Research Paper

What Do Signs Say About English in Multilingual Fashion Advertising? The Case of Souq Al-Sultan in Jordan

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Abstract

This article explores visual English on the storefronts of commercial fashion businesses in Souq Al-Sultan in Amman, Jordan. A corpus of 120 signs displaying various types of commercial fashion businesses (i.e., clothing, beauty tools, accessories, bags, and footwear) was obtained. Drawing on a multilayered analysis model which includes the distributional analysis of linguistic landscape (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), and the degrees of multilingual writings (Reh, 2004), the study analyses and discusses the extensive use of English and the minimal display of Arabic on fashion storefronts. To provide some ethnographic context for the data, 10 interviews were also conducted. Results suggest that English largely serves as the lingua franca of Jordan's visual fashion discourse, and the overwhelming visibility of English on fashion signs is significantly attributed to economic and global considerations. Other foreign languages, particularly Turkish, French, and Italian, have featured several signs, but to a lesser degree than Arabic, which can be explained for Turkish and European stereotyping.

Keywords: Linguistic Landscape; Multilingual Writing; Lingua Franca; Fashion Businesses; Souq Al-Sultan.

1. Introduction

In the recent two or three decades, there has been increasing scholarly attention towards linguistic landscape (henceforth LL) studies (Lawrence, 2012). What is so special about LL is that it reflects which languages are more widely spread in a specific region, particularly in multilingual spaces where it serves as an indispensable instrument for exploring the sociolinguistic roles played by different languages within specific social settings. Linguistic landscapers have examined the sociolinguistics of signs, including but not limited to language power. For example, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) consider the type of language used on signs and the order in which they appear. The semiotics of LL has been examined by many scholars, particularly Scollon and Scollon (2003) who introduced the theory of geosemiotics that focuses not only about the world but also in the world, wherein the placement of the language in the world is sociosemiotically significant. The author's theory of geosemiotics focuses on the notions of code preference and visual semiotic modes, such as images, font size, inscription, and colors of codes, which play a very important role in identifying the symbolic power of dominant languages. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) also apply the principles of geosemiotics to communication modes other than language, particularly the placement of language in LL, font size, and the amount and type of product represented by each language.

The symbolic functions of languages have been primarily introduced by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who argue that the type of language used in LL reflects symbolic values for the people who use them in a particular context. For instance, Scollon and Scollon (2003) state that English used in the LL of Chinese-speaking communities refers to foreign tastes and manners; it is not for indexing an English-speaking community. Therefore, in concomitant with Landry and Bourhis' (1997) views on the connection between ethnolinguistic vitality and the LL, the visibility of languages in public spaces is closely associated with both the symbolic power of languages and their corresponding speakers in communities. Reh (2004) analyses the visibility of a number of languages in Lira according to different types of multilingual texts:

complementary, fragmentary, and duplicating multilingual writing, meaning zero, partial, and mutual translation, respectively.

The language policy of the state and individuals, which is a significant perspective of LL, can be determined through explicit language policy statements and implicitly through people's real actions and linguistic choices (see Spolsky, 2004). With this in mind, Shohamy (2006) explains that the real language policy can be noticed not only through policy statements declared but also through "a variety of devices that are used to perpetuate language practices, often in covert and implicit ways." On the one hand, the language policy in Jordan stipulates that Arabic is the only official language of the state, requiring government agencies and public institutions to use it as the main medium of communication in all social settings. On the other hand, because Arabic has little presence in the display of commercial signage in the Jordanian LL, this study investigates the symbolic power of English used in Jordan's visual fashion industry. Even though there are some studies in the Jordanian context that have examined different sociolinguistic aspects of English on LL signs in relation to the glocal features of commercial texts (Al-Naimat, 2015; Al-Naimat & Saidat, 2019, Alomoush, 2019; Alomoush & Al-Naimat, 2020), the tourism (Alomoush & Al-Naimat, 2018); and the use of English in medical settings (Alomoush, 2022) and the political discourse (Al-Naimat, 2019), this study has solely analyzed the LL of fashion signs in affluent areas, overwhelmingly abundant in fashion and beauty businesses.

Given that the crucial goal of advertising is to sell the commodity (Vestergaard & Schrøder, 1994), the designs of fashion stores—often accompanied by a wide range of communication modes, such as language, images, font size, colors, and sign emplacement—aim at drawing the customers' attention for publicizing products and services. It can be assumed that there is a close connection between the dominant use of English on shop signs and their global associations, as well as the occurrence of other foreign languages and European linguistic fetishes (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). Based on what has been mentioned so far, this study aims to explore the symbolic power of English, Arabic, and other foreign languages (i.e., Turkish, French, Italian) in a commercial area of Amman, which are greatly noticed in fashion and beauty businesses. To achieve this objective, we adopt a multilayered analysis model, which involves LL distributional analysis (Ben Rafael et al., 2006), Scollon and Scollon's principles of geosemiotics (2003), and Reh's (2004) varying degrees of multilingual writings. The theoretical frame related to the scope of the study is going to be set out later.

