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English in the linguistic landscape of Jordanian shopping malls: Sociolinguistic variation and translanguaging

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The spread of English is one of the notable aspects of the visual marketplace in modern Jordan. This paper investigates how English is negotiated and constructed inside Jordanian shopping malls in the linguistic landscape. It also examines the sociolinguistic roles played by English and other linguistic resources in those shopping malls. The study uses both quantitative and qualitative data. The research sites are two shopping malls in Amman and two in southern Jordan. A large corpus of 488 linguistic signs has been collected and coded according to three criteria: mall departments, exits and entrances, and language. The data was carefully and systematically ethnographically examined through repeatedly visiting the sites, and Jordanian mall shoppers were interviewed. The results indicate that it has become normal to use English as a valuable source of community translanguaging inside western Amman shopping malls. The less affluent malls in other areas display either impressionistic translanguaging or predominantly monolingual practices. It should be emphasised that there are also non-linguistic factors (e.g. demographics) that have a significant bearing on multilingual and monolingual landscaping.

Key words: Community translanguaging; impressionistic translanguaging; language landscape; shopping malls; Jordan

Introduction

The linguistic landscape (LL) has become a focus of interest to researchers, including but not limited to sociolinguists, language planners, ethnographers, sociologists, and semioticians. LLs are "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings […] of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25). LLs have the potential to include all forms of written language presented in commercial, private, and official social settings. Scollon and Scollon (2003) introduced the concept of geo-semiotics to describe the interface existing between the field of semiotics and the physical environment itself. Their theoretical framework contributes to the interpretation of the written language found in LLs and differentiates between two distinct language functions of indexing the community or symbolising something about a product or business which is not connected with where it appears.

LLs mould the lives of a city's inhabitants who are surrounded by countless visual signs. The visibility of specific languages in the LL determines whether they are heard, spoken, and/or read in the environment. The presence of Arabic and English in a predominantly Arabic speaking community is a demonstration of their respective

indexing and symbolic functions (e.g. social exchanges and commercial importance). This paper examines the display of Arabic and English in Jordanian shopping malls to measure the degree of bilingualism present, and to understand the social causes of the patterns of translingual and monolingual practices.

Since urban spaces provide a sociolinguistic context for the explanation and understanding of the dynamics of language (Al-Naimat & Saidat, 2019; Chriost, 2007), we have deliberately selected shopping centres for observation because linguistic diversity is more apparent there than in rural areas (Barni & Bagna, 2010). The specific objective of this research is to understand the sociolinguistics of the disproportionate degrees of visual monolingualism and Arabic-English bilingualism in different parts of Amman, Ma'an and Tafila.

In recent years, the notion of translanguaging has been incorporated into LL research in an attempt to understand the mutual relationship between place and linguistic resources (Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Pennycook, 2017). Garcia and Li (2014) define translanguaging as an approach that examines the bilingual behaviour of individuals as a single linguistic repertoire containing features from separate languages. The present study aims at examining the sociolinguistic associations of translanguaging practices of English in Jordanian shopping malls. We will divide translingual practices into: (a) community translanguaging that conventionally includes complete or predominantly whole literal translation; (b) impressionistic translanguaging that conventionally involves code-switching, particularly switching from Arabic into English for product naming; and (c) monolingual practices. The first type reveals the ethno-multilingual and multicultural repertoire of the visual marketplace inside shopping malls, the second reveals innovative uses of English such as filling lexical gaps and naming products; and the third reveals a reversal of multilingualism towards a predominant ideology of monolingualism in Arabic.

The role of English in Jordan

Arabic is the official language of Jordan and official linguistic practices conform to this policy. However, English has been playing an increasing role in Jordan since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Alomoush, 2019a) and it is now viewed in Jordan as the global language of education, social prestige, refinement, and modernity.

