising the readability of the brand name. As discerned during interviews, Jordanians identify that the script is Roman, and, in the cases of the most familiar trademarks, recognise the product to which the brand name refers.

I contend that there are significant characteristics of Roman scripts in association with economic capitalism and cosmopolitanism, such as prestige, modernity, sophistication, and exoticism, and that these discourses are widespread across the population. This is not to argue that Roman script is universally viewed positively, and here I touch on the correlation between scripts and named languages, which is more precisely the focus of the second research question.

7.3 The Associations between Individuals, Languages, Countries, and Brands

Based on my data, the correlation between inter-speaker variation and the language of brand names results in the emergence of five distinct themes from the perspective of the associations between the languages of representation (LOR), the countries of representation (COR), and the

specific brand names. These themes are discussed in full in Chapter Six, but it is pertinent to summarise them again here: the prestige of English; the prestige of the US; Islamic and anti-Islamic associations; linguistic nationalism; and sound-brand associations. In addition to these folk ideologies, I draw other conclusions from this project. First, the data points to a direct and almost uniform correlation between the Roman script and the English language. Almost without exception, the respondents identify the brand names that appear in Roman script as English, even in the cases where the participants are sure that the product indexes in some way a country other than the English-speaking UK or USA. At the same time, there is a clear link made in the minds of the majority of the respondents between the English language and the USA. In part due to the economic dominance of the USA, the English language indexes unequivocally the USA for many Aqaba residents, based on the interviews I conducted. Where there is variation is in the way in which this correlation is viewed – for some, English as shorthand for the USA is viewed positively, whereas for others, this same association prompts a more negative reaction.

The association here points to another finding of this Thesis, namely the aspects of inter-speaker variation that colour significantly the respondents' views. I categorised the participants according to a number of factors that make up their composition such as age, social class, level of education. However, the only variable which has a significant impact on the attitudes of respondents towards the languages of brand names is age, with faith playing a part to a lesser extent. Strikingly, gender does not appear to affect greatly the associations forged in the respondents' minds. Age can be seen as an influential factor in setting boundaries among most of the issues regarding Jordanians' understanding of brand names, whilst other aspects, such as gender, education, and knowledge of foreign languages play a marginal role. The essential impact of age has prompted the younger respondents to think about English not only as a prestigious and modern language when viewed as the language of brand names in the

LL, but it has also led them to establish a significant relationship between the language of brand names and their esteem and admiration of the USA.

Older people's beliefs and attitudes look beyond the language of brand names and consider the national and Islamic values in the signs. The negative thoughts towards the USA shift to brand names, resulting in maintaining negative attitudes towards consuming these products. The linguistic nationalism in the writing of brand names has also manifested itself in older people's beliefs, where they aspire to have the Arabic written in a larger font and therefore more visible than the English, thus representing their national identity and constructing discourses of pride in a country where Arabic is the default choice.

Here, the age factor opens up major issues in association with the political trends of nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the LL, appraising various social forms of these concepts in relation to patriotism. The young participants tend to be cosmopolitan in their perspectives and open to the foreign cultures, whereas older people tend to be more nationalist and patriotic. Age has a more influential role in identifying the participants' viewpoints in comparison with education, although the latter appears as a common factor in brand-sound associations.

The second dominant factor among the individuals' associations is the faith, or the religion of the country. Generally, Jordanians are strongly religious, Islam having an intense impact on their social viewpoints, particularly when they see signs like brand names in the LL written in foreign languages. Indeed, Islam is a leading factor that directs Jordanians' social viewpoints; in particular, it influences older people in establishing and articulating a different view from the young. The Islamic associations of brand names have not only advocated the national aspects of the Arabic language, but also rejected the political consequences of following the cosmopolitan values and practices of brand names. Unlike for older individuals, for the young prestige and modernity are key cosmopolitan traits identified in brand signs in the LL. Taking

these two conflicting viewpoints together, the youth demand a more secular culture which is distanced from religious involvement and commitment. This level of thought and belief is not motivated by a lack of loyalty to the national customs and norms, or overt hostility to tradition. Rather, the emotional and psychological intellect of young individuals motivates them to be more open to new communities. In particular, they aspire to experience new foreign perspectives in association with Western communities and they initiate values and meanings in ways different from those of previous generations. For the young generation, the national and religious identity diminishes in industrialised and urbanised societies. All of this influences the way young people respond and view the occurrence of foreign brand names in the local settings.