2. Symbolic Power of English in Linguistic Landscape

LL has been realized as a tool for visually examining sociosemiotic implications within a given community, including the social stratification, relative positions of various groups, and dominant cultural ideas (Reh, 2004). Huebner (2006, p. 32) argues, "LL may display the grassroots cultural identity and aspiration of its members." In practice, the analysis of languages visible on LL items helps to offer insights into the power structures of a given community or region (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Shohamy and Waksman (2009) claim that interpreting types of texts requires theories related to multimodalities, multilingualism, and discourse analysis. The multimodal nature of public spaces has been further examined to identify the value of linguistic texts, images, and verbal messages (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Seals, 2013). Likewise, Moriarty (2014) considers LL a combination of communication modes such as linguistic and non-linguistic resources, comprising the symbolic construction of multilingual spaces.

LL often reflects the sociolinguistic roles attained through spoken languages in the community, that is, communicative and symbolic functions that a language plays in different domains and settings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The current symbolic power of the English language is often associated with cultural and economic globalization. In Sweden, according to McArthur (2000), the use of English and other foreign languages on signs is a demonstration of commodity and internationalism values and does not refer to any ethnic groups. In the streets of Rome, the prevalent use of English words on windows, doors, and shop signs is primarily intended for commercial reasons; it informs non-Italians about the type of products, adding a worldwide image to the items advertised (Griffin, 2002). Hence, the widespread of English on public and private signs is attributed to the economic position of language in businesses worldwide (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Torkington, 2009). Kelly-Holmes (2005) explores the great visibility of English in German multilingual advertising. She finds that German brand products, via the use of English, tend to acquire an international message. In a similar study, Lee (2010) notes that English in East-Asian advertising is used to get attention and index consumers' symbolic modernity and their international orientation. In their analysis of the English and Persian advertising discourse, Alipour and Kiaeifar (2015) discuss the central role of English in terms of community necessities and technological advances. Weyers (2015) exhibits a contiguous connection between sign makers' choice of English names and the

potential client's wishes for "higher social status" (p. 13). The conjunction of modernity and cosmopolitan identity is similarly investigated in Kasanga's (2010) study, which considers the social implications of English in French advertising in DR Congo.

According to Kachru's (1992) three concentric circles of English, the global dominance of English in the Jordanian LL lies within the expanding circle representing the use of English as a foreign language, which has no historical and institutional value. This explains the increasing existence of different standard and nonstandard forms of English on both governmental and non-governmental signage. Due to its extensive use as a contact language around the world today (Martin, 2007; Robertson, 2012; Saraceni, 2010), English has gained ground in Jordanian society, particularly in the fields of education, commerce, science, and technology, and almost in all social settings. Promoting the products through the LL signs underlines the fact that English is economically closely tied to values of success, modernity, and high quality (see Cenoz & Gorter, 2009). Business owners in Jordan, therefore, use English on their signage to attract customers and effectively communicate the quality of the goods sold. This is attributed to the economic significance of English in business globally (Torkington, 2009), resulting in its high visibility on the commercial streets in Jordan.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Setting

The corpus of the study was collected from Amman, the capital of Jordan. In particular, the area surveyed was the public space in Souq Al-Sultan Market, Tla'a Al-Ali area, a thriving hub for a wide range of commercial activities. It displays several clothing stores, shopping malls, gaming stores, jewelry and accessories shops, mobile phone stores, supermarkets, and restaurants, making the area attain a lot of commercial and economic significance. However, other parts of Amman do not display such diverse marketing aspects of fashion signs. The density of signs in the marketplace of Souq Al-Sultan market encourages further exploration of the contribution of different competing languages from the proportion perspective as well as the occurrence of various fashion practices, and it is this very reason that we decided to center our inquiry on a commercial fashion LL.

