

5 ICLEI 2016-37 Omar Ibrahim Salameh Alomoush

Top-Down and Bottom-Up Linguistic Layering in The Linguistic Landscape: The Case of Jordan

Omar Ibrahim Salameh Alomoush,
English Department, Tafila Technical University, Jordan
alomoushomar@ttu.edu.jo

ABSTRACT

The current study focuses on the functions of linguistic layering on both official and nonofficial signs in Jordanian cities. In this study, we argue that the visibility of different languages in linguistic layering is indicative of conflicting top-down and bottom-up language policies in the linguistic landscape (henceforth LL). By means of quantitative and qualitative methods, the study aims to uncover the extent to which linguistic diversity is reflected in linguistic layering. The quantitative data were collected in six Jordanian cities in November and December 2012. Sixteen research participants viewed the signs and expressed their attitudes and perceptions of the languages used and the differences between the old and new editions of signs. The findings suggest that both Modern Standard Arabic and English in Jordan have communicative and symbolic value in top-down linguistic layering. In addition to Modern Standard Arabic and English, a wide range of languages are used for commercial value on bottom-up signs.

Keywords: top-down and bottom-up linguistic landscaping, linguistic layering, multilingual writing

Introduction

The study of the linguistic landscape (LL) has gained importance in the field of sociolinguistics since the appearance of Landry & Bourhis' seminal paper (1997). They (1997) consider 'linguistic landscape' as a newly established approach in the field of language policy and planning, which aims to examine multilingualism in speech communities. Nowadays, LL has been investigated using a variety of different approaches, including (but not limited to) sociolinguistics, language policy and discourse analysis.

Landry & Bourhis' (1997, 25) definition of the term 'linguistic landscape' is a reference point for many linguistic landscapers:

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

One of the sociolinguistic fundamental lines of inquiry is the visibility of multilingual writing. Reh (2004) uses four main types of multilingual writing: 'complementary', 'duplicating', 'overlapping', and 'fragmentary' multilingual writing. This model, as pointed out by Reh (2004: 2), helps to describe and analyse multilingual written texts within a specific region or across different societies. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006:10) claim that the LL reflects 'the symbolic construction of the public space' rather than language policies. Further developments have been introduced into the field of linguistic landscape after the publication of Bachhaus' (2007) monograph on Tokyo. Backhaus (2007) presents a congruent

methodological approach, which has added new dimensions to the existing field of linguistic landscape, identifying three guiding research questions: Linguistic Landscape by whom? Linguistic landscape for whom? Linguistic landscape quo vadis?. Bottom-up and top-down signs correspond to the distinction, made by Ben-Rafael et al (2006) and Ben-Rafael (2009), between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ flows.

Many linguistic landscapers such as Backhaus (2007) and Ben-Rafael (2006) build upon Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) framework of code preference. When a text is written in multiple codes or orthographies, say English or Chinese, there is a preferred code. It is not possible that these items are located in the same place. However, the authors have not investigated the languages written from right to left, as in the case of Arabic.

The main goal of the present study is to examine the functions of both official and nonofficial linguistic layering in the LL of Jordanian cities. As a point of reference, the current paper builds upon the model used by previous linguistic landscapers. Layering is thought of as having distinctive functions in linguistic landscapes. Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 7) argue that such types of signs ‘provide a written record of the recent history of the Old City’ where three signs date back to the British mandate, the Jordanian rule, and the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem. Scollon and Scollon (2003:140) define layering as extension signs ‘superimposed on or clearly attached as a secondary message commenting on a more permanent or durable main sign’ to convey meanings of newness and temporality, even though this is not always the case. Backhaus (2007) conducts a diachronic study of the development of Tokyo’s LL where newer and older editions of signs are compared. Accordingly, this paper examines the ways that the sign writer uses co-existing signs to indicate sociolinguistic meanings. More specifically, this study provide answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the distribution of languages on linguistic layering-related signs in the LL of Jordanian cities.
2. What are the functions of top-down and bottom-up linguistic layering in the LL of Jordanian cities.