In addition to testing individuals' socio-economic composition and holding associations between language(s) and brand names, it is necessary to evaluate Tufi and Blackwood's (2010) model of COR and LOR from a linguistic perspective when coding brand names in Aqaba. This model has proved to be somewhat problematic, in that respondents tend to identify a specific language with a given nation state, more often than not English with the USA. In general, despite the fact that the respondents often relate the LOR of brands to the COR, where the language is perceived to be used, from a linguistics perspective, this has not been of much use as many multinational companies use Roman scripts to retain the global identity of their products. Further, there has been a reciprocal connection between the script font of brand names and English as the perceived language, where Aqaba's citizens understand any foreign language written in Roman script as English. In part, I contend that this is for reasons related to the teaching of English as the first foreign language in Jordan, and the wider familiarity on the part of many Jordanians with the English language. A parallel dominant trend is the perception of the USA as the COR for many brand names in the LL, in which

social views including but not limited to prestige and modernity are perceived to be part of the USA culture as a representation of Western culture.

The model introduced by Tufi and Blackwood (2010) better illustrates the proposed links between the sound of languages and the perceived COR. This viewpoint would, in effect, help to construct a more purely phonetic correlation between the brand names, on the one hand, and their LORs and CORs, on the other hand. A useful aspect of the model manifests itself in exploring a variety of individuals' perspectives and trends with regards to the COR or the LOR, in which Jordanians' viewpoints are less focussed on the choice of the language, and more on the political and cultural echoes of brand names. Consequently, holding positive or negative attitudes and feelings towards brand names often shifts to the languages seen in the LL. Tufi and Blackwood's (2010) model overall does not help in coding the brand names according to the COR and LOR. I contend that this approach hints at one of the shortcomings of this model, which I hope to address in this Thesis. The specific approach of linking the COR and the LOR in the questioning of respondents not only highlights one of the limitations of this study. I argue that it also has the potential to invite the participants to conflate the COR with the LOR.

7.4 The Study's Contribution to Linguistic Landscape Research

This project comes down firmly on the side of including brand names in surveys of the LL. Brand names constitute an essential linguistic part of the public space. Given the significance of the methodology being itself part of the way that LL field is theorised, this Thesis has engaged with central methodological issues such as the coding/classification of brand names according to the scripts used. This initial step helps avoid the complications inherent in the encoding of brand names according to the language of origin, country of origin, or English as an international language. The semiotic investigation of brand names' different scripts points

to the mutual cultural mix between the global and local contexts. Whereas the Roman and Arabicised Roman scripts generate new cultural identities inherent in the different forms of brand names in the LL, the Arabic and Romanised Arabic scripts establish more ways of transferring the local customs and habits to other cultures. The study's originality stems from the idea that it uses pertinent aspects of visual semiotics in conceiving different cultural identities of the Jordanian community.

Based on my semiotic and linguistic investigations of the brands' visual elements in Aqaba, the findings – particularly the functions of the signs – add a significant principle to the frequent visual structure of brand names in any other LLs, according to the language used in the local context. In Jordan, in similar ways to other Arab countries, global brand names have been turned into local forms by providing transliterated Arabic labels. I argue that this phenomenon may well be replicated in other countries. This means that the use of the functions of branding within such signs not only explicates the relations between the brands' scripts and the languages of slogans and business names, but also helps in establishing a solid linguistic framework for the language policy of brand names in other LLs. The frequent occurrence of Roman scripts on different signs, whether local or global, and the parallel texts using a foreign language with no direct translation of the texts refers to the symbolic function of both the global brand names and the English language overlapping with the informative function. In addition to the existence of transliterated local patterns, the combination of Roman script and English-language elements gives the code preference to the script, due to its font size rather than the slogan, or the business name. Indeed, these semiotic properties constitute essential parts of the brand names' linguistic structure, and I contend that this invites a closer consideration of the relationship between brand names and language policy.

Finally, re-examining Aqaba's inhabitants' different responses in connection with public spaces is a significant tool for identifying people's viewpoints regarding the visible foreign

languages of brand names, as well as their social associations. The study here consolidates the concept of the cosmopolitan identity among the younger inhabitants, particularly with their reference to English and the USA as indexing prestige, leading them to want to lead a modern life. Given the significance of age as an aspect of inter-speaker variation, the kind of investigation discussed in this Thesis demands a reconsideration after a generation in order to confirm whether Jordan, as represented by the respondents from Aqaba, is experiencing a period of acute transition from the perspective of attitudes to language(s), as attested in the LL.