3.2. Data Collection and Categorization

The data collection was undertaken in November and December 2022. The first phase was to take pictures of all the textual signs displaying fashion domains in the LL of the target area. The unit of analysis, as Gorter (2006) discusses, may well cause some challenges for the researchers during the process of data collection. However, our study adopts the definition of sign provided by Backhaus (2007, p. 66) as "any piece of text within a spatially definable frame." All signs presenting texts related to the fashion realm were photographed using a digital camera. It has been observed that some words and phrases on the storefronts such as *moda*, *fashion*, *sale*, *discount*, *outlet,* and *closeout* help researchers to distinguish the set of signs in question; their robust acceptance among customers and businesspersons as having received a great value in the commercial context also assist in identifying these signs. The initial investigation of the signs has resulted in the creation a coding system according to the signs' font size and the number of languages found. A typology of fashion signs has also been developed based on the association between the languages and scripts, that is, Roman, English, Arabic, and other foreign languages, and the fashion practices, that is, clothing stores, beauty tools and accessories, and footwear and bags retail shops.

The second phase of data collection was to analyze the ethnographic frame of the study, comprising notes and observations, and interviews of participants. LL studies focus on interviewing the individuals who produce the signs in public spaces and/ or consider how they read and perceive the signs (Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh, 2012; Trumpter-Hecht, 2010). Given a relatively small sample of signs in the current study (see Results section) which may not constitute adequate data for the study, it was decided to supplement the data with interviews from some populations of Amman.

Table 1. *Interviewees Demographic Details*

Interviewee No	Occupation	Age	Gender
1	Professor	45	Female
2	Professor	62	Male
3	Student	18	Male
4	Student	22	Female

5	Salesperson	29	Female
6	Salesperson	40	Male
7	Engineer	30	Male
8	Engineer	42	Female
9	Business Owner	43	Male
10	Business Owner	65	Female

Whilst the study aims to analyze and explore how English is the most visible language of fashion according to the quantitative analysis, we propose two interrelated interview questions: one question involves the reasons and motives for the omnipresence of English in the fashion LL of Souq Al-Sultan in Amman, and the other includes the responses regarding the partial role of other foreign languages in the context of fashion advertising. In this light, as displayed in Table 1, 10 people were interviewed to identify such perceptions and attitudes towards these languages, particularly for exploring the symbolic functions of English, including but not limited to their potential feelings, values, and status in the current multilingual context.

The interview sample in Table 1 is distributed according to occupation, age, and gender. All the interviews were conducted in person but with some differing procedures before reaching the participants. For example, we had contact with the two professors in the Jordanian universities. We used noninterviewing techniques to reach them, particularly through Messenger and WhatsApp. We also called them by mobile phone to make an appointment at the university. This was also carried out with the engineers' interviewees with whom we arranged a time suitable for them to conduct the interview. The interviews ran very smoothly and they were very helpful and cooperative and answered all the relevant questions. We also engaged in conversation with university students on campus during their free time; they were indeed willing to take part in the study interview. The interviews with salespersons and business owners occurred spontaneously, and we got their consent to run the interview in their regular workplaces.

3.3. Data Analysis

In order to deeply understand the semiotic aspects of the existing data, the study relies on a multilayered approach, which comprises LL distributional analysis (Ben Rafael et al., 2006), Scollon and Scollon's (2003) theory of geosemiotics, and varying degrees of multilingual writings (Reh, 2004) to uncover organizing principles and semiotic components, which consolidate the advertising message regarding economic and social practices through the way in which fashion advertisement on LL signs use these components. Drawing on Ben Rafael et al.'s (2006) distributional typology of signs, the signs in the present study were, first, coded according to the type of fashion stores: clothing, beauty tools and accessories, and footwear and bags. This criterion allowed us to analyze and discuss the existing data against a wide range of linguistic patterns quantitatively used in Table 2. A semiotic approach was used to analyze advertising activities of fashion texts enacted on signs. The groundwork of this is essentially found in the geo-semiotics principles introduced by Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 110), which refer to "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world." For example, various plausible semiotic components could be observed during the analysis of fashion signs, including the font size, color, and the sign's vertical arrangement of languages all represent Scollon and Scollon's (2003) code preference, whose role derives from noting the significance of script/language size in defining the prominence of languages in LL.

Figure 1. A Prime Example Showing the Geosemiotic Significance

As seen in Figure 1, the sign is inscribed in a manner to show Arabicised English on the right in a bigger font than the English text of the women's clothing fashion called (SHE CHOCOLATE). This initiates a particular cultural significance where the prominent semiotic features inform its ubiquitous use and acceptance in the community.

Equally important, drawing upon the analysis model used by Reh (2004), the data were engaged with types of multilingual information, particularly the complementary and duplicating multilingual writings. For example, the practices of the model benefit in exploring diverse symbolic meanings of languages displayed on fashion signs. Duplicating writing refers to those practices in which exactly the same text is provided in more than one language, as in the case of *Giant* (see Figure 2), which indicates that both English and Arabic are equally important, that is, acknowledging the existence of multilingualism in the community and, in turn, emphasizing effective aspects of communicating the commercial message.