The current study draws upon the model of language policy as enumerated by Spolsky (2004). Spolsky’s (2004) theory of language policy consists of three main components: language practices, ecology and management. The importance of Spolsky’s theory of language policy in our study arises out of the consideration that ‘the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management’ (2004: 65). In this sense, we will analyse the LL of urban Jordan to identify the practices of Jordanian people on signs. In addition, the term linguistic landscaping, as used by Itagi & Singh (2002), is employed to refer to the implementation of language decisions on signs. The underpinning theory for this research suggests that there are differences in terms of the languages used on top-down and bottom-up signs related to linguistic layering in the LL by showing the existence of the theory through discussion.

Language policy and signage in Jordan

Jordan is situated in the Arab Middle East and shares its borders with Palestine to the West, Syria to the North, Iraq to the East and Saudi Arabia to the South. Amman is the capital city. Jordan consists of twelve governorates: Amman, Al-Balqa, Irbid, Jerash, Zarqa, Almafraq, Ajloun, Madaba, Maan, Karak, Tafila and Aqaba. About 80% of Jordan’s 6.3 million population live in the urban communities of Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, Salt, Karak and Aqaba.

The language situation in Jordan is characterised by the dominance of one national language, namely Arabic. Arabic is the only state language as stipulated in Article 2 of the 1952 Jordanian constitution. Modern Standard Arabic, which is derived from Classical Arabic, is the language variety of the state of Jordan, whilst Jordanian Arabic is only reserved for informal uses. English is extensively supported by the state and local communities as a symbol of modernity, development and refinement. Not only is the English language preferred by certain segments of the Jordanian community, especially social elites and students, but it is also the usual medium of instruction at Jordanian universities.

Not only British mandate, globalisation, education and tourism contributed to the emergence of societal multilingualism within the Jordanian community, but also immigration did so long before. Arabs make up the vast majority of its population, while other ethnic groups make up about 2% of its people. These ethnic groups include Chechens, Circassians, Armenians, Turks and Kurds. These minorities use Arabic as the main language for formal uses, whilst minority languages are reserved for informal domains, especially home. However, Chechens show a stronger tendency to maintain their mother tongue than other ethnic groups.

The language policy of the Jordanian state is, on the one hand, reflected in the top-down LL of Jordanian cities. This is apparent in the dominance of Modern Standard Arabic alongside English on municipal signs. Bilingualism entails that Arabic is conceived as the language of the past and Arab and Islamic culture, whereas English is the language of modernity and progress. On the other hand, the bottom-up linguistic landscaping shows that a wide range of languages are used on signs. The names of shops mostly have English words. Billboards, leaflets, commercials, advertisements use English. This is not only the case; the graffiti on the walls may be abundant in English words. English is a preferred language in private and public spaces. Greeting cards and visiting cards of doctors are normally tagged with English. Other languages might be found on bottom-up signs such as French, Italian, German Spanish and Turkish.

Methodology

In order to examine the role of top-down and bottom-up linguistic layering in the LL, the current research is based on a congruent methodology not only for recording and coding signs, but also for their definition. In each of the six survey areas, namely Irbid, Salt, Zarqa, Amman, Karak and Aqaba, ten streets were selected. These cities are the most important of all Jordanian cities in terms of population size, economy, industry, tourism and historical heritage. The most principal streets in each city were selected, because they provided the study with different types of signs, including municipal and commercial signs. A 100-metre stretch of each street was selected on the basis of its density with signs. Signs are first coded according to monolingual and multilingual writing and then coded according to language/language variety (e.g. Modern Standard Arabic, English, Jordanian Arabic, Arabacised English and Romanised Arabic) and function (e.g. commercial and municipal signs). In spite of the potential challenges surrounding the classification of signs according to top-down and bottom-up forces (Kallen, 2010), a bottom-up and top-down dichotomy contributes to understanding the language practices of bottom-up and top-down actors. This means that top-down and bottom-up linguistic landscaping can be uncovered through examining the prominent languages in the LL.

For this study, we draw upon Backhaus' (2007, 66) definition of a sign, which is 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame'. Signs might be street name signs, business name signs, posters on shop windows and walls, noticeboards and billboards, signs on governmental buildings, 'pull and push' and 'open and close' signs, announcements on

electricity poles, and lettered door mats. All signs in each street within a distance of about 100 metres were recorded and photographs of all multilingual signs were taken by using a digital camera. The signs selected in the current study are uploaded on the image-sharing website, Flickr (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/99356747@N04/>). While the corpus for Jordanian cities contains 8037 signs, linguistic layering related signs are restricted to a total of 227 signs, which are coded according to code and source of sign, as shown in Table 1.