7.5 Critical Reflection on the Research

There are certain limitations that need to be acknowledged regarding the present study. The first relates to the fact that the choice of streets, as being representative of all of Aqaba's commercial streets, results in difficulties at some stage, since most streets display a fluctuating amount of signs, depending on the number of people crowding within different locations. At this stage, decisions must be made with respect to the streets in terms of their representation of the whole city and their length measurements. Part of the difficulty in selecting the streets relates to Aqaba's geographical divisions according to different sections, such as the Southern, Northern, Al-Manarah, Al-Radwan, and Al-Safa neighbourhoods amongst others, where the streets are clearly delineated. The criterion for the neighbourhoods is intended to provide a systematic plan for the city, so that the services of the city's authority are offered equally to all citizens. This method of division has some impact on the choice of streets, although they are officially registered as parts of the specific neighbourhoods. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter Four, six streets were chosen based on their commercial locations (see Ben-Rafael et al., 2004; Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Backhaus, 2007), where there are more opportunities to take as many pictures of signs as possible. The use of the density of commercial businesses could lead to flaws in terms of representing most streets in Aqaba. For example, other streets

in a more remote part of the city centre, displaying a large number of signs with different languages, were not involved in the study, as I needed to design and apply a dynamic methodological approach for choosing those streets that displayed a wide variety of signs, among which there was more potential to record the brand names.

In the course of designing the methodology, it was not easy to choose participants representing Aqaba city specifically and Jordan in general. Despite the fact that the participants in qualitative interviews could be chosen based on the purpose of the research, where people with more knowledge and expertise were often demanded, this specific research aimed to explore people in the LL with regards to their attitudes and views towards brand names. Some attempts were made at carrying out informal talks with ten people in the LL, but some of these were neither capable of expressing their viewpoints nor familiar with such signs. Having considered the matter thoroughly, the usefulness of including participants with different demographic backgrounds was recognised, with the aim of obtaining more diverse beliefs and views about brand names. Although I did not presume that this method could ever reflect with complete accuracy the various conflicting views of a country's population, having sought out a representative sample, I felt that I could generalise with some security about the attitudes of the residents of Aqaba and, more widely, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Despite the fact that the various LL studies ignored the coding of brand names in the public space, they contributed to the current study with the semiotic principles as a useful means of devising the cultural meanings and values in relation to the context in which the sign is located. With this in mind, the implementation of the principles of social semiotics may establish the idea that the brand names were chosen on purpose to imitate the local context; however, such a potential way of thinking was dispelled when understanding that the brand names, whether local or global, conveyed diverse ways of reflecting the local context through

the use of language or the illustrative images of local cultures. In this respect, I have handled the potential risk that my role as an interpreter of the implicit social meanings of brands could be viewed as disconnected from the manipulations of sign-makers in the LL through a consideration of two semiotic principles: composition and multimodality. Thus my analysis focussed on the signs' composition and multimodal elements in connection with the cultural practices of Jordanians.

7.6 Recommendations for Future Work

The study of brand names in Aqaba's LL opens up different ways of carrying out research in other specific related avenues. First, in light of the respondents' different ways of decoding *Gap*, *Coca-Cola*, and *Western Union*, amongst other brand names, this requires conducting a study on the cultural perspectives of the transliteration of Roman scripts, which would aim to recognise whether the equivalent Arabic words go with or against the local cultural norms. This potential study would necessitate a corpus of brand names existing in both the global and local forms in the Jordanian LL. Nonetheless, the phonetic mismatch between the written Arabic and Roman script in, for example, *Burger King* can open up more areas of research, where a reference is made to the phonetic issues of brand names in the local context. Such a study could move a further step forwards and attempt to study the potential consequences of enunciating the Roman brands within the linguistic system of Arabic, and consider how they violate the Arabic pronunciation habits. Here, sounds like /P/ and /V/, as well as the sound combinations alien to Arabic, such as /-rb-/ in the pronunciation of *Sharp*, force the Arabic speakers to enunciate sounds that do not exist in their language. Hence, a study is needed to measure the extent to which the use of Roman brand names in the LL can change the sound system of the Arabic language.