Figure 2. A Multilingual Duplicating Writing on the Front of a Clothing Company

The procedures, however, implemented to analyze the interview data build upon the concepts and meanings mentioned through the interviewees' words and replies, which further have major implications for the analysis. Notes on key issues and themes mentioned during the interview were collected together and studied profoundly, in particular, the occurrence of any areas of contrast and comparison among the viewpoints in relation to the topic of the study.

4. Results

Investigating the fashion landscaping in the Souq Al-Sultan market shows that such commercial names may appear in Arabic, English, or other foreign languages. This points to the significance of comparing the proportions of languages displaying the fashion signs. As shown in Table 2, a total number of 120 photographs of fashion signs were collected. They were grouped into three patterns of signs: (1) monolingual, that is, English-only; (2) bilingual, that is, English-Arabic (AE: Arabicized English), Romanized Arabic (RA)-English, Arabic-English; and (3) trilingual, that is, RA-English-Arabic signs. It is also noted that the fashion body has not featured any Arabic-only signs for the tendency of signs' originators to utilize them alongside English and Roman script combinations, more persuasive languages for fashion and beauty product advertisements:

Table 2. *Distribution of Languages on the Fronts of Fashion Stores in Jordan Linguistic Landscape*

Language	Clothing Stores	Beauty Tools & Accessories	Footwear & Bags Retail Shops	Total	%
English-Only	38	9	11	58	47%
English + Arabic (AE)	15	3	3	21	18%
RA + English + Arabic	7	6	-	13	11%
Arabic + English	4	2	-	6	5%
RA + English	3	-	-	3	3%
Other	7	8	4	19	16%
Total	74	28	18	120	100%

4.1. Clothing Stores

As Table 2 shows, English is more quantitatively available in clothing stores than in other codes with a percentage of 47% (monolingual English signs,) and 18% (bilingual English-Arabic signs). Shopping for fashion clothing

has become so popular among members of the young generations that it is nowadays regarded as an essential part of Jordanian customers' daily life activities. In affluent areas, it is not surprising to see fashion storefronts abundant in a wide range of languages with varying designs and images, as in the case of Souq Al-Sultan in Amman, located in Talla Alali, an affluent residential area in western Amman. The passers-by are struck by a huge number of fashion stores in the commercial area, selling a wide range of fashion products, such as garments, gloves, headgear, and hats. Customers know these commercial signs since they represent outlets of other shops in metropolitan areas in Jordan, such as Amman, Aqaba, or Irbid. The use of fashion signs accordingly can be compared to the use of English as a sign of identity linked to modernity and attraction. Ross (1997) notes that most shop signs contain English for their attractiveness and fashion features, and it lends an impression of chic prestige to a business.

The quantitative results in both Tables 2 and 3 suggest that English is no doubt the major language of visual multilingual fashion advertising, which is a persistent feature of fashionscapes in affluent areas, at least in Jordan. As Table 3 shows, the majority of signs of clothing stores appear in monolingual English, 38 out of 74 (52%) are inscribed in English-only, English-Arabic bilingual pattern appears on 15 signs (21%), Arabic-English pattern appears on 4 signs (5%), RA-English pattern appears on 3 signs (4%), 7 signs are presented in an RA-English-Arabic trilingual pattern (9%), and 7 (9%) signs are written in other language patterns including mainly Turkish. Accordingly, it is not surprising that fashion stores are named for pure English words and phraseology, including but not limited to *Zero Point*, *MODEK*, *Dark Orange Outlet*, *Army for Jeans and More*, *One Minute*, *Catch Me*, *A1 Outlet*, *CYou*, *Big Style*, *Abdeen Elite Brands*, *VIA MODA*, *Elite*, *Garanti*, *New York Outlets*, *Hello*, *Bambi*, *New Delhi Closeout*, *Mr Brand Original Brand*, *TWICE comfy & Moda*, *Vikik*, *Number 1 OUTLET*, *Mark Down*, and *Uptown*.

Table 3. *Distribution of Languages on the Fronts of Clothing Stores*

Language	Number	%
English-Only	38	52
English + Arabic (AE)	15	21
RA + English + Arabic	7	9
Arabic + English	4	5
RA + English	3	4
Other	7	9
Total	74	100

Figure 3. A Clothing Store Displaying Duplicating Writings of English and Arabic

The English-Arabic pattern contains the use of English alongside slogans in Arabic as in *THE END outlet* (حرقنا

رجالى، ستاتى، ولادى) *Tallia Fashion* (للتصفية), *Outlet Fifty Fifty* (للتصفية), *Game Over* (مهرجان تحطيم الأسعار) (الأسعار، تنزيلات حقيقية).