The direct link between English and globalization gives English unprecedented global supremacy. It is currently the world's most used language of commerce, education, technology, and fashion (Crystal, 2003; Curtin, 2009). Its status, according to Brown (2003), is closely connected to the expansion of British colonial power and later the military, political, and economic power of the USA. English is used as an official or co-official language in seventy-five territories which contain about one third of the world's population (Crystal, 2003). So, approximately 800,000,000 people use English as either their first or second language.

The prevalence of English in the Jordanian context is partly associated with the important role it plays. Global English symbolises "geography, ubiquity, and universalism" (Ricento, 2015, p. 276) and its spread can be described as "natural, neutral, and beneficial" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 7). This has led to the concept of World Englishes encompassing varying linguistic forms (Kachru, 1986) across circles rippling out from the *inner circle* nations (i.e. the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), through *outer circle* countries (e.g. India and Pakistan) where English is constitutionally and institutionally recognised but not considered as the native language, to the *expanding*

circle including states (e.g. China and Jordan) where English is typically used in a restricted set of domains but especially in education and international commerce.

In both public and private schools in Jordan, English is compulsorily taught as the only foreign language from the first grade. In public schools, students receive limited exposure to English but in many private schools they are taught by native speakers and receive more extensive exposure. Many private schools include international sections where Jordanian students pursue the British IGCSE or the American High School Diploma. English is also the main medium of university education in the fields of science, technology, industry, and innovation. University students must either pass an English placement test on entry or take two English courses. All scientific undergraduate and postgraduate courses are provided in English.

Many Jordanians enjoy practicing their English, and communicating and sharing information with the outside world in English. For these reasons, private English tutoring has prospered since the mid-1990s. The hiring of private English teachers and speaking English fluently are signs of affluence and high social class and is expected to continue in Jordan "because of the ever-increasing importance of English on both the local and international levels" (Khuwaileh & Al-Shoumali, 2001, p. 35). English is also important for securing a well-paid job.

Although not constitutionally recognised as a co-official language alongside Arabic, English has a strong presence in the Jordanian LL as a representation of globalisation, modernity, fashion, cultivation and job security. English might also pose a linguistic threat to the survival of minority languages in the wider society (Muhlhausler, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Foreign economic workers and linguistic diversity

A total of 1,149,419 visitors entered Jordan in 2015 for a range of purposes, including tourism, work, and study (Table 1). In the last three decades, many economic migrants, particularly from South Asia (e.g. Philippino, Indians, Chinese, Bengalis, and Burmese) entered Jordan looking for work. Social and demographic data suggest that there are more than 100,000 foreign workers temporarily residing in Jordan. These data demonstrate the multilingualism of Jordan.

Table 1. Non-Arab nationals arriving in Jordan in 2015 (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Department of Statistics, 2016)

Area of origin	Number of arrivals
European countries	365,286
Asian countries	481,191
African countries	42,538
American countries	234,211
Australia and New Zealand	26,034
United Nations	159
Total	1,149,419

The non-Arab arrivals speak various languages and almost certainly speak at least one international language such as English, Spanish, French, or Russian, although almost certainly English will be predominant due to the military, economic and political power of the USA, the widespread use of English, and globalisation. Those who stay for a relatively long period almost all come from Western and Eastern Europe, the Americas, and Asia (Table 2). The largest group of workers (61,210) is from non-Arab Asian countries which provide many females who work as maids (Filipinos, Indonesians, and Sri Lankans), and economic workers (Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Burmese), many of those countries use English as a second language.