Entnographic research constitutes a very important LL principle in the current study. To interpret the LL data more thoroughly, we engaged in conversations with passers-by members of municipal councils and store owners, whose total number is sixteen. The conversations focused on their reading of old and new editions of top-down and bottom-up signs.

In order to examine the role of bilingualism, particularly Arabic and English, in government-related domains as promulgated in language policy documents, the researcher reviewed the state's language policy documents which emphasise the status of Arabic and English since the foundation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1946. The 1952 Jordanian Constitution and educational language documents are among the most important to be given attention in the current study.

Results and discussion

This section is designed to examine the concept of 'layering' with a pragmatic view to highlighting the functions of older and newer editions of top-down and bottom-up signs. In the top-down LL, older and newer versions of signs are found to provide information about the historical and political development of the HKJ and the state's language policy development from a monolingual to a multilingual language policy. In the bottom-up LL, a number of functions are emphasised, including linguistic rebranding, amending older editions of some signs for economic reasons, and adding and duplicating information in Arabic to the existing original sign. In general, there is an increase of the number of languages present on newer editions of signs.

The quantitative results in Table 1 show the distribution of codes on signs closely linked to linguistic layering according to source of sign. Modern Standard Arabic is the first most occurring variety for a total of 219 signs. The second most dominant language on monolingual signs was the English language with a total of 83 signs. Romanised Arabic and Arabacised English were the third and fourth common code on signs for a total of 82 and 27 signs respectively.

Table 1:

Linguistic layering-related signs according to code and function

Language combination	Commercial signs	Municipal signs	Total
MSA	36	42	68
MSA+English+*RA**	33	44	77
MSA+*AE***	27	-	20
MSA+Jordanian Arabic	16	-	16
MSA+RA	5	-	15
French+MSA	17	-	17
Arabic script+ Roman script	4	-	4
MSA+English+French+German+Italian+Russian	2	-	2
English+Spanish+German	4	-	2
Total	155	72	227

*MSA = Modern Standard Arabic.

**RA= Romanised Arabic.

***AE=Arabacised English.

Table 1 shows that linguistic layering in the LL of Jordanian cities is predominantly moulded by bottom-up forces. About 70% of linguistic layering related signs are shaped by nonofficial LL actors, which in turn shows that nonofficial forces are ascribed responsibility for the linguistic diversity in the commercial streets of urban Jordan.

The statistics in Table 1 show contrastive trends of both official and nonofficial originators of signs. On the one hand, top-down signs used only three codes: Modern Standard Arabic, English and Romanised Arabic. On the other hand, a wide range of codes, including Modern Standard Arabic, English, Romanised Arabic, Arabacised English, French, Italian, German, Spanish and Russian were used on bottom-up signs.

The visual display of Modern Standard Arabic and English on municipal signs is a signifier of the symbolic importance and status of these languages in the local community. The statistics in Table 1 reflects the fact that government-related signs (i.e. municipal signs) are constructed within a framework of bilingual landscaping where two languages are given prominence, although Modern Standard Arabic is given greater significance. In state-related signage, it could be argued that the constitutional designation of Arabic as the official language of the state of Jordan has guaranteed Modern Standard Arabic (i.e. ensured it a role in state-related functions such as street name labelling) the more prominent position on government-related signs such as road signs and inscriptions on governmental buildings. In addition to its status as the international mode of communication and the language of scientific and technological advances, English as found on state-related signs represents the linguistic medium of the state through which foreign tourists and workers are visually communicated.

Top-down linguistic layering

The coexistence of older and newer versions can trace the historical and political development of the HKJ. As illustrated in Figure 1, the Modern Standard Arabic lettering in the older sign reads 'SHARIA ALMALIK ABDULLAH', whilst the newer one reads 'SHARIA ALMALIK ABDULLAH ALTHAANI'. These two signs reflect remnants of the historical development of Jordan and record its modern history. It is evident that there are two kings in the HKJ in two different eras. It seems that the upper sign was nailed to the wall after King Abdullah II was placed on the throne, whilst the lower one had been installed long before the rule of King Abdullah II. This sign was presented to some participants who agreed upon that the Jordanian state supports bilingualism (i.e. Arabic and English) and noticed that these two signs also indicate a political development as suggested before.