A distinctive feature of the commercial LL of Souq Al-Sultan is the existence of storefronts with varying degrees of multilingual writings. Thus, as Figure 3 shows Black & White Closeout (أبيض وأسود للتصفية), the name of the store is inscribed in duplicating writings in both English and Arabic to permit more readership for passers-by. The significance of English codes is derived from their central position in the sign and the larger font sizes representing the core of information (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996), as shown in the uppercases of B (Black) and W (White). According to Participant 2 (male professor aged 62), "the letterings of fashion signs in Amman commercial streets are shaped in a purposive way to make English more apparent and attentive to the viewers; this founds a sense of significance in their shopping activities." Indeed, the overwhelming majority of signs shows English dominance, which seemingly affirms the significance of English preference in the display of fashion products as observed in the large font size of English writing in contrast with the other Arabic smaller letters on the same sign (see Figure 3).

The current language pattern, however, comprises fashion discourse signs that are originally printed in English and transliterated in Arabic. As seen in Figure 4, the Arabicization of the English clothing outlet *My London outlet* can be defined as a linguistic structure in which the same fashion name is provided in English and transliterated in Arabic, featuring duplicating multilingual writing as introduced by Reh (2004). According to Participant 1 (female professor aged 45), "In Jordan, English fashion signs often preserve their constant linguistic structure. No translation into the local language is introduced for such texts in the public space for encouraging the usage of the same business name in English and Arabic far and wide." The use of English in such predominantly fashion areas is linked to the global drives of the language. Even though local viewers are capable of reading the Arabic script, its existence along the English code (My London Outlet) appears to be for maintaining and bolstering the global symbolic identity of the store, adding value to the products in other niches. There have been several other studies on the interconnection between the marketing and economic perspectives of products and their international linguistic connotations (Al-Naimat, 2015; Alomoush, 2015; Selvi, 2016).

Figure 4. A Clothing Outlet Featuring Duplicating Writings of English-AE Pattern

What is so astonishing here is that Arabic varieties are marginally present on fashion signs. The shopfronts of clothing stores display Arabic, particularly Jordanian Arabic (JA), along with English. Prime illustrations include the use of JA phrase (ليش لأ) alongside the English word (outlet); this also applies to the standard Arabic word (الاسطورة) together with the English word (Moda). Participant 5 (female salesperson aged 29) comments here, "we need to use some English phrases and words on our local clothing businesses for inducing feelings of advancement, fashion, prestige to the products." Such positive attitudes towards English as a lingua franca in the fashion discourse explain a great deal of symbolic meanings relating to the prestige of English when viewed in the clothing business.

The social meanings of English have been partly discussed by Piller (2000) in German bilingual advertising. In some cases, however, the signs recorded show the use of the trilingual pattern comprising Arabic in Roman script alongside English as in *Sarsour fashion* صرصور, *Jori fashion* أزياء جورى, and *Al-NASER store* محل الناصر.

Figure 5. A Clothing Store Displaying a Complementary Bilingual Sign

The RA-English pattern appears on three signs, including *Hala outlet*, *Nwara outlet*, and *MISHNORMAL OUTLET & US*. The first two instances contain Arabic proper names (*Hala* and *Nwara)* transliterated in Roman script alongside English, whilst the sign of *MISHNORMAL*, as observed in Figure 5, contains JA *MISH*, here used in the same way as English prefixes such as *in-*, *non-*, *un-* for simply negating the adjectives that come after, virtually meaning 'never' and the English adjective NORMAL. This figure displays some creative and innovative linguistic practices that conform to Reh's complementary writing (2004), clearly apparent in the role of the Arabic script *MISH* along with the English adjective *NORMAL* in revealing the commercial purpose of the store items of high quality. The students interviewed emphasize this fused significance at times sign initiators present Arabic words in Roman. According to Participant 4 (female student aged 22), "even though the Arabic letters are written in Roman lettering, I am used to reading and using such scripts in my study and in chatting with my friends sometimes; thus, I think the reasons for this commerce practice is to reflect a high quality and success to the product service." Other language arrangements have been observed on 7 Turkish signs whose existing use is rather connected to meanings of style and elegance based on their content and roles in signage. Prime examples include bilingual signs of *HUUSH Fashion* (Turkish-English) and *kardesler* (Arabicized Turkish-Turkish), and monolingual sign *Viore* (Turkish-only).