Table 2. Distribution of non-Jordanian populations living in Jordan
(The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Department of Statistics, 2015)

Area of origin	Number
Western European countries	17,472
Eastern European countries	11,078
North American countries	14,128
Middle American countries	2,794
Non-Arab Asian countries	61,210
Non-Arab African countries	9,636
Oceania Countries	2,551

Methodology

This study combines quantitative and qualitative data. The data is compiled into 2 corpora each of which contains photographic images, observational notes and interview transcripts. One corpus is based on two shopping malls in Amman (City Mall and Shopping 147 Corner Mall) and the other corpus is based on two shopping malls in southern Jordan (Star Shopping Mall and Al-Qaisi Mall). These corpora offer insights into the stratification and categorisation of places in the LL. The western Amman shopping malls represent the most affluent areas of Amman whilst other shopping malls, especially those in southern Jordan, exemplify the less prestigious parts of Jordan. The data also includes a large number of digital photographs (of 488 signs). In this dataset, Arabic and English constitute the only languages used in the shopping malls surveyed, even though there were many members of the foreign workforce population and international tourists shopping in western Amman, particularly in City Mall. The mall departments surveyed in Amman include food and confectionery, homeware, and greengrocery, whilst other departments, such as electronics, health and beauty, and arts and crafts departments, have been excluded because they are less visited by shoppers.

The *discourses of place* approach, as articulated by Scollon and Scollon (2003), is used in this study to theorise and draw inferences from the data, build upon inductive reasoning and examine the contextual data ethnographically to uncover the rationale behind the linguistic composition of the LL. As part of the fieldwork, these shopping malls were visited on a daily basis for a period of two months in order to collect adequate ethnographic evidence to supports the linguistic analysis of textual materials collected

from the research sites. To enhance the ethnographic method, interviews were conducted with 10 Jordanian shoppers about the use of English in these commercial centres. A range of interviewees represented male and female Jordanians of different ages and occupational levels (Table 3).

Table 3: Demographic details of interviewees

Participants	Occupation	Age	Gender
1	Manager	33	Female
2.	University professor	41	Male
3.	Student	21	Male
4.	Supervisor	45	Male
5.	Shop assistant	25	Female
6.	Teacher	55	Male
7.	Student	22	Male
8	Student	21	Female
9	Housewife	34	Female
10	Unemployed	20	Male

Informal observations in the shopping malls were also used to collect information about the linguistic repertoire and ethnicity of shoppers. Sometimes this necessitated engaging in conversations in Arabic or English with shoppers to explore and identify their ethnic background and linguistic repertoire. Observations conducted in City Mall showed tens of people speaking English, but when two or more were from the same ethnic group they sometimes spoke other languages (e.g. Chinese, Italian, Russian, and Tagalog).

The data about signage was categorised according to entrances and exits on the one hand, and major departments existing in Jordanian shopping malls, including food and confectionery, drinks, and homeware, on the other hand.

Results and discussion
This section presents quantitative results relating to three Jordanian shopping malls. The presence of two main languages is the most noteworthy characteristic of the LL (see Table 4). In classifying signs according to language, mall departments, and exits and entrances, various degrees of visibility of English were noted according to location. This section examines the sociolinguistics of languages, translingual and non-translingual/monolingual practices in Jordanian shopping malls.

How English is negotiated and constructed inside various shopping malls
The relative presence of English in the LL varies according to location (Table 4). English is as dominant as Arabic in western Amman, while it only occasionally becomes visible in the LL of northern Amman shopping malls. There are statistically significant differences between the higher proportion of English in western Amman signage and the lower proportion in northern Amman. Commercial actors (i.e. store managers/owners)

governed and controlled the degree of visual linguistic diversity in commercial LLs. There are non-linguistic factors (e.g. high concentrations of foreign population, social prestige, types of consumers that are more likely to belong to wealthy classes than non-wealthy ones) that lead to differences in the degree of visibility of English in some areas in Amman. There is credible evidence for the general dominance of bilingualism on signs in shopping malls (Table 4).