Figure 1: An older and newer version of a street name sign showing two different political eras

In Karak City, new and old editions of street name signs are noticeable. Figure 2 can provide information on the linguistic change of the state's language policy from conveying monolingual into multilingual information. As Figure 2 illustrates, the older sign solely provided in Modern Standard Arabic underwent complete corrosion, so it turned it into a brown colour. In contrast, the newer sign is mainly provided in Romanised Arabic, English, and Modern Standard; by virtue of top placement and size of larger characters, it seems that Romanised Arabic has a more prominent position than English and Modern Standard Arabic.



Figure 2: An older and newer version of a street sign in the LL of Karak city centre

The evidence supplied by passers-by suggests that English has an important role in the construction of visual Jordan. The rationale put forward by the participants highlights the role of globalisation in shaping the LL of urban Jordan. This means that the spread of English can be noticed in any linguistic landscape worldwide.

Bottom-up linguistic layering

In the bottom-up LL, corporate rebranding is observed in older and newer editions of signs. One of the main causes for company rebranding is to sell corporate shares. In the city centre

of Irbid, older editions suggest linguistic changes from Arabacised English to Romanised Arabic and foreign languages.



Figure 3: An older edition of signs displaying former branding in Irbid

The first line in Figure 3, two brands in brown characters reading ‘FASTLINK, MOBILCOM’ are formulated in Arabacised English, whilst the remainder of information reading ‘AJIHIZEH KHALAWIEH, SIYANEH KHUTOUT, IKSISWARAAT, BITAQAAT SHAHIN’ meaning ‘mobile phones, maintenance, sim cards, accessories, charge cards’ is inscribed in Modern Standard Arabic. In comparison with newer editions of signs, *Faslink* has been rebranded into *Zain* as shown in Figure 4, which is a demonstration of a radical linguistic change from Arabacised English into Romanised Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic.



Figure 4: A new layering displaying a radical linguistic change of rebranding

In a newer edition of sign, *MobilCom* has been rebranded into *Orange*, a further manifestation of a radical linguistic shift from Arabacised English to English. This can be explained by the fact that *Orange* is currently owned by France Telecom, a French telecommunications corporation as illustrated in Figure 5.



Figure 5: A new layering displaying a radical linguistic change of rebranding

Some passers-by commented on the use of brand names in the LL and highlighted the commercial value for the above companies. Interestingly, the participants labelled the above as English brand names and no one mentioned French ones. Nowadays, English is the

language of commercial globalisation and modernity. When they were asked about the new and old editions of the above signs, the participants thought that even 'Zain' in Roman script was an English brand name. This might be attributed to the appeal of Roman script, which is closely linked to English according to the participants.

Bottom-up linguistic layering might point to facts about the development of tourism in Jordan. Amending previously existing editions that are disregarded as authentic is also commonplace in the commercial streets of urban Jordan on non-government related signs. This is highlighted in Figure 6 where the sign designer adds four different languages not previously present in the lower sign. In the newer edition, not only a different commercial LL category in much larger characters is presented in the upper sign, but also new languages are present and Spanish is absent.



Figure 6: The coexistence of old and new commercial versions (Aqaba)

In the lower business sign in Figure 6, three languages are used: English, Spanish, and German, whilst six languages in the upper multifunctional commercial sign, including Modern Standard Arabic, English, French, German, Russian, and Italian are used. In terms of colours used, the new layer uses three colours. First, the business name reading 'SHARIKAT ALKHALEEJ LISIRAAFEH' duplicated as 'Gulf Exchange Company' is present in larger red Arabic characters and Roman block capitals on a blue background. The last two lines are written in smaller white Arabic letters on a background painted bright blue together with the Arabic business name in smaller lettering. The old layer, on the other hand, employs the English word 'Exchange' in red block capitals, the Spanish 'CAMBIO' in green block capitals, and the German 'WECHSEL' in black block capitals on a dim brown background. Such a conscious linguistic landscaping is mainly intended for increasing economic means. To use Spolsky's definition of language policy (2004), the new linguistic practices are influenced by the belief that new waves of foreign tourists, including but not limited to French, Italian, and Russian tourists might be interested in money exchange services. These meanings were also confirmed by the store owner.