4.2. Beauty Tools and Accessories

According to our observations on the on-site fieldwork, the commercial area in Souq Al-Sultan is heavily abundant in English, which shows how competitive the situation is in the area between different types of fashion stores, including beauty tools and accessories.

Table 4. *Distribution of Languages on the Fronts of Beauty & Accessories Stores*

Language	Number	%
English-Only	9	32
RA + English + Arabic	6	21
English + Arabic	3	11
Arabic + English	2	7
Other	8	29
Total	28	100

The monolingual English sign is also used in establishing a constructive image of beauty and accessory products. As Table 4 shows, 9 out of 28 signs, 32% of all signs, feature English-only tokens, including but not limited to *Glitter*, *Accessories and Makeup*, and *Every Pink*. The shop owners tend to apply a variety of ways to build the image of beauty and elegance, including using attractive images of beautiful designs and choosing catchy words in English. As noted in the sign in Figure 6, the exclusive selection of English words *Fashion Makeup Accessories*, being apparent on accessories storefronts for women, has a semiotic message, particularly when it is accompanied by their images at the top, also depicted in attractive colors for women.

It seems the business owners are completely aware of the language significance of beauty products (i.e., makeup accessories) displayed for women. According to participant 9 (male business owner aged 43), "we prefer using English for identifying the beauty centers and stores. I see that as a point of interest for many women customers -especially the young ones- as the majority use English when asking for tools of beauty and makeup, for instance, eyeliner, gloss, sponge, highlighter, shadow and foundation blender, etc." Accordingly, the business owners in fashionscape in Amman use English in beauty centers to comply with the needs of women who also seem to initiate a tendency towards using English

in the local context. The symbolic function of LL features English for attaining strong possessions in the community (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Further, based on our observations, we found that the sign makers employ semiotic modes other than English, such as images and colors. The preference for pink color for the English phrase contrasted with the white background also constructs an area of attraction (See Figure 6).

Figure 6. A Monolingual English Sign in Front of the Women's Accessories Store

The trilingual signs provided in Arabic, Romanized Arabic, and English are observed on 6 signs (21%) as in *Roya Beauty Center*, *Alarousah jewelry* (مجوهرات العروسة) meaning 'Bridegroom's jewelry', *Al-Rufiedi Jewelry* (مجوهرات الرفيدى), *Beauty Center* (كل ما يلزم السيدة العصرية) meaning 'Everything Contemporary Woman Requests', and *Sewar Accessories*. The bilingual English-Arabic pattern appears on 3 signs, almost 11% of all signs, as in *Sale up to 70%* هى للاحذية و الإكسسوارات meaning 'She for Footwear and Accessories'. The number of Arabic signs in connection with English features 7% as in *Accessories and More* أنا دلوعتى (meaning 'My beloved').

Other language practices, including French, in equal terms to the larger quantity of English-only signs mentioned above, are found on 8 signs (29%) comprising beauty products such as *Dior, Bioderma,* and *VICHY*.

Figure 7. A French Sign Promoting a Beauty Product

As noted in Figure 7, the sign VICHY is written in white uppercase letters, frequently known in any case for women as a product for skin and hair care. French on such visual product labels requires no translation into English and is still used as an attention-getter. The symbolic value of such wide-reaching beauty products is a principal instrument of persuasion in advertising, in particular for a certain segment of consumers: women. According to Participant 8 (female engineer aged 42), "I believe that *Vichy* or any other French products such as creams of skin and face, and moisturizers are my best choice for having great results." The occurrence of French names on storefronts, accordingly, aims at drawing the attention of women to the signs' linguistic depiction of fashion, beauty, and elegance. This congruent relationship has been discussed in Gazizova et al.'s study (2020), where French is used as a foreign language for advertising perfumes, as well as Hornikx et al.'s (2007) who highlight beauty and elegance meanings attached to French in Dutch, in addition to the close relation between these social practices and females' personal interests.

The analysis of this set of signs undertakes a gender perspective in the visual production of the language choice, along with related images and logos in the fashion landscape. Therefore, we argue that specific types of businesses (accessories stores, jewelry shops, and beauty salons) are mainly commercial outlets intended for women, which are visually noticeable by the many different images of objects and products (accessories and makeup) or images and illustrations of women; therefore, an additional form of advertising text is no longer necessary.

4.3. Footwear and Bags Retail Shops

The commercial LL of Talla Alali, particularly Souq Al-Sultan, has been witnessing great shopping activities in Amman due to the availability of many prestigious stores and shopping centers. It is possible for many men and women to go shopping in stores selling a wide range of fashion products, such as footwear and bags. The stores are undoubtedly receptive to the best-designed and manufactured women's bags and footwear in the fashion industry. It is not uncommon to start realizing the cultural impact of Western and global upshots of the choice of commercial items on members of the younger generations. This is because of the continuous influx of new fashion products tailor-made for the trendy styles in these stores. As Table 2 shows, 18 (15%) of all the signs belong to the fashion domain of footwear and bags. To publicize the fashion products in these stores, business owners tend to use English, presumably to show how trendy and stylish the fashion products of bags and footwear are.