Table 4. Visibility of languages on signs in western versus northern Amman shopping malls

Languages	Western Amman		Northern Amman	
	Mall departments	Exits and entrances	Mall departments	Exits and entrances
Arabic-English	231	24	*2*	6
Arabic-English-Arabacised English	22	-	13	-
Arabic-Arabacised English	-	-	25	-
Arabic	-	-	120	4
English	41	-	-	-
Total	294	24	160	10

Where Arabic-English bilingual signs (231) are present in western Amman, they often have clear functions. In mall departments and at the exits and entrances of a superstore, a large number of advertising posters and information signs provide information on the products sold and the prices for both Arabic-speaking and non-Arabic speaking populations. Although the native languages of Europeans, Asians, Americans, Chinese, and Russians can be heard in western Amman superstores, the sign designers (i.e. the superstore managers) appear not to consider them as being as widespread as English (based on an interview with a manager who assumed that the Europeans speak English as a second language). Perhaps multilingual signage in which English constitutes a major part is an important characteristic of language practices by those superstores. On the other end of the spectrum, monolingual English signs (41 appearances) were visible, the overwhelming majority of which were mere examples of brand names (e.g. *mars chocolate* and *kit kat*). This confirms that English has become an essential component of every LL worldwide, in addition to being a valuable addition to translanguaging practiced by commercial stores.

English-only signs were not present in the malls of southern Jordan (Table 5) even though English is prominent on the storefronts. Arabic appears exclusively on a total of 40 signs inside the Maan shopping mall, including exits and entrances, and on 20 signs in the Tafila shopping mall. On the other hand, bilingual signs were infrequently used in these locations (5 Arabic-English and 2 Arabic-Arabacised English signs in the former and two for each language combination in the latter).

Table 5. Visibility of languages on signs in southern Jordan shopping malls

Languages	Ma'an		Tafila	
	Mall sections	Exits and entrances	Mall sections	Exits and entrances
Arabic-English	3	2	2	-
Arabic-Arabacised English	2	-	2	-
Arabic	35	5	16	4
Total	40	7	20	4

In the following part of this paper we examine examples of signs positioned at exits, entrances, and mall departments according to location with a view to understanding the spread of English inside shopping malls. The ethnographic information obtained from the sites shows that English is successfully used as a substitute for linguistic diversity in some parts of Amman, visually replacing the non-territorial languages of non-Arabic speaking small populations. Translanguging is used to understand how English is socio-linguistically constructed in these shopping malls.

Western Amman shopping centres
English is more frequently found in western Amman than in other parts of the city. In the former it is extensively used in both spoken and written modes. The ethnographic evidence obtained from the commercial milieus in western Amman emphasises the bilingual repertoire of that LL.

One of the main departments in most Jordanian shopping malls is the food and confectionery department. It is noticeable that the vast majority of signs there convey duplicating bilingualism (Reh, 2004), which might indicate the presence of two populations who may not necessarily be able to interact and communicate in both codes. Figure 1 shows a prime example of this visual duplicating bilingualism.

Figure 1. Community translanguaging in dry food and confectionery department

In Figure 1, the Arabic written text 'أطعمة جافة' reads as "ATT9IMAH JAAFAH" and is duplicated in English as "dry foods". Because English reads from left to right and Arabic from right to left, each native speaker is able to go first. The horizontal placement of Arabic and English does not provide sufficient evidence for which code is more

prominent although Arabic is written in a somewhat larger font. Although many potential customers will be Arabic-English biliterates, a considerable number are only literate in English. Thus, non-Arabic speaking customers are likely to realise that the English wording is a literal translation of the Arabic. So, signs displaying duplicating bilingualism unquestionably emphasise the multicultural character of the shopping mall. Further evidence of this is shown in the examples in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.

In fresh food (e.g. fruits, vegetables, meat, poultry, fish, and seafood) departments, duplicating bilingual signs are displayed in order to satisfy the various needs and preferences of consumers. More specifically, the phraseology and vocabulary used on signs contribute to satisfying the needs of consumers in displaying the prices of items (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Community translanguaging in fresh food department

A further example of duplicating bilingualism is shown in Figure 3. The prominence of English on this sign provides evidence of the value of English as a marker of members of foreign populations permanently and temporarily staying in an Arabic-speaking country. As well as serving foreign populations who may prefer to use English, this sign may appeal to high-class and affluent Jordanians who use Arabic and English on a daily basis and expect it to be available when shopping in a very prestigious superstore. This sign was displayed in the homewares department. While conducting observations there, two Chinese girls walked through looking for particular home items. It is assumed that Chinese people in Jordan are exclusively Chinese-English biliterates (i.e. not Arabic speakers/readers). So, the written English might help them find what they were looking for.