Not only top-down linguistic layering provides information about the historical development of the Jordanian state, but also bottom-up linguistic layering might provide information about the history of Jordan. Amending previously existing editions might occur to include a certain Arabic variety in the multilingual composition of spaces, especially Jordanian Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. This is highlighted in Figures 7, 8 and 9. In Figure 7, the sign writer changed the business name by adding 'Y' in yellow colour to the

previously existing business name appearing in Figure 8 that reads as 'OPTIKOUS GANNAAM' meaning 'Gannaam Optician'. In the newer edition, not only a new business name in much larger characters was presented, but also new information was provided at the foot of Figure 8. The sign producer listed the services available on the sign, which reads as 'NATHARAAT TABIYEH WASHAMSIYEH' meaning 'Medical glasses and sunglasses'. In addition to the new business information, the store name was modified from a Modern Standard Arabic Business name, 'GANNAAM' to Colloquial business name 'GANNAAYAM'. With the replacement of business names of Standard Arabic origin by colloquial ones, it seems that the store owner has attempted to attract the visual attention of the local customers. The sign designer also realised the role of images in the visual persuasion of customers. That is why the image of the pretty young girl wearing glasses and red lipstick on the left position together with five images of pretty girly eyes on the right side of the sign was intended as a contribution to the overall message.



Figure 7: The existence of new layer in yellow as an attempt to modify the old edition



Figure 8: An example of an old layer



Figure 9: The final amendment of 'GANNAAYAM' Optics

In Figure 9 that reads as 'NATHARAAT GHANAYEM FAHES NATHER-NATHARAT TABIYEH WASHAMSIYEH-EDASAAT LAASEQEH' meaning 'GHANAYEM optician, eyesight tests, medical eyeglasses and sunglasses, contact lenses'. On the one hand, 'OPTIKOUS' is replaced by 'NATHARAAT', which is a Modern Standard Arabic term for 'glasses'. On the other hand, 'GHANAYEM' is a Jordanian Arabic term meaning 'gains after war'. Historically, before the state of Jordan came into existence, some big and powerful Bedouin tribes in Jordan used to invade less powerful tribes and steal existing camels, sheep, and goats. In this regard, the sign designer uses two Arabic varieties to name his optical store. In comparison with Figures 7 and 8, the new layer provides eyesight tests and contact lenses that are formerly non-existent. In terms of colours used, the new layer uses three colours. First, the business name 'NATHARAAT GHANAYEM' appears in larger black Arabic characters. Second, the bottom line is written in smaller red Arabic letters. Third, the background was painted bright yellow together with a beautiful girly eye on the right surface of Figure 9.

Based on the evidence supplied by the store owners in Figures 10, 11, 12, and 13, business owners take the initiative to add or duplicate information in Arabic to the existing original sign, which might be designed by a commercial company as presented in Figure 10. Such additional information is often produced by hand rather than by print. As Figure 10 shows, a mobile store owner adds new information to the original version consisting of 'Open' and 'Umniah', a cellular telecommunication company in Jordan. The hand-writing provides new information and duplicates part of the original message in Modern Standard Arabic. Language loyalty is a reason that urges store owners to add Modern Standard Arabic to English-dominated signs, as illustrated in Figure 10.



Figure 10: An example of linguistic layering signs (Irbid)

The multilingual writing in Figure 10 reading ‘MAFTOUH’ and meaning ‘open’ is attached on the outer window of a mobile phone store. The hand-written text occupies most of the space with more information and larger and similar font sizes than the original printed sign. The Modern Standard Arabic text reading and meaning ‘MAFTOUH, LIDHAROUREH ITASEL ALAA ALRAKAM 0777624433’ and ‘open, when necessary call this number 0777624433’ respectively. This sign is an instance of Reh’s (2004) overlapping multilingual writing.

The best frameworks for analysing the linguistic behaviour of the sign writer of the new layering are the three sign rules enumerated by Spolsky and Cooper (1991). The store owner seems to have made a conscious language decision to use Modern Standard Arabic to write new information reading ‘LIDHAROUREH ITASEL ALAA ALRAKAM 0777624433’. In addition, the store owner has decided to translate part of the printed text into Modern Standard Arabic. In the light of Spolsky and Cooper’s (1991) third condition which assumes that the sign writer prefers to write in a language to be identified with, new information reading ‘LIDHAROUREH ITASEL ALAA ALRAKAM 0777624433’ is solely inscribed in Modern Standard Arabic. It actually reflects a conscious linguistic landscaping where the store owner rejects such English-dominated signs for his customers in the sense that this language decision contributes to preserving economic interests by accommodating a diverse range of customers.