Table 5. *Distribution of Languages on the Fronts of Footwear & Bags Shops*

Language	Number	%
English-Only	11	61
English-Arabic (AE)	3	17
Other	4	22
Total	18	100

Most notably, the majority of signs of bags and footwear stores, as shown in Table 5, are displayed in English, including English names of stores like *PINK PARK*, *Extreme*, *Mix Brands Outlet* (*Puma*, *Nike*, *Clarks*, *Adidas*, *Geox*), *Dark Orange Outlet*, *Comfort Heels*, and *Swan*. The business signs seem to cater to the fashionable appearance of such items with the aim of impressing young people. This further gives a clue that the establishment of footwear businesses with global brand names demonstrates young people's acceptance of exotic and foreign names in LL. According to Participant 7 (male engineer aged 30), "I am actually aware that the younger generation prefers having well-known brand boots, namely *puma*, *Nike*, *Reebok*, *Adidas*, for their status worldwide which is unquestionably linked with English names for such brands, a sign of fashion." Figure 8 shows the use of English alongside English loanwords, including (سبور) 'sport' and (شنطة سبور) 'sports bags,' is visible on the storefront; the store name, the wording SHOES LAND in large uppercase letters, and the elaborative phrase in smaller uppercase letters, Sale up to 50%, are all inscribed in English in red color, in addition to the price of 5 JD, which appears in red as well. The font size in the figure reflects a symbolic function in that the English lettering appears first in a larger font size, whilst English loanwords are consistently displayed in a smaller print. They are also positioned in such a way as to be hardly noticeable, if visible at all, in order to avoid detracting from the English fashion item SHOES LAND. From the semiotics perspective, the salience of English text juxtaposed with the image of the high heels, which is inserted as an aesthetic part of the word SHOES (Al-Naimat & Saidat, 2019), aims to help viewers realize the purpose of the store.
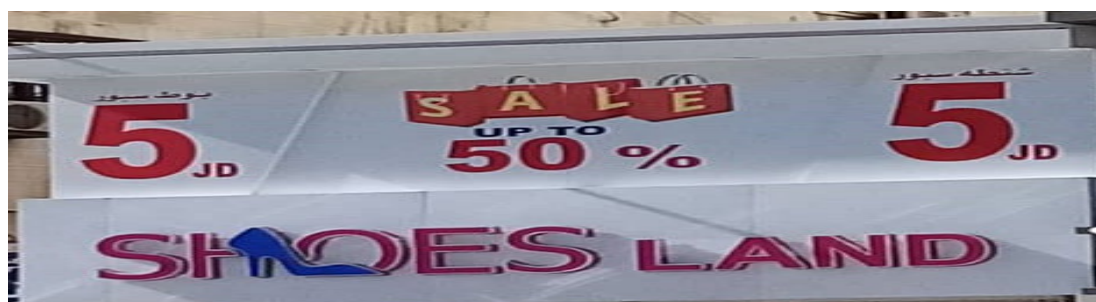

Figure 8. A Name of Fashion Shoes Shop in a Larger English Font Size than the Remainder of Text

Other languages (i.e., language practices of Italian) also contribute to the symbolic construction of the commercial LL when it comes to stores selling bags and footwear, this being apparent on 4 signs (approximately 22%) (See Table 5). They include the presence of some foreign names of business footwear (*Bella Moda*, *Silvio Massimo* & *Ballerina*) featuring Italian. As noted in Figure 9, the sign features 'complementary multilingual writing' in the Italian name *Ballerina*, whose aim has been supplemented with the amount of information in Arabic للأحذية الأوربية meaning 'for European footwear' and أحذية رجالى الطابق الثانى meaning 'Men's footwear in the Second Floor'; as well as the display of BALLERINA SHOES in a circular way around the logo of the store (Reh, 2004). According to Participant 6 (A male salesperson aged 40), "I don't think the business name for shoes, Ballerina, is printed in English; nevertheless, its display in such a prominent Arabic lettering custom is to inform viewers about the European culture."