Figure 3: Community translanguaging in homeware department

The degree of duplicating Arabic-English bilingualism is maintained throughout the LL of exits and entrances. It is implicitly planned everywhere that there should be bilingual entrance and exit signs. One of the interview participants commented on this:

> English is seen everywhere in Amman as English is not only conceived as a symbol of modernity, development and globalization but it is also used by many ethnic groups such as Indians, Pakistanis, and many others. If you want to interact with these people you should use English. That's why many shopping malls in Western Amman, for example, extensively use English alongside Arabic (Interviewee 2: Male professor, aged 41).

Not only do Arabic and English represent two distinct languages of national and international social prestige (Abdulkafi, 2011; Alkhatib & Farghal, 1999), but they are also indexical of social groups belonging to diverse ethnic backgrounds. Such bilingual signs acknowledge the existence of non-Arabic speaking communities (see Malinowski, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Sloboda, 2009).

It might be assumed that the visibility of bilingualism in the city is strongly desired by the wider society. The bilingual signs, such as those in Figures 4 and 5, represent a prime example of community translanguaging. The first example, which contains a full translation, provides instructions to shoppers queued at the tills. The second example is a "Next Customer" till divider presented in both Arabic and English. These examples manifest the strong desire of Ammanians to include English signage in the city for reasons of social prestige, and the intention to satisfy the linguistic needs of non-Arabic speaking populations.

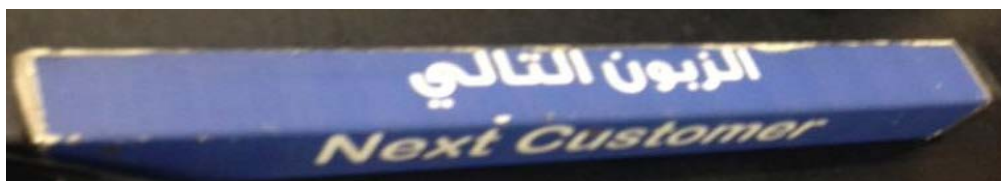Figure 4: An example of information signs at a shopping mall entrance

Figure 5: Arabic-English next customer till divider

Northern Amman shopping malls

The general characteristic that distinguishes the LL of shopping malls in northern Amman is the wide-spread use of monolingual Arabic advertisements (see Figure 6 for an example), which indicates a lower incidence of foreign populations and affluent classes than in other areas in Amman (Alomoush, 2015). The different linguistic behaviours of people in affluent and less affluent parts of the city can be understood in terms of a number of non-linguistic factors: social prestige, wealthy classes, and concentrations of foreign populations.

Figure 6:   An example of an Arabic monolingual entrance sign inside a shopping mall

Translation: "our dearest customers" (red), "please weigh jameed [= dried yogurt] in appetiser section" (black)

It is very common in Jordan to switch between Arabic and English without translation in both spoken and written modes. In such situations, the main speech/text in Arabic is interspersed with English words or phrases. The handwritten advertisement presented in Figure 7 shows written code-switching where the Arabic lettering (قهوة سريعة التحضير) is larger than the English ("3 in 1") which emphasises that consumers are mainly members of Arabic-speaking communities. This indicates that the sign designer (i.e. the store manager) has used language according to the existing social surroundings in order to address the target population more effectively. The English wording ("3 in 1") is used because it has no equivalent in Arabic and has become part of the Jordanian linguistic repertoire.