Scollon and Scollon (2003: 137, 138) highlight that ‘layering’ occurs when a poster or announcement is attached on another sign to indicate meanings of temporality and newness. The business name sign in Figure 11 has an add-on sign newly attached to the permanent sign.



Figure 11: An advertisement newly and temporarily placed on a permanent sign (Irbid)

Although the ‘on sale’ poster in Figure 11 provides new information about ‘HALWIYAT ALMMLAKA’ duplicated into ‘ALMMLAKA Sweets’, it cannot be regarded as an integral part of the permanent sign. The new layering reading ‘AALMAHAL’ LILBAIYAA, LILMURAAJAAH TALAFOUN 0785756164’ meaning ‘the store is for sale, for information call this telephone number: 0785756164’ is presented in Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic. ‘TALAFOUN’ and ‘ALMAHAL’, widely used words among Jordanians in comparison with ‘HAATIF’ and ‘MATJAR’, the respective Modern Standard Arabic equivalents, are provided in Jordanian Arabic.

New linguistic layers might be pragmatically intended for the addition of information about a certain newspaper subscriber. A new layer of monolingual writing might be superimposed over original multilingual information as illustrated in Figure 12. This newspaper rack belongs to one of the main daily newspapers in Jordan. It is principally to promote and advertise customer services and satisfy the needs and wants of the newspaper’s

subscribers. The subscriber reading 'ALURDUNIEH LITAJHEEZAAT ALILMIYEH' meaning 'The Jordanian Company for Scientific Equipment' is handwritten at the top of the front side of the newspaper rack as a new layering.



Figure 12: A multilingual newspaper rack that contains a new layering (Amman)

The newspaper name in Figure 12 reads 'ALARAB ALYAWM', transliterated on the newspaper box in much smaller Roman letters. With the inclusion of an image of the globe as the official newspaper logo, which at the same time stands for the last character of the title of the newspaper, the sign writer helps passers-by to figure out the main mission of a Pro-Arab newspaper. The globe emblem or logo itself forms particular semiotic meanings. Since the emblem relates to a newspaper, it might be a semiotic attempt to distinguish itself by reporting the up-to-minute news from different parts of the world. Although the language is kept unaltered, two different scripts are used. The salience of the Arabic script is manifested through the use of much larger letters in bold than Roman script characters. This indexes the superior status of Modern Standard Arabic as the majority language. The question is why the newspaper prefers the transliteration of 'ALARAB ALYAWM' to its being translated into English. It can be assumed that the newspaper wants to maintain linguistic remnants of Modern Standard Arabic throughout the text, the attitude of which may result from purist language attitudes of the newspaper. This is further emphasised by the presence of Roman letters of the transliterated written forms which are too small to be recognised.

Bottom-up linguistic layering is also used to reflect both linguistic and non-linguistic purposes. Figure 13 displays how a new sign writer paints an equivalent writing in Arabic script in dark blue across the original copy of the brand name 'BRAUN' in black in the LL of Zarqa. Not only the store owner attempts to reflect the current linguistic composition of the LL, but also he saves money and space by using the Arabic letters across the Roman ones instead of installing a new sign. Such a newly painted layer is intended to convey a bilingual rather than monolingual message.



Figure 13: An example of linguistic layering (Zarqa)

In other words, such a diachronic change suggests a LL tendency to shift from monolingual writing towards duplicating multilingualism. This further demonstrates that the LL is characterised by an increase in the number of languages and scripts. When the store owner was asked about the use of Arabic script across the Roman letters, he wanted to reflect the ethnolinguistic composition of the LL. Based on the evidence provided by the store owner, the use of Arabic on this sign can be attributed to the meanings of local culture and Arab nationalism.