Despite the fact that *Ballerina* is an Italian lexical name for brand shoes visually displayed in Arabic, the product seems to symbolize all the European countries based on the occurrence of Arabic phrase للأحذية الأوربية 'for European footwear'. The Arabicized Italian script in blue has been semiotically inscribed in larger-size fonts (see Figure 9) for perhaps stressing the impact of Italian commerce with regard to transferring and promoting footwear products and items in Jordan:

Figure 9. An Example of Complementary Writing Promoting an Italian Shoes Item

5. Discussion and Conclusion

This article has explored the symbolic power of English signs in Jordan's multilingual fashion industry. It also attempts to understand the fashion businesses' implicit language policy by analyzing sociosemiotic practices enacted on storefronts. In order to analyze and discuss the language practices of fashion shopfronts, a semiotic approach that involves three components, including LL distributional analysis (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), particular principles of geosemiotic (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), and the type of multilingual writings (Reh, 2004) has been used. The data analysis was also supplemented with the ethnographic perspective by interviewing Jordanians on their attitudes toward the language of fashion and beauty businesses.

The data presented in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 indicate that English is overwhelmingly monolingually used in Jordan's visual fashion discourse. This means that in affluent areas, English is undoubtedly used as a lingua franca of advertising in Jordan for global, economic, and symbolic considerations. Whereas the overwhelming display of English on clothing, beauty and accessories, footwear and bag products reinforces the international image of English, the minimal use of Arabic on both fashion products and storefronts implies that it has a marginalized status in affluent areas' fashion texts. The fact that the United States-Jordan Free Trade Agreement, as well as those with other international partners, were signed in the last decades may contribute significantly to the extensive use of visual English, especially in commercial areas with high prestige.

It seems that there are static sociosemiotic features of the LL of fashion businesses in Jordan's affluent areas. A wide range of visual communication other than language, such as images, colors, font sizes, and order of languages were exploited to present a convincing message to customers, probably for publicizing products offered by commercial businesses very properly. English has been, therefore, semiotically analyzed as a means for not transmitting information about the products, but for reflecting its symbolic meanings, in addition to its association with the world economy and

the "cultural values of English-speaking countries" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006, pp. 70- 78). The use of English in LL is unquestionably connected to "the provision of the service that is designed to appeal to potential customers" (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009, p. 384). As the majority of interviewees have emphasized, the visual display of English featuring various sociocultural and economic values reflects symbolic meanings of style, modernity, and cosmopolitism for fashion items in LL, pragmatically aiming to attract younger generations to the services offered by businesses and companies.

Even though English monolingual writing is the norm, other types of multilingual writing are used on bi-/multilingual signs, as in the case of duplicating and complementary multilingualism (Reh, 2004), as shown in Figures 3, 4, 5, and 9. Other languages, including Turkish, French, and Italian, feature some signs probably for stereotypes associated with Turkish and European cultures and fashion industries (see Al-Naimat, 2015; Alomoush, 2015). The linguistic choice of these languages on commercial signs indexes the significant role of the European countries in promoting fashion and beauty products in Jordan. The issue of the interrelationship between language practices and product domains is consistent with Kelly-Holmes's (2005) argument that the visibility of European languages reflects a set of symbolic meanings according to languages' exterior indications on signs. Other researchers analyze the use of proper names in commercial discourse as an instrument for appealing to customers' emotions (Haarmann, 1989; Edelman, 2009). In Jordan, Alomoush (2015) discusses that the occurrence of European proper names in LL is for attaining better economic value for commercial enterprises. In contrast, Curtin (2009, p. 229) attaches prestige and cosmopolitanism meanings to the use of European languages in Taipei's LL.

To conclude, the linguistic practices of English on the fashion storefronts, along with its visual sociosemiotic features, have shaped the multilingual landscape for communicating the symbolic advertising messages of the products, particularly those targeting a particular group of Jordanians-the women viewers, as presented in Figure 6, 7, and 8. The frequency of English-only patterns has found evidence of English's continually clear infiltration into the semiotic landscape of Jordan. Due to the great dispersal of fashion businesses in the Jordanian LL, the fusion of both Arabic and Romanized Arabic scripts with English and other foreign languages has generated the process of "glocalization" (Gorter, 2006, p. 88), acknowledging the global forces of fashion signs' marketing and commerce, and refashioning in a way to reflect the Jordanian linguistic and cultural engagements (see Figures 5 & 9).

Informed Consent

All the participants agreed to take part in the research. They were informed about the purpose of the study prior to completing the survey.

Authors' Contributions

The authors collected pictures of signs in the research areas. Author 1 examined the signs from the semiotic perspective and the type of writing. Author 1 also carried out the quantitative analysis while author 2 collected and analyzed the qualitative data. Finally, authors 1 and 2 organized the data and provided the form and structure of the paper with its final version.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare they have no conflict of interest.

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