It has been indicated in Chapter Four that the different realisations of Arabic scripts and images displayed on local brand names demonstrate the significant cultural values of the Jordanian community. It has also become apparent that the linguistic and semiotic characteristics of these brands recognise different meanings in association with the community. This, in fact, invites researchers to carry out further research to discover more social facts in the community, as well as their connections with the sign-makers' purpose of advertising these tags and labels. Such a potential study would limit only its scope, and classify all the Arabic brands in the LL according to their cultural relevance to the local community. This being so, the study would access more conclusive social values through the investigation of the Jordanian brands in the LL. For example, the current social trends of the local brand names imply the reflective process of naming in Jordan, as in the brand *Sajeda*, as well as social patterns relating to habits and customs, such as religion, generosity, and Bedouin life. The potential study would be likely to add to these social meanings, particularly when the LL is chosen to appear with the pure Arabic language, and where the large corpus of such signs could be more helpful in establishing significant social trends in connection with Jordan.

Having conducted this study in Aqaba, as a tourist city in Jordan, conducting a similar study by collecting data in different cities and regions, to identify major strands of brand languages, would also be useful. This could be conducted in other tourist destinations, to identify the proportional occurrence of brand names, particularly in Petra city, where most shop owners use English to satisfy the wishes of foreigners. Such a study could attempt to examine the standpoints of non-Arabic viewers with regards to any Jordanian symbolic social aspects as attested in the Linguistic Landscape.

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Appendix I: Images of the Top Twenty Brand Names





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19.



20.

Appendix II: Demographic Information about Jordan

| Occupation | Percentages |
|--|--------------------|
| Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers | 50% |
| Professionals | 24.60% |
| Technicians | 8.30% |
| Clerks | 5.80% |
| Services and Sales Workers | 28.60% |
| Skilled Agricultural Workers | 1.40% |
| Crafts and Related Workers | 13.90% |
| Machine Operators | 11% |
| Elementary Occupations | 5.60% |

| Education | Percentages |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| Illiterate | 10.50% |
| Capable of writing and reading | 3.70% |
| Less than secondary | 43.30% |
| Secondary | 23.20% |
| Intermediate diploma | 9.10% |
| Bachelor | 9.20% |
| Higher diploma | 0.30% |
| MA | 0.80% |
| PhD | 0.30% |
| Unspecified | 0.10% |

Appendix III: Participants' Demographic Information

| P | Age | Gender | Education | Languages Recognised | Occupation | Interview Language | Interviewer |
|----------|------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | 19 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Salesgirl | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 2 | 54 | M | Graduate | Ar & En | Army Officer | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 3 | 55 | F | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Office manager | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 4 | 61 | M | Undergraduate | Arabic | Court Judge | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 5 | 23 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Court Judge | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 6 | 45 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Office manager | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 7 | 29 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 8 | 26 | M | Graduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 9 | 64 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 10 | 37 | F | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 11 | 27 | F | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 12 | 41 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 13 | 28 | M | Graduate | Arabic | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 14 | 24 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 15 | 33 | F | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 16 | 50 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 17 | 37 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Office Manager | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 18 | 23 | F | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Office Manager | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 19 | 48 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Army Officer | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 20 | 42 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 21 | 26 | M | Undergraduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|----|---|------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 22 | 21 | F | Secondary school | Ar & En | Office manager | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 23 | 30 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 24 | 19 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 25 | 62 | F | Undergraduate | Arabic | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 26 | 18 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Drycleaner | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 27 | 61 | M | Secondary school | Arabic | Drycleaner | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 28 | 51 | M | Secondary school | Ar & En | Agriculture worker | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 29 | 45 | F | Primary School | Arabic | Business owner | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 30 | 57 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Salesman | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 31 | 66 | M | Primary School | Arabic | shop owner | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 32 | 29 | F | Primary School | Arabic | Business owner | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 33 | 62 | M | Undergraduate | Arabic | Pharmacist | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 34 | 64 | M | Secondary school | Arabic | Driver | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 35 | 47 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Driver | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 36 | 19 | F | Primary School | Arabic | Salesgirl | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 37 | 30 | F | Graduate | Ar & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 38 | 36 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Agriculture worker | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 39 | 44 | F | Graduate | Arab & En | Teacher | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher's sister |
| 40 | 22 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Agriculture worker | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 41 | 33 | M | Primary School | Arabic | Agriculture worker | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |
| 42 | 19 | M | Secondary school | Arabic | Agriculture worker | Jordanian Arabic | Researcher |

Appendix IV: Consent Forms in English and Arabic



Title of Research: Brand Names in the Linguistic Landscape of Aqaba, Jordan.

Researcher: Ghazi Al-Na'imat

Letter of Consent for Participants

Please read the following statements:

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet in August 2013. I have had the opportunity to consider this information, ask questions and gain answers.

1. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw without explanation if I so wish.
2. I understand that my participation in the completion of the questionnaire will be fully anonymous.
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. I consent to participate in this study.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

.....

.....

.....

Researcher

Date

Signature

.....

.....

.....

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نموذج موافقة للمشاركين في الدراسة

عنوان البحث: العلامات التجارية في المشهد اللغوي في مدينة العقبة، الاردن.

الباحث: غازي النعيمات

أولاً: أؤكد انني قد قرأت وفهمت ورقة المعلومات بشهر أب، 2013م.

ثانياً: افهم ان مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة هي بطوعي ولدي الحق في الانسحاب من هذه المشاركة دون اعطاء اسباب.

ثالثاً: انني افهم ان مشاركتي لأكمال بنود الاستبانة ستكون مجهوله تماما.

رابعاً: افهم اذا اصبحت منزعجا او شعرت بعدم الارتياح في اي لحظه اثناء دراسته فلي كامل الحق في الانسحاب من الدراسة.

خامساً: انا افهم انه لدي الحق في الوصول الي المعلومات التي اشرك بها. وعلاوة على ذلك يمكنني ان اطلب الغاء هذه المعلومات متى اريد.

سادساً: اوافق على المعلومات الموجوده في الدراسة بحيث يتم تخزينها لمدة سنتين بعد تسليم اطروحة الدكتوراه. والسبب في ذلك ان الباحث قد يرتأي نشر الاطروحة, وربما يحتاج الى الوصول الي البيانات بعد تاريخ تسليم الاطروحة.

سابعاً: أنا موافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة.

| اسم المشارك | التوقيع | التاريخ |
|-------------|---------|---------|
| | | |
| اسم الباحث | التوقيع | التاريخ |
| | | |

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Appendix V: Interview Questions in English and Arabic

Interview Format

Dear participant,

This interview is part of a study which attempts to find out Jordanians' responses towards the language of brand names in the Linguistic Landscape of Aqaba. The Linguistic Landscape embodies all the signs of brand names in Arabic or foreign languages which can be seen as signs with brand names alone, brand names with business names, and slogans. This research has been approved by the University of Liverpool ethics panel. I hope you will co-operate by providing accurate answers, assuring you that your response to the questionnaire will be confidential and used only for the purposes of academic research.

PART ONE: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Please fill out your personal information. The researcher will not use your personal information and ensure your privacy.

Age

- Below 20 years
- 21 to 39 years
- 40 to 59 years
- Above 60 years

Gender

- Male
- Female

Education

- Primary school
- Secondary school
- Undergraduate
- Graduate

Occupation: _____

Languages known: _____

PART TWO: OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Please examine the following signs and then answer the questions according to your view:

1. Which language do you think of when you see these brand names?
2. Which country do you think of when you see these brand names?
3. Do you like to see the languages used in writing the brand names in the LL of Aqaba? If yes, why? If not, why not?





Thank you for your Participation

أسئلة المقابلة

عزيزي المشترك،

هذه الأسئلة هي جزء من دراسة تحاول التوصل لردود ووجهات نظر الاردنيين بخصوص لغة العلامات التجارية في المشهد اللغوي في العقبة. هذه الدراسة تمت مصادقتها من قبل اللجنة المختصة في جامعة ليفربول-بريطانيا، نتمنى منكم التعاون بتزويدنا بوجهات نظرکم، مؤکدين لکم ان الاجابات سوف تحفظ بشكل سري وتستخدم فقط لأغراض علمية بحثية.

الجزء الأول: المعلومات الشخصية

العمر:

* أقل من 20 سنة.

* 21 – 39 سنة.

* 40 – 59 سنة.

* فوق 60 سن

النوع الاجتماعي:

* ذكر

* أنثى

المستوى التعليمي:

* تعليم اساسي

* تعليم ثانوي

* مرحلة البكالوريوس

* دراسات عليا

الوظيفة -----

اللغات التي تتقنها -----

الجزء الثاني: أسئلة المقابلة المفتوحة:

1. ما هي اللغات التي تأتي لتفكيرك عندما تشاهد العلامات التجارية في الصور أدناه؟
2. ما هي الدول التي تأتي لتفكيرك عندما تشاهد العلامات التجارية في الصور أدناه؟

3. ما رأيك بوجود تلك العلامات التجارية؟ هل أنت مع أم ظهور لغات تلك العلامات التجارية في المشهد اللغوي بمدينة العقبة؟



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



12.



كل الشكر لمشاركتك،،،