Figure 7: An example of written code-switching in northern Amman

Translanguaging is also extended to include English Arabicisation. Advertisements appear not only in monolingual Arabic, but sometimes include Arabicised English alongside the original Arabic. Figure 8 shows the Arabic lettering " لمنيوم فويل" meaning "kitchen aluminium foil" (the English word "foil" is borrowed and transliterated into Arabic) presented in a larger font than other words on the sign. The additional writing on the sign (meaning unclear) appears in Roman script in a smaller font. In northern Amman, there is less exploitation of English for symbolic reasons than in other parts of the city, particularly western Amman, where English features as a language for promoting and publicising products and for communicative and indexical values.

Figure 8: An example of English Arabicisation

Southern Jordan

With the exception of shopping mall names, English is infrequently used on advertisements and special offers inside the shopping malls examined in southern Jordan. Monolingual signs are the most noteworthy feature of those LLs. Thus, languages other than Arabic contribute minimally to the construction of the visual internal marketplace, which contrasts markedly with touristic places such as Aqaba and Petra (Al-Naimat, 2015; Alomoush, 2015; Alomoush & Al-Naimat, 2018). However, English lexical borrowings are visible everywhere, as displayed on the sign in Figure 9, which includes the loanword "باكيتات", originally from the English word "packets". This is an example of lexical borrowing rather than written code switching. In many cases, words of English-origin fill lexical gaps and sometimes perform other innovative functions such as avoiding

Figure 9.   An example of the absence of translingual practices in southern Jordan malls

Translation: "special offer mashed chickpeas 4 packets 1.10 JD"
Note: The text includes a borrowed word (باكيتات) which originates from the English word "packets".

the use of taboo words in Jordanian Arabic, they also provide social prestige (for a full discussion see Alomoush, 2015).

Sociolinguistic implications

This section discusses the main implications of the current empirical study which focus on the sociolinguistic implications of the disproportionate degrees of visual linguistic diversity within shopping malls.

English as the key to success

There have been various studies on the mutual relationship between language and globalisation from the perspective of language policies and global capitalism (for a survey, see Phillipson, 1992, 2009). These show that the successful use of English contributes to commercial development. This can be seen in the LL examined in the present study. Given the fact that English is widely used domestically and internationally, it has been increasingly used as a major *lingua franca* in Jordan to allow members of non-Arabic speaking populations to communicate and interact with Arabic speakers more effectively. Both Arabic and English dominate the Jordanian LL, which reflects popular language ideologies built upon national values and demographic facts, on the one hand, and internationalisation in many domains, including but not restricted to trade and tourism, and a global language facilitating transnational interaction and communication, on the other hand.

In the context examined in this paper the LL is under the control of those who are in charge in shopping malls where a deliberate language decision has made English as visible as Arabic in commercial settings. In this sense, the LL is displayed as a domain of linguistic practices that involve a variety of commercial activities (e.g. branding, product promotion, and special reductions). Translingual practices displayed on signs, such as duplicating Arabic-English bilingualism and written code switching, clearly suggest the potential multilingual repertoires of the LL. This is consistent with the work of Gorter and Cenoz (2015) and Pennycook (2017).

Multilingual and monolingual landscaping led by non-linguistic factors

There has been concern over a noticeable increase in the use of English in the LL of Jordanian cities (Al-Naimat, 2015; Alomoush, 2015, 2019b). Language promotion is wholly dependent on extra-linguistic considerations, including social and political status within the local community that may reflect the existence of heterogeneous groups. The importance of English for many non-Arab linguistic groups has resulted in a high visibility of English in commercial written spaces. In shops where English is extensively used, a large foreign population of shoppers is likely to shop in English.

The LL is one way to support and promote communication between shoppers and businesses. This study shows that Arabic-English bilingualism is a characteristic marking the LL of superstores in western Amman, whilst Arabic monolingualism characterises northern Amman, even though complementary Arabic-English bilingual signs appear occasionally, particularly at entrances. Western Amman contains the most affluent areas of Amman, so caters to lifestyle trends and Western culture, which partly explains why English is extensively found on commercial signs inside superstores.