Conclusions

This study has compared top-down and bottom-up linguistic layering in the LL of Jordanian cities. The analysis of top-down linguistic layering in the LL, on the one hand, reveals that the language policy of the state is well-reflected in top-down linguistic layering whose main languages are Arabic and English. On the other hand, bottom-up linguistic layering reinforces the assumption that top-down signs are less controlled by the Jordanian state, unveiling and revealing a wide range of codes used by store owners and commercial companies. The less controlled bottom-up signs show that signs initiators (e.g. store owners and commercial companies) use different codes, not necessarily Arabic and English, in order to accomplish social and pragmatic ends.

Initiated by top-down and bottom-up agents, linguistic layering has been used to convey a range of functions, including amending formerly existing editions on both government and nongovernment signage, providing new information about permanent signs such as 'for sale' advertisements, and corporate rebranding as noticed on some older and newer editions of commercial signs. The most noticeable observation of linguistic layering is a rise in the number of languages and scripts: the shift from monolingual to bilingual writing, bilingual to trilingual writing, trilingual writing to signs featuring more than four languages, and non-standard English expressions to standard ones. There is a tendency that new linguistic layers feature Modern Standard Arabic in the first place and English in the second place; other codes are less visible such as Romanised Arabic, Arabacised English and European languages.

References

- Backhaus, P. (2007) *Linguistic landscapes: a comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ben-Rafael, E. et al. (2006) Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: the case of Israel. In: Gorter, D. ed., *Linguistic landscape: a new approach to multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp.7-31.
- Blackwood, R. (2011) 'The linguistic landscape of Brittany and Corsica: a comparative study of the presence of France's regional languages in the public space'. *French Studies*, 21, pp.111-130.
- Blackwood, R. & Tufi, S. (2012) Policies vs. non-policies: analysing regional languages and the national standard in the linguistic landscape of French and Italian Mediterranean cities. In: Gorter, D. et al. eds. *Minority languages in the linguistic landscape*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 109-126.
- Constitution of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Available from URL http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/constitution_jo.html> (Accessed November 16, 2011).
- Itagi, N. H., & Singh, S. K. (2002) Introduction. In: Itagi, N. H. & Singh, S. K. eds., **Linguistic landscaping in India with particular reference to the new states:**

- proceedings of a seminar.** Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages and Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University, pp. ix-xii.
- Kallen, J. L. (2010) Changing landscapes: language, space and policy in the Dublin linguistic landscape. In: Jaworski, A. & Thurlow C. eds. *Semiotic landscapes: language, image, space*. London: Continuum, pp. 41-58.
- Landry, R. and Bourhis R. Y. (1997) 'Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: an empirical study'. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16(1), pp. 23-49.
- Ministry of Education (1984). *English language curriculum: compulsory stage*. Amman: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (1990). *English language curriculum and its general guidelines for the basic education stage*. Amman: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2000). *General guidelines and curricula for the basic and secondary stages*. Amman: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2005). *General guidelines for English subject and general and specific outcomes for the English language curriculum*. Amman: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Municipal Affairs (2007a) *Municipal Law*. Available from <http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/ar/gam/laws.asp> (Accessed 21 July 2014).
- Ministry of Municipal Affairs (2007b) *The Village and City Organisation Act*. Available from <http://www.ammancity.gov.jo/ar/gam/laws.asp> (Accessed 21 July 2014).
- Reh, M. (2004) 'Multilingual writing: a reader-oriented typology –with examples from Lira Municipality (Uganda)'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 170, pp. 1-41.
- Scollon, R., and Scollon, S.W. (2003) *Discourses in place: language in the material world*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Shoup, A. J. (2007) *Culture and customs of Jordan*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Spolsky, B. & Cooper, R. (1991) *The languages of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Spolsky, B., (2004) *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thurlow, C. & Jaworski, A. (2010) 'Silence is Golden: the 'Anti-communicational' languascaping of super-elite mobility'. In: Jaworski, A. & Thurlow, C. eds. *Semiotic landscapes: language, image, space*. London: Continuum, pp. 187-218.
- Tufi, S. (2013) 'Shared places, unshared identities: vernacular discourses and spatialised constructions of identity in the linguistic landscape of Trieste', *Modern Italy* 18 (4), pp. 391-408.
- Tufi, S., Blackwood, R. (2010) 'Trademarks in the linguistic landscape: methodological and theoretical challenges in qualifying brand names'. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7 (3), pp. 197-210.