There seems to be a conflict between language policies and ideologies, which reflects a considerable tension between the affluent and the less affluent areas. It is thus not surprising that a high visibility of English is induced by particular forces, particularly

wealth and socio-economic prestige. The observational data in this study shows that people in higher socioeconomic groups normally shop in prestigious superstores selling relatively costly products to which consumers have become increasingly loyal.

These observations are supported through the interview data showing shoppers' beliefs about the display of English. They mentioned some positive symbolic meanings of English on the products. For example, two participants state:

> English is used alongside Arabic as it is aimed to achieve a great level of understandability among Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. I am into displaying the product names in this global language. (Participant 5, female shop assistant, aged 24)

> I like English to interpret the Arabic words, which also give some prestigious and modern meanings to the mall shoppers […] I like English to appear on the local products. (Participant 6, teacher, aged 55)

These views highlight the significance of using English in the local malls and suggest that the linguistic attitudes of Jordanian shoppers imply their acceptance of globalising the local products.

Other participants (e.g. Participants 1, 8, 9 & 10) expressed an appreciation of the malls' abundant use of English words and phrases but were unwilling to confirm whether the English on the local signs was understandable to them. This suggests they are positive about the use of English but may not understand it. These views associate the products advertised in English with Western culture and its symbolic connotations. Such views and beliefs are not generally articulated by shoppers in the southern Jordanian malls (e.g. Participants 3, 4, & 7), where the minimal display of English is linked to less modernity in the cities (Ma'an and Tafila) and the relative absence of non-Arabic speaking citizens.

English in the linguistic repertoire of non-Arabic speaking populations whose first languages are completely absent from the LL

It seems likely that English is part of the linguistic repertoire of virtually every foreign economic worker and international visitor in Jordan. English is the native language of many members of the foreign population (e.g. Americans, British, and Australians) and it is used as a lingua franca by most others. The LL in Jordan contains little sign of other extra-territorial languages.

This study of the LL clearly confirms the instrumentality of English in the commercial written spaces of Jordanian cities but suggests that other extra-territorial languages are marginalised. The high visibility of English symbolises the emergence of a new type of plurilingualism whereby English contributes to the construction of domestic and global LLs. Extra-regional languages seem to be restricted to a narrow set of functions, particularly in spoken rather than written mode.

The association of economy and profitability with multilingualism occurs in an environment where English is conventionalised as an important characteristic feature of Jordan's modern cultural life. In the era of globalisation, English has increasingly become a source of income. This contributes to the proliferation of English as a lingua franca and the continuous devalorisation and marginalization of other languages used by small communities (i.e. foreign economic workers and international tourists in Jordan). This linguistic marginalisation might be thought of as a form of linguistic imperialism as suggested by Phillipson (1992, 2009).

Conclusion

The analysis of the LL in Jordanian shopping malls demonstrates that English alongside Arabic is widely spread in some parts of the city of Amman, particularly in shopping malls, as opposed to other parts of the country (especially cities in southern Jordan other than touristic ones like Petra and Aqaba), where monolingual Arabic signs are more frequently used. We have categorised two types of translanguaging in these contexts: community translanguaging, which is characteristic of the malls in western Amman; and impressionistic translanguaging which occurs more commonly in the malls of northern Amman.

It appears that monolingual and multilingual landscaping in shopping malls is governed and controlled by non-linguistic factors. In western Amman, it is governed by the presence of the more affluent groups in society and concentrations of non-Arabic speaking populations. In the northern part of the city however it is influenced by mostly monolingual (Arabic) shoppers. The first languages of the diverse non-Arabic speaking population in Jordan (e.g. French, Italian, German, Tagalog, Urdu, and Hindu) are completely absent from the LL